MEDIAEVAL STUDIES

Volume XII
1950

PONTIFICAL INSTITUTE OF MEDIAEVAL STUDIES
TORONTO, CANADA

NIHIL OBSTAT.
TERENTIUS P. McLAUGHLIN
C.S.B.
Cens. Dep.

IMPRIMATUR.
✠JACOBUS C. CARDINALIS McGUIGAN
Archiep. Torontin.

Published Annually by
THE PONTIFICAL INSTITUTE OF MEDIAEVAL STUDIES
59 QUEEN'S PARK CRESCENT,
TORONTO 5, CANADA.
SUBSCRIPTION $~~5~~7.00 A YEAR.
Managing Editor: ALEX. J. DENOMY C.S.B.

PRINTED IN CANADA
BY GARDEN CITY PRESS CO-OPERATIVE, TORONTO

CONTENTS

The Character and Range of the Influence of St. Cyril of Alexandria on Latin Theology (430-1260) . . *N.M. Haring S.A.C.* 1

Le Traité d'Alain de Lille sur les Vertus, les Vices et les Dons du Saint-Esprit . . . . *Odon Lottin O.S.B.* 20

Giles of Romes on Boethius' "Diversum est esse et id quod est" . . . . *Peter W. Nash S.J.* 57

Mediaeval Pilgrim Routes from Scandinavia to Rome . . . . *Otto Springer* 92

Aristoteles im zwoelften Jahrhundert . . . . *Martin Grabmann* 123

Abelard's Letter of Consolation to a Friend (*Historia Calamitatum*) . . . . *J. T. Muckle C.S.B.* 163

Mediaevalia:

I. The First Traces of the So-called Cerbanus Translation of St. John Damascene, *De Fide orthodoxa* III, 1-8 . . . . *N. M. Haring S.A.C.* 214

II. *Ens Diminutum*: a Note on its Origin and Meaning . . . . *Armand Maurer C.S.B.* 216

III. Absolon's Hair . . . . *Paul E. Beichner C.S.C.* 222

IV. Siger of Brabant and an Averroistic Commentary on the *Metaphysics* in Cambridge, *Peterhouse Ms* . . . . *Armand Maurer C.S.B.* 233

Bibliographia Gotica. A Bibliography of Writings on the Gothic Language to the End of 1940 . . . . . . *Fernand Mossé* 237

COPYRIGHT, 1944, BY
THE PONTIFICAL INSTITUTE OF MEDIAEVAL STUDIES
59 QUEEN'S PARK CRESCENT, TORONTO

The Character and Range of the Influence of St. Cyril of Alexandria on Latin Theology (430-1260)

N. M. HARING S.A.C.

I

THE literary and doctrinal influence of St. Cyril of Alexandria (d.444) on the Latin-speaking parts of the Catholic Church began in 430 with the arrival in Rome of his deacon Posidonius to whom he had given instructions to present Pope Celestine I (422-432) with a dossier of writings concerning the Nestorian controversy, but only in case Rome had already been informed by Nestorius. Along with his letter of introduction to the Roman Pontiff,[1] Posidonius also carried with him a *commonitorium* summarizing Nestorius' errors and the orthodox doctrine on these points.[2]

As foreseen by Cyril, Nestorius had indeed communicated with Rome before Posidonius arrived,[3] yet Celestine had been unable to reply for want of a Latin translation. In the meantime, Posidonius' arrival underlined the urgency of the matter and Celestine excused himself to Nestorius for the delay caused by his ignorance of the Greek: *Erat enim in latinum sermo vertendus.*[4] More delay must have been caused by the equal necessity of providing Nestorius with a Greek text of Celestine's reply.

St. Cyril, however, anticipated these difficulties and saw to it that a Latin version, made by citizens of Alexandria, accompanied both his letter and the dossier. He describes this wise move as follows:

> Ut autem sanctitas tua, quid ille (Nestorius) dicat ac sentiat, quidve beati et magni Patres nostri, exploratum habeat, misi tomos quibus capitula quaedam excerpta continentur, quos quidem quantum licuit per eos qui Alexandriae vitam degunt latine reddi curavi. Epistolas quoque a me scriptas tradidi dilecto Posidonio.[5]

The first of the letters referred to must have been his *Generalis epistola ad Aegypti monasteria*, previously mentioned by St. Cyril,[6] in which he had tried to calm the minds of the Egyptian monks amongst whom some Nestorian homilies had stirred up considerable unrest.[7] To justify his action, St. Cyril wrote to Nestorius of whose bitter comment he had heard from travellers and complained about the spreading of leaflets and commentaries which he suspected as Nestorian propaganda.[8] This letter was also added to Posidonius' dossier.

Urged by the presbyter Lampon, Nestorius sent a brief answer.[9] When Cyril became aware of slanderous stories and erroneous reports spread in Constantinople, he laid down his doctrine in his second and most widely acclaimed letter to Nestorius[10] which was likewise inserted in the dossier. St. Leo I (440-461) explicitly confirms the fact that this letter was deposited in he *scrinia* of the Apostolic See.[11]

---

[1] *Ep.* XI; PG 77, 79B or PL 50, 447B.

[2] PG 77, 86C or PL 50, 453C.

[3] Celestine, *Ep.* VI and VII; PL 50, 438B and 442A. *Cf.* Cyril, *Ep.* XVI to Juvenal; PG 77, 105CD. *Ep.* XIII to John of Antioch; PG 77, 95AB. *Collectio Palatina;* PL 48, 173A and 178B or E. Schwartz, *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum* 1, 5, 1 (Berlin, 1922 ff.), p. 65. For all references to the edition of E. Schwartz the abbreviation *ACO* will be used. The dossier of Nestorius was used by Cassian as is shown by E. Amann, 'L'affaire Nestorius vue de Rome', *Rev. des sc. rel.* 23 (1949), 231.

[4] *Ep.* XIII, 2; PL 50, 471B. *Cf.* F. Blatt, 'Remarques sur l'histoire des traductions latines', *Classica et Mediaevalia* I (1938), 222.

[5] *Ep.* VIII, 9; PL 50, 453B or PG 77, 86B.

[6] *Ep.* VIII, 4; PL 50, 449C.

[7] *Ep.* I; PG 77, 10A. *Cf.* E. Amann, *art. cit.*, 25.

[8] *Ep.* II; PG 77, 39C.

[9] *Ep.* III; PG 77, 43A.

[10] *Ep.* IV; PG 77, 43C. *Cf. Collectio Quesnelliana*, c. 66; PL 56, 741A or *ACO* 1, 5, 2, p. 337.

There is much less certainty regarding the contents of Cyril's *tomos quibus capitula quaedam excerpta continentur.*[12] Besides Nestorian documents, they must have contained a compilation of texts culled from the Fathers and most probably included (extracts from) his own *Scholia de incarnatione* traces of which are found in Leo's *florilegium.*[13] Since St. Cyril's writings to the Emperor and his family, also composed at the beginning of the Nestorian controversy, remained unknown in the West for many centuries, it can be presumed that they did not form part of the dossier. However, under the pontificate of Pope Sixtus III (432-440), St. Cyril increased it by sending his correspondence "with the Orientals" to Rome.[14]

When Posidonius returned with letters of instruction from Pope Celestine, St. Cyril convoked a Council which approved a third letter to Nestorius including the 12 anathematisms which were to cause such bitter controversy in the East, but probably did not become known in Rome until the beginning of the sixth century.[15]

In the following year (431), St. Cyril composed his *Explicatio* or *Interpretatio XII capitum* to clarify the meaning of each anathematism.[16] For the same purpose he wrote an *Apologeticus* "against the Orientals"[17] in whose name Andrew of Samosata had attacked the 12 *capitula* and an *Apologeticus* "against Theodoret".[18] Many centuries passed, as we shall see, before these important commentaries on the anathematisms began to exert an actual influence on Latin theologians.

To St. Leo I the Synodal Letter with its 12 anathematisms was apparently unknown, though he seems to have been aware of the accusations of monophysism which it had provoked.[19] In his high regard for St. Cyril, he cherished the second letter to Nestorius as a classical expression of the true faith. Writing to the Emperor Leo on August 17, 458, he attached to the decretal his own collection of *testimonia excerpta de libris catholicorum Patrum* including passages from Cyril's *Scholia* and a long extract from the second letter to Nestorius which St. Leo wanted to make known to the Church Universal.[20] On May 5, 450, he had already added a similar *florilegium* to a decretal addressed to Ravenius of Arles "so that it may become known to all the brethren".[21] In the *Chroncile* of Idazius it is noted of the same year that the *Tomus* of St. Leo was brought from Gaul to Spain *cum scriptis Cyrilli episcopi Alexandrini ad Nestorium,*[22] and it is safe to assume that the second letter to Nestorius was the first Cyrillan writing ever to reach Gaul and Spain. At a later date it was duly incorporated in the *Hispana* under the "Council of Ephesus" as *alia ad eundem Nestorium decretalis epistola*[23] following the Synodal Letter.

---

[11] Leo I, *Ep.* LXIX to Theodosius; PL 54, 891A.

[12] Cyril is also vague in *Ep.* XIII to John of Antioch; PG 77, 95B. Entirely without foundation is the statement of E. Casper, *Geschichte des Papsttums* (Tubingen, 1930), p. 395 that Cyril sent his *Contra blasphemias Nestorii.* L. de Tillemont, *Mémoires* XIV (Paris 1709), p. 345, speaks more accurately of *des tomes divisez en divers chapitres qui contenoient les sentimens des Peres sur l'Incarnation.* He does not mention the *Scholia,* however.

[13] Compare Leo's *florilegium,* ed. C. Silva-Tarouca, *S. Leonis Magni Tomus* (Rome, 1932), p. 40-41 with Cyril's *Scholia,* c. 4 and c. 13, in the *Collectio Palatina;* PL 48, 1008D and 1016D or *ACO,* I 5, 1, pp. 186 and 193. See P. Courcelle, *Les lettres Grecques en Occident* (Paris, 1943), p. 135.

[14] Rusticus, *Contra Acephalos;* PL 67, 1070C. *Cf.* Sixtus, *Ep.* V; PL 50, 602C and 607A.

[15] *Ep.* XVII; PG 77, 106C. *Cf.* H. du Manoir de Juaye, *Dogme et Spiritualité chez Saint Cyrille d'Alexandrie* (Paris, 1944), p. 491.

[16] PG 76, 293 ff. or Mansi V, 1-20. See O. Bardenhewer, *Gesch. der altk. Lit.* IV (Freiburg i. B., 1924), p. 51.

[17] PG 76, 315 ff.

[18] PG 76, 385 ff. An ancient Latin version of both works is found in the *Collectio Palatina;* PL 48, 933 ff. or *ACO* I, 5, 1, p. 116 ff.

[19] See P. Galtier, 'Les anathématismes de Saint Cyrille et le Concile de Chalcédoine', *Rech. de sc. rel.* 23 (1933), 52 and H. du Manoir, *op. cit.,* p. 515.

[20] *Ep.* CLXV, 11; PL 54, 1186A.

[21] *Ep.* LXVII; PL 54, 887A.

[22] MGH, *AA* XI, 25; see also C. Silva-Tarouca, 'Nuovi studi sulle antiche lettere dei Papi', *Gregorianum* 12 (1931), 396. St. Leo adopted a similar policy in his correspondence with the East. Cf. Ep. LXX; 71, 88, 3; PL 54, 893B; 896A; 928B.

A Latin translation of the Acts of the Councils of Ephesus (431) and Chalcedon (451) would have brought a considerable increase in St. Cyril's Latin dossier,[24] but Rome lacked the scholars for such an undertaking. It is very doubtful whether St. Leo succeeded in his request when he asked the Greek bishop, Julian of Cos,[25] to make a Latin version of the Acts of Chalcedon, as we do not find traces of the so-called Vulgate version until 546, when it was first used by Facundus of Hermiane in his *Defence of the Three Chapters*.[26] Facundus is also the first author to use the Vulgate version of the Acts of Ephesus as preserved in the collections of Tours, Verona and Salzburg.[27]

To Arnobius Junior, an African refugee in Rome, goes the honour of first employing a work of St. Cyril in the non-papal ecclesiastical literature of the West. During the pontificate of Leo I, he defended Cyril against the accusation of monophysism in a fictitious dialogue called *Conflictus cum Serapione Aegyptio*, composed in Rome after 454.[28] In the course of this dialogue, reference is made to Cyril's letter "to the monks" which, as Arnobius remarks, had been sent to Pope Celestine and approved by the Roman Council.[29] Not satisfied with references only, Serapion demands to be shown direct evidence. Arnobius produces a *codex epistolarum Cyrilli* and begins to read.[30] After a brief interruption, "Cyril's writings concerning Athanasius" are read and finally the judges decide that the Fathers, including St. Cyril, did not hold Monophysite doctrines.[31] But Serapion insists on hearing an *integrum opusculum Cyrilli*[32] on the question and Arnobius obliges, although there is "an infinite number of volumes" that show St. Cyril's teaching.

The dialogue which was little known during the Middle Ages,[33] reveals a distinct interest in the orthodoxy of St. Cyril and points to the existence of Latin versions that may be attributable to Arnobius. The place to find the Greek originals was the archives of Alexandria to which Arnobius has the judges refer in connection with the works of Athanasius.[34] Yet there is no reason to believe that an "infinite number" of Cyrillan volumes was actually available in Latin for, despite the great esteem reflected in Leo's letters, the approval of Councils and the early recognition of Latin authors,[35] Western Catholicism did very little to render his works into Latin.

When Vigilius of Thapsus (fl.484) composed his *Contra Eutychen*, he relied mainly on Leo's *Tomus* and his *florilegium* to defend the Council of Chalcedon. His texts from Cyril's *Scholia*,[36] his second letter to Nestorius,[37] and the passages from Greek and Latin Fathers are directly copied from St. Leo.[38] More remarkable is the fact that he quotes St. Cyril's fourth and eleventh anathematisms,[39] still unknown in Rome at his time, which point to a (lost) African translation of Cyril's Synodal Letter, probably identical with a version later referred to by Liberatus.[40]

---

[23] PL 84, 159A. Cf. *Quesnelliana*, c. 66; PL 56, 742A.

[24] The reader may consult the lists in Fr. Maassen, *Geschichte der Quellen und der Literatur des canonischen Rechts* I (Gratz 1870), pp. 350 and 358-361.

[25] *Ep.* CXIII, 4; PL 54, 1028A. See Fr. Maassen, *op. cit.*, p. 140.

[26] Fr. Maassen, *op. cit.*, p. 139.

[27] Compare *Pro defensione Trium Capitulorum* I, 1; PL 67, 551C with Mansi V, 671A. The collections are described by Fr. Maassen, *op. cit.*, p. 721. See also E. Amann, *art. cit.*, 17-23.

[28] G. Morin, *Etudes, Textes, Découvertes* (Maredsous, 1913), p. 341.

[29] *Conflictus* II, 13; PL 53, 289A. See also PL 50, 457B.

[30] *Conflictus* II, 14; PL 53, 290C. The translation does not agree with any known version. Arnobius also used a Latin version of three Nestorian homilies, probably derived from the Roman archives. See E. Amann, *art. cit.*, *Rev. des sc. rel.*, 24 (1950), 29.

[31] *Conflictus* II, 14: PL 53, 291C-294B.

[32] *Conflictus* II, 16; PL 53, 294C. The *opusculum*, later called *liber* or *libellus*, was Cyril's Paschal Homily XVII the text of which is omitted in the editions of Arnobius. It is found in PG 77, 789 and was later published by J. Scharnagl (Vienna, 1909).

[33] A. Schanz, *Geschichte der römischen Litteratur* IV, 2 (Munich, 1920), p. 535.

[34] *Conflictus* II, 15; PL 53, 291B.

[35] Cassian, who wrote against Nestorius before August 430, does not yet mention St. Cyril but, writing in 433-434, Prosper of Aquitaine calls him *gloriossissimus fide catholicae defensor* in his *Liber contra collatorem*, c. 21, 2; PL 51, 271C. In 434, Vincent of Lerins reviewed the patristic *testimonia* compiled under St. Cyril by the Council of Ephesus: *Commonitorium* II, 30; PL 50, 680A.

[36] *Contra Eutychen* V, 21; PL 62, 151A compared with C. Silva-Tarouca, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

At the beginning of the sixth century, Dionysius Exiguus professes to have translated this letter to prove "the Apostolic faith—*ignorata Latinis hactenus*—of such a great man."[41] He clearly implies that it was not available in Latin. The veracity of this implication has been severely criticized by F. Maassen who maintained that Dionysius only revised the so-called Mercator version.[42] If an earlier version did actually exist, it was obviously not known in Rome and more recent historical research shows that the *Collectio Palatina*, once considered a work of Marius Mercator in its entirety, contains only a revision of the Dionysius translation. Though the revision of the letter itself is slight, the changes are quite considerable in the *capitula*.[43] These changes indicate an early trend, confirmed by the subsequent history of Cyril's Synodal Letter, towards a more satisfactory version of the anathematisms which the Latins attempted again and again. The extant versions of the letter itself can be reduced to two: the translation of Dionysius and the ancient Vulgate version. The latter is first found in the Acts of the Council of Ephesus (431)[44] and appears later in the Latin Acts of the Council of Constantinople (553).[45] Less honoured by Councils, yet far more widely read and quoted, was the revised edition of the Dionysius version found in the *Collectio Palatina* as we possess it to-day. It reached Spain through a collection similar to the *Palatina* and was inserted in the *Hispana* as a letter of Cyril "or the Synod of Ephesus."[46] From there it made its way into some manuscripts of the *Dionysio-Hadriana*[47] and the *Epitome Hadriani*[48] and even into the collection of Dionysius to which it did not originally belong.[49] In the middle of the ninth century it entered the *Ps-Isidorian Decretals*.[50]

Before we proceed in our study of the gradual increase of Cyril's Latin dossier *in the West*, the question could be raised whether the translations made in Alexandria and sent to Rome by St. Cyril have actually survived. The letter circulated by St. Leo was not translated in Rome, for St. Leo states explicitly that he found it in the papal *scrinia*. There is no reason to doubt that the other Cyrillan documents were likewise deposited there. Unable to read Greek or to find a competent translator in Rome, but very anxious to obtain an *absolutissima interpretatio* of the most urgently needed Acts of Chalcedon (451), St. Leo was compelled to turn to Julian, bishop of Cos, to whom he wrote on March 11, 453 with uncertain results. To cover this rather uneasy situation, H. du Manoir[51] makes the incredible statement: *Ainsi étudiera-t-il* (*i.e.* St. Leo) *Cyrille*

---

[37] *Contra Eutychen*, V 22 and V, 25; PL 62, 152A and 154A compared with C. Silva-Tarouca, *op. cit.*, pp. 42-43.

[38] *Contra Eutychen* V, 22-23; PL 62, 151B-153A compared with Silva-Tarouca, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

[39] *Contra Eutychen* V, 19; PL 62, 149AB.

[40] *Breviarium*, c. 4; PL 68, 976A.

[41] PL 67, 11A or *ACO* I, 5, 2, p. 235.

[42] Fr. Maassen, *op. cit.*, p. 132. Without considering the studies of E. Schwartz which prove that the "Mercator version" does not belong to the original *Collectio Palatina*, Maassen's opinion is still followed by P. Courcelle, *op. cit.*, p. 314 on the authority of L. Duchesne. H. du Manoir, *op. cit.*, p. 522 copied Courcelle. Cf. *ACO* I, 5, 1, p. 182 and O. Bardenhewer, *Gesch. der altk. Lit.* V (Freiburg i. B., 1932), p. 226.

[43] *ACO* I, 5, 1, p. 182; PL 48, 840A.

[44] See the collection of Verona in *ACO* I, 2, p. 45 and the collection of Casino in *ACO* I, 3, p. 26.

[45] Mansi IX, 321C. This version of the anathematisms occurs in the Acts of the Synod of Rome in 649 (Mansi X, 1039D) and at an earlier date in the Spanish *Epitome*. There was, as previously suggested, a third version of which the *incipit* is cited by Liberatus, *Breviarium*, c. 4; PL 68, 976A or Mansi IX, 664C.

[46] *Hispana*, c. 10; PL 84, 151A

[47] *ACO* I, 5, 1, p. 182. See Fr. Maassen, *op. cit.*, pp. 131 and 452. The "augmented *Hadriana*" contained the anathematisms with the respective Nestorian counter-anathematisms as found in *Ms* Vat. *Lat.* 1342 and published in Mansi V, 703.

[48] Fr. Maassen, *op. cit.*, p. 466.

[49] *Ms* Paris, B. N. *Lat.* 3837.

[50] Ed. P. Hinschius, (Leipzig 1865), p. 278.

[51] *Op. cit.*, p. 521.

d'Alexandrie d'après la traduction de Mercator et d'après la Collectio Quesnelliana.

To begin with, St. Leo used neither the Mercator translation nor the Vulgate version of St. Cyril's second letter to Nestorius but the translation *preserved* in the *Collectio Quesnelliana.*[52] Oblivious of his previous observation that the *Collectio Palatina* was compiled in the East and dates from the time of the Emperor Justinian (527-565), du Manoir asserts that Mercator translated in the service of the Holy See.[53] However, none of the parts of the *Palatina* which we owe to Mercator appear in the writings of St. Leo.[54] The *Quesnelliana*, on the other hand, originated in Gaul some 40 years after St. Leo's death.[55]

Not only for the Leonine epistolary, but also for the history of St. Cyril's Latin dossier, the *Quesnelliana* collection is of particular importance. As might be expected, it does not yet contain the Synodal Letter, but the compiler inserted St. Cyril's *complete* second letter to Nestorius, although the Leonine extract of the same letter occurs twice again in the same collection.[56] Since the arrangement of the collection is admittedly casual, since the collector left together what he found together, it is of great significance to note that Athanasius' letter to Epictetus is followed in the collection by Cyril's letter to John of Antioch.[57] This Cyrillan "peace-letter" which caused such rejoicing in Rome undoubtedly belongs to Cyril's correspondence "with the Orientals", sent to Sixtus III. It must have been accompanied by the Athanasian letter, for St. Cyril was quite anxious to spread a correct text of this highly controversial document in which some parts had been corrupted,[58] as St. Cyril points out in his letter to John.[59] No wonder, therefore, that the passage from the Athanasian letter in Leo's *florilegium* agrees with the version preserved in the *Quesnelliana.*[60] This strengthens the assumption that at least three Alexandrian translations have survived. I am also inclined to think that Arnobius made use of the original Alexandrian dossier when he copied Cyril's letter "to the monks" from a *codex epistolarum Cyrilli.*[61]

Of equal interest is the question concerning the origin of the Latin version of Cyril's *Scholia de incarnatione*, composed in 429, of which the Greek original is almost completely lost. The fact that St. Leo used the version *preserved* in the *Collectio Palatina*[62] does not prove that he found it in that collection. E. Schwartz has shown in fact that the *Scholia* are a later addition to the original compilation.[63] The addition was probably made in the East, for John Maxentius copied a passage from the same version in his *Libellus fidei* presented, in 519, to the delegates of Pope Hormisdas in Constantinople,[64] unless we assume that he used the Leonine *florilegium* containing the same text with slight alterations. At any rate, some thirty years later Facundus of Hermiane made use of the same version in

---

[52] *Quesnelliana*, c. 66; PL 56, 741A or *ACO* I, 5, 2, p. 337. The Vulgate version is found in Mansi V, 494B, its revision in Mansi VII, 686 or *ACO* I, 2, p. 37, the Mercator translation in PL 48, 804C or *ACO* I, 5, 1, p. 52.

[53] *Op. cit.*, pp. 521 and 463. See E. Amann, *Art. cit.*, *Rev. des sc. rel.* 23 (1949), 7.

[54] See *ACO* I, 5, 1, pp. 5-70.

[55] Cf. Fr. Maassen, *op. cit.*, p. 490.

[56] *Quesnelliana*, c. 66, 41, and 67; PL 56, 741A, 593C and743A.

[57] *Quesnelliana*, c. 52; PL 56, 664C or *ACO* I, 5, 2, p. 321.

[58] See H. du Manoir,*op. cit.*, p. 480. Unfortunately, I could not locate J. Lebon, 'Altération doctrinale de la lettre à Epictète de S. Athanase' published, according to du Manoir, in *RHE*, 19 (1923), 481 and 20 (1924), 5 but not actually found there.

[59] *Quesnelliana*, c. 53, 5; PL 56, 677D.

[60] Compare PL 56, 666A with the edition of Leo's *Florilegium* by Silva-Tarouca, p. 36. The Alexandrian translator was by no means a first rate Latinist which explains why St. Leo transposed some of the words. Compare other Latin versions of the same text as found in the *Florilegium* of Ephesus (Mansi V, 660A and 545A), in Cyril's *Apologeticus against the Orientals* (PL 48, 938B) and the *Collectio Casinensis* (*ACO* I, 3, pp. 68 and 122).

[61] Compare PL 53, 290C with the Vulgate version in Mansi V, 477A. The Paschal Homily XVII, "read" by Arnobius, may have reached Rome in the same way.

[62] Leo's *Florilegium*, *ed.* Silva-Tarouca, pp. 40-41 compared with *Scholia*, cc. 4 and 13 in PL 48, 1008A and 1017A or *ACO* I, 5, 1, pp. 186 and 194.

[63] *ACO* I, 5, 1, p. XIII.

[64] PG 86, 83D compared with *Scholia*, c. 4; PL 48, 1008D or *ACO* I, 5, 1, p. 186.

Constantinople.[65] Hence, it is reasonable to assume that the *Scholia* reached the East from the West and that St. Leo found them in their original place, the papal archives, together with the other Alexandrian translations.[66]

Even St. Cyril's *capitula excerpta* seem to have survived in the third christological *Tractate* of Pope Gelasius I (492-496) whose *florilegium* has caused considerable speculation.[67] In view of its obviously Greek origin, L. Saltet believed that it depended on a lost Greek original which was entirely incorporated in Theodoret's *Eranistes*, composed in 447-448, and reached Rome *on ne saurait dire exactement à quelle occasion.*[68] The more probable truth of the matter is that both used the Cyrillan *florilegium* sent to Rome and Antioch. There are various reasons to corroborate the thesis that Gelasius copied the Alexandrian version of Cyril's *excerpta*. The fact that Gelasius, a native of Africa and admirer of St. Augustine, omitted St. Augustine appears as incongruous as his omission of St. Cyril, unless we suppose that he just copied Cyril's own *florilegium*. Thiel's suggestion[69] that the Pope omitted the Latin Fathers to avoid hurting the sensibilities of the Greeks conflicts with the quotations from Ambrose and Damasus. Cyprian and Ambrose, we may add, are also the only Latin representatives in the *florilegium* of Ephesus under St. Cyril,[70] for the texts attributed to Popes Julius and Felix by the same Council are not authentic.[71] Thiel[72] also noticed that the Ambrosian texts are retranslations from the Greek. But both Thiel and Saltet failed to note that, for instance, the Gelasian passages from Athanasius' letter to Epictetus point to the version found in the *Quesnelliana* and to the same translator whose Latinity left room for improvement. In fact, quite aware of his shortcomings, he himself improved his translation when, at a later date, he rendered the whole letter.[73] If Thiel or Saltet had consulted the *Quesnelliana*, they would have discovered that the Alexandrian translator had already removed the obscurity which prompted Thiel to give his own rendering *clarius ex graeco*, as he puts it.[74] St. Cyril's omission of St. Augustine (d.430) will not surprise in a *florilegium* compiled in the early part of 430, at the latest, nor will the otherwise inexplicable omission of St. Cyril, if we accept the proposition that St. Cyril himself compiled it and sent it to Rome with the Latin translation.[75]

II

To be on more solid historical ground, we will now turn to Pope Hormisdas (514-523) under whose pontificate a delegation of Scythian monks appeared in Rome, in 519, to obtain an official approval of their theopaschite views.[1] It was apparently for them that Dionysius Exiguus translated Cyril's Synodal Letter and the two rather lengthy letters to Succensus.[2] However, before going to Rome, John Maxentius, the leader of the delegation, had already presented a profession of faith to the Papal Delegate in Constantinople in which he cited not only St. Augustine, but also St. Cyril's first and twelfth anathematisms.[3] Well versed in both Greek and Latin, he probably made the translation himself. Hormisdas avoided a decision,[4] but when in the month of March 534, Pope John II (533-535) outlined the faith of Rome in his decretal "to the Senators", he also quoted Cyril's twelfth *capitulum* and thus implicitly recognized St. Cyril's controversial Synodal Letter.[5]

---

[65] In his *Pro defensione Trium Capitulorum* VI, 3 and XI, 7; PL 67, 667A and 816A, he offers texts from *Scholia*, cc. 6, 8 and 11; PL 48, 1010B, 1011C, 1013AC or *ACO* I, 5, 1, p. 187 ff.

[66] At a later date, they appear in Switzerland, as we are told by the chronicler Ratpert (877-883), *De Origine;* MGH, *SS* II, 72. The ninth century *Ms* St. Gall, *Lat.* 152 was published by Ph. E. Pusey at Oxford in 1875. Another manuscript, now lost, was used by R. Winter, *Synodicae Constitutiones*, (Basel 1542).

[67] *Tractatus de duabus naturis in Christo* III, 17-42; *ed.* A. Thiel, *Epistolae Rom. Pontificum* I (Braunsberg, 1878), pp. 544-557. *Cf. Dict de théol. cath.* III, 2, p. 2526. It may be noted here that the so-called *Decretum Gelasianum* IV, 2, ed. E. von Dobschuetz, Texte und Unters. 38 (1912), 8, approves the *opuscula beati Cyrilli* but the statement is missing in many manuscripts. See *op. cit.*, p. 266.

[68] 'Les sources de l'*Eranistes* de Theodoret', *RHE* 6 (1905), 752.

[69] *Op. cit.*, p. 75.

[70] Mansi V, 691D. E. Amann, *art. cit.*, p. 212, suggests that the Ephesian *florilegium* may be identical with the *excerpta* sent to Rome.

[71] See H. du Manoir, *op. cit.*, p. 465.

[72] *Op. cit.*, pp. 77 and 552.

[73] Compare the Gelasian *florilegium* in Thiel, *op. cit.*, pp. 547 and 552 with the *Quesnelliana*, c. 52, 7 and 52, 5; PL 56, 669B and 667B.

[74] *Op. cit.*, p. 552.

[75] Th. Schermann, *Die Geschichte der dogmatischen Florilegien*, Texte und Unters. 28 (1905), p. 18, admits the Greek origin of the Gelasian *florilegium*. H. du Manoir, *op. cit.*, p. 469, follows L. Saltet.

[1] See A. Thiel, *op. cit.*, p. 871 ff. *DTC* XIV, 1, p. 1746 ff.

Cassiodorus was far sighted enough to realize that translations of Greek works were indispensable for a better understanding of Eastern ways of thought. For that reason he expresses such high regard for Dionysius Exiguus whose versions he uses on several occasions to show the teaching of *Pater Cyrillus*.[6] Yet, to make more of St. Cyril's works available for Latin readers, Cassiodorus seems to have lacked the Greek originals, for in his *Institutiones*[7] he speaks of St. Cyril only as one of the Greek Fathers who commented on the whole Bible and reveals a strange lack of interest by saying: *Sed nos potius latinos scriptores, Domino adiuvante, sectamur*.[8] He induced Epiphanius to translate the *codex encyclius* or *encyclia*, "a witness of the Council of Chalcedon",[9] which contained letters from the "whole world" confirming the Council of Chalcedon, the Acts of which he considered "readily available".[10]

During Cassiodorus' life time, Justinian shocked the West by an edict against the Three Chapters involving Theodore of Mopsuestia (d. 428), Theodoret of Cyrus (d. *ca.* 460) and Ibas of Edessa (d. 457). Both Theodoret and Ibas had opposed St. Cyril and the Council of Ephesus. Since the Council of Chalcedon (451) had not condemned Theodore nor refused reconciliation to Theodoret and Ibas after they had renounced their Nestorianism, the authority of the Council and, more remotely, the reputation of St. Cyril seemed at stake. Summoned to Constantinople, Pope Vigilius (540-555) accepted the imperial policy in his *Judicatum* of April 11, 548. Despite vigorous protests from Africa and Italy, the solemn *anathema* was pronounced in Constantinople on May 5, 553,[11] but on May 14 Vigilius joined the Western opposition in his famous *Constitutum* which interests us here as the first explicit papal recognition of Cyril's[12] *capitula*.

---

[2] Cyril, *Ep.* XLV-XLVI; PG 77, 227 ff. Cf. M. Schanz, *op. cit.*, p. 590.

[3] *Libellus fidei;* PG 86, 83D and 84CD. The first anathematism agrees with the *translatio prisca* in Mansi V, 7030A, while the second differs from all known versions.

[4] *Ep.* CXXXVII, *ed.* Thiel, p. 959 ff.

[5] *Ep. ad Senatores;* PL 66, 22C. The final sentence of his version: *secundum quod vita et vivificans est et Deus* reads *secundum quod vita est et vivificator ut Deus* in both the *Collectio Palatina* (PL 48, 841B or *ACO* I, 5, 1; p. 183) and the Dionysius translation (PL 67, 18D). See also *Ep.* XVI, 4; PL 65, 445D in the epistolary of Fulgentius. Maxentius translated: *secundum quod est vita et vivificat nos tamquam Deus* (PG 86, 84D). Closest to the Pope's version is the (later) text of the *Collectio Casinensis* in Mansi V, 750D, with the reading: *secundum quod vita est et vivificans ut Deus*. Fulgentius of Ruspa (d. 532) who knew Greek and also spoke it (PL 65, 119B) does not refer to St. Cyril in dealing with the same problem. E. Amann's suggestion (*DTC* XIV, i; 1752) that *Ep.* XVI in the epistolary of Fulgentius was not written by John Maxentius is well supported by the version of the third and twelfth anathematisms (PL 65, 444C and 445D). The version of the former seems influenced by *Ms* Vat. *Lat.* 1342 (Mansi V, 703C), while the latter is close to the version of Dionysius and the *Collectio Palatina*. The text from Cyril's second letter to Succensus (PL 65, 443D) differs from the Vulgate version in Mansi V, 1006AB.

[6] *Comm. in Ps.* XXI, 1; PL 70, 153C compared with the Synodal Letter in PL 67, 14D. Compare *Comm. in Ps.* XVI, 17; PL 70, 122D with Cyril's first letter to Succensus in PG 77, 231CD or Mansi V, 1001B. Misled by the wrong references in Migne, Courcelle, *op. cit.*, p. 339, speaks of *références très vagues*. The agreement is literal, however.

[7] *Institutiones* I, 4, *ed.* R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford, 1937), p. 5.

[8] *Op. cit.*, p. 5.

[9] *Op. cit.*, p. 36. Cf. Fr. Maassen, *op. cit.*, p.751.

[10] *Institutiones* I, 23, 4, *ed.* Mynors, p. 64.

[11] Mansi IX, 383 ff.

[12] *Collectio Avellana, Ep.* LXXXIII; *CSEL* 35, 310. Cf. Justinian's *Decretum;* PL 69, 34C and the references in Mansi XI, 876B. Vigilius (*CSEL* 35, 287) also quotes passages from a letter of St. Cyril to John of Antioch. The same letter was used by Facundus, *Pro defensione* III, 6 and VIII, 5;

However, on December 8, 553, Vigilius ratified the conciliar decision and on February 23, 555, issued another *Constitutum*[13] which praises St. Cyril in no uncertain terms. To some extent, such words of praise were very timely as we shall see.

Being *graecae linguae ignarus*,[14] Vigilius had to rely on the Latin versions of conciliar Acts, a precarious position in which too many Latins found themselves, when they were faced with the fierce controversies in the East.

Justinian's proud opponent, Facundus of Hermiane (Africa), was no exception. Following the lead given by Ferrandus of Carthage who made no reference to Cyril,[15] he defended the Three Chapters in a very thorough work: *Pro defensione trium capitulorum*, composed in Constantinople and completed before the papal decision of April 11, 548. This *haereticorum penetrabili subtilitate destructor*[16] does not seem to have been particularly fond of St. Cyril whom he refuses to classify as one of the truly great lights of the Church.[17] But he makes skilful use of Cyril's writings mainly to prove that a condemnation of the Three Chapters would logically implicate the orthodoxy of St. Cyril. To please the Emperor, he approves first of Justinian's teaching that "one of the Holy Trinity" was crucified, as taught by Proclus,[18] and of his clear doctrine on the two natures in Christ, as exposed by St. Cyril in his letter to John of Antioch.[19] He insists that if, as alleged, St. Cyril manifested errors in dealing with Diodore and Theodore, he should rightly be called heretical.[20] At the same time, he stresses Cyril's open disapproval of Theodore's teaching and his refusal to anathematize the dead person of Theodore.[21] Let us admit, he observes, that Cyril found fault with Theodore, but did Cyril's "bitter words" against Atticus not offend Christian charity?[22] Why then follow him in opposing Theodore?[23] Furthermore, the Acts of Chalcedon reveal that Ibas considered Cyril an Apollinarist and his 12 *capitula* as contrary to the true faith.[24] Before condemning Ibas, we ought to realize that, in refuting Nestorius, Cyril himself made statements that are open to misinterpretation[25] and very similar to those made by Theodore.[26] John of Antioch had already noted such similarities in the works of Athanasius, Basil, the two Gregories, Amphilochius and Theophilus.[27] Facundus seems to agree that Cyril's *Explicatio* was in fact a *rectractatio* of his anathematisms "to correct his previous error" and restore the peace with the opposition of Antioch.[28] But he maintains

---

PL 67, 606B and 728BC and by Pelagius Diaconus, *In defensione Trium Capitulorum*, ed. R. Devreesse (Vatican City, 1932), pp. 5 and 26.

[13] See Mansi IX, 414 ff. and 457 ff.

[14] *Ep.* LXXXIII: *CSEL* 35, 297.

[15] *Ep.* VI; PL 67, 921D.

[16] Cassiodorus, *Comm. in Ps.* CXXXVIII; PL 70, 994A.

[17] *Pro defensione Trium Capitulorum* VI, 5; PL 67, 679C.

[18] *Op. cit.* I, 1; PL 67, 530AB. Cf. M. Richard, 'Proclus de Constantinople et le théopaschism', *RHE* 38 (1942), 303.

[19] *Op. cit.*, I, 5; PL 67, 551C copied from the Vulgate version published in Mansi V, 302BC.

[20] *Op. cit.*, III, 6; PL 67, 605C. The controversial texts are taken from Cyril's work against Diodore of Tarsus and Theodore, though Facundus expresses doubts concerning its authenticity. *Op. cit.*, III, 3 and 6; PL 67, 589B and 603A. His doubts were shared by Liberatus, *Breviarium*, c. 10; PL 68, 991A.

[21] *Pro defensione* III, 6; PL 67, 605C and 606B.

[22] *Op. cit.*, IV, i; PL 67, 609D. St. Cyril had reproached Atticus for inserting the name of St. John Chrysostom in the liturgy. *Ep.* LXXVII; PG 77, 351E.

[23] *Pro defensione* IV, 2; PL 67, 610D.

[24] *Op. cit.*, VI, 3; PL 67, 662D, 663D, 665D. Mansi VI, 242C. In a similar manner, Facundus cites Gennadius of Constantinople condemning the first anathematism. *Op. cit.*, II, 4; PL 67, 572A. The passage was later quoted by Pelagius, *In defensione Trium Capitulorum* IV, *ed.* R. Devreesse, p. 33-34. Cf. F. Diekamp, *Analecta Patristica* (Rome, 1938), p. 75.

[25] *Pro defensione* VI, 3; PL 67, 667A. He cites *Scholia*, c. 6; PL 48, 101B.

[26] *Op. cit.*, XI, 7; PL 67, 816A. His texts are derived from *Scholia*, cc. 8 and 11 (PL 48, 1011BC and 1013AC), Cyril's letter to Acacius (Mansi V, 682B) and his commentaries on Isaias, Matthew, John and Hebrews.

[27] *Pro defensione* VIII, 4 and XI, 7; PL 67, 719AB and 823A. Mansi V, 381AB.

[28] *Op. cit.*, VI, 5; PL 67, 675B. See F. Diekamp, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

that in judging the Fathers we should consider their intention rather than their terminology.[29]

If we investigate Facundus' literary sources, it should be noted that he speaks of himself as *ego indoctus et latinae linguae*.[30] This obvious excess of Christian humility implies that he thought very little of his knowledge of Greek.[31] To all appearances, he depended exclusively on Latin versions not only of the conciliar Acts,[32] but also of the many works of Greek Fathers from which he quotes often and at considerable length. With regard to St. Cyril, we should take note of the first traces of Latin versions of his commentaries on the Scriptures, otherwise extremely rare in the West up to the time of St. Thomas.

His fellow countryman, Liberatus of Carthage, likewise collected most of his source material in the East when he prepared his *Breviarium* against the Three Chapters, completed before 566.[33] Among his sources, he notes certain *gesta synodalia* which prove to have been the Acts of Ephesus in the Vulgate version.[34] In addition, he cites documents found in the *Collectio Palatina*[35] and in the *Quesnelliana*.[36] He even seems to have consulted the *Synodicum* of Rusticus when he visited Constantinople.[37]

To the author of the *Synodicum* Liberatus was united in the same cause, namely the opposition to a condemnation of the Three Chapters. A nephew, once a deacon and companion, of Pope Vigilius, Rusticus travelled all over the East from Constantinople to Egypt to defend the faith of Chalcedon against the increasing waves of monophysism.[38] His fragmentary dialogue, *Contra Acephalos*, introduces a heretic claiming the authority of St. Cyril for his monophysite doctrine, which Rusticus opposes by citing the symbol of faith from Cyril's letter to John of Antioch.[39] Very familiar with Greek, Rusticus translated directly from Greek sources,[40] since they were more easily available than the Latin documents.[41] A casual remark shows that he knew what he calls Cyril's *Expositio capitulorum prima*,[42] offering texts from the *Apologeticus* against Theodoret.[43] He had also read Cyril's lengthy work *Against the blasphemies of*

---

[29] *Pro defensione* XI, 6; PL 67, 811C.

[30] *Op. cit.*, IX, 7; PL 67, 735B.

[31] In *Pro defensione* IX, 3; PL 67, 754A, Facundus contrasts *incarnatio* with *inhumanatio* "as the Greeks say". Since this term is frequent in the Vulgate version, the remark hardly proves that he knew Greek. P. Courcelle, *op. cit.*, p. 399, seems to differ from this view. Pelagius Diaconus, later Pope Pelagius (556-561), was familiar with the Greek but external circumstances caused him to rely mainly on secondary sources when he wrote his *In Defensione Trium Capitulorum*. He cites passages from Cyril's letters to John of Antioch and the first anathematism. *Op. cit.*, pp. 5, 26, 34, 45.

[32] In citing St. Leo's *Encyclia*, he used the same version in *Pro defensione* II, 5; PL 67, 576D as the bishops of Istria in their letter to Pelagius II who, in turn, corrected it according to the translation made by Epiphanius. Cf. P. Courcelle, *op. cit.*, p. 363.

[33] M. Schanz, *op. cit.*, p. 583; O. Bardenhewer, *op. cit.*, V (1932), p. 328.

[34] Compare, for instance, the text of Cyril's letter to Eulogius in *Breviarium*, c. 9; PL 68, 986AD with Mansi V, 675BC and 676BD or Cyril's letter to Acacius of Melitene; PL 68, 986D-987B with Mansi V, 681C and 683A. The variants are slight.

[35] Compare *Breviarium*, c. 4; PL 68, 975B with *Collectio Palatina* in PL 48, 801B or *ACO* I, 5, 1, p. 49. See also the Vulgate version in Mansi V, 490B or *ACO* I, 2, p. 36.

[36] Cyril's letter to John of Antioch in *Breviarium*, c. 8; PL 68, 984C is quoted with the *incipit* of the *Quesnelliana* version; PL 56, 673A. He probably found it in the Roman archives, for he is known to have visited Rome in 535. Other *incipits* agree with the Vulgate version. For instance, Nestorius' letter to Cyril in *Breviarium*, c. 4; PL 68, 975C compared with Mansi V, 498A, or John's letter to Cyril; PL 68, 975D compared with Mansi V, 523B.

[37] This is particularly noticeable in John's *confessio* as related in *Breviarium*, c. 8; PL 68, 983BD compared with Mansi V, 667E, and the text revised by Rusticus in Mansi V, 783CD.

[38] *Contra Acephalos disputatio;* PL 67, 1170B.

[39] PL 67, 1174AC and 1193AB. Its first part is close to the version found in the *Quesnelliana*, c. 53, 2; PL 56, 674C. The rest differs considerably.

[40] See, for instance, the third, fourth and eighth anathematisms; PL 67, 1192B and 1213C compared with Rusticus' own revision in Mansi V, 749AD, or *ACO* I, 3, p. 33 f.

[41] It was presumably in Alexandria that he found a letter of Sixtus III to Cyril which he seems to have retranslated from the Greek into Latin. Compare Sixtus, *Ep.* V, 4; PL 80, 604A-605A with PL 67, 1170D.

[42] PL 67, 1194C and 1195B.

[43] Cf. Mansi V, 35CD.

Nestorius,[44] where the author points out that some of the Fathers used the word *krasis* i.e. *commixtio* of the hypostatic Union.[45] We need not stress his frequent use of Cyril's second letter to Nestorius of which he made his own translation.[46]

After the death of Justinian on November 14, 563, Rusticus revised the Vulgate version of the Acts of Ephesus and Chalcedon, translated additional documents and published them to defend the Three Chapters. This *Synodicum* or *Collectio Casinensis*[47] is valuable in view of the increased Latin epistolary of St. Cyril, which thus became substantially larger than the extant Greek epistolary.[48] The doctrinal importance of those letters is small, however.

Strange as it may appear, St. Cyril's Latin dossier was still considerably greater in the East than in the West. As previously noted, at the very beginning of the Nestorian controversy, Marius Mercator, an African by birth, had been requested by the monks of a Latin monastery in Thrace with whom he was staying to translate certain Greek works concerning Pelagianism and Nestorianism. Mercator fulfilled their request and, among other works, rendered into Latin an exchange of letters between Cyril and Nestorius and certain *excerpta* from Nestorian writings collected by St. Cyril.[49] As time went on, more material was translated and probably under Justinian, certainly before 550, it was put together and published by a monk of the same monastery. Long considered entirely a work of Marius Mercator, it is now known as *Collectio Palatina*[50] of which the original is lost. Before the end of the century it reached Rome. We have already noted that St. Cyril's Synodal Letter and his *Scholia* are later additions, and it is impossible to decide how many translators contributed to the growth of the compilation. The fact that, in its present form, it offers four different versions of Cyril's *capitula* suggests a great variety of translators. Since the compiler's interest centred on the 12 anathematisms, Cyril's two apologetical works "against the Orientals" and "against Theodoret" were incorporated.

In the same century, likewise in connection with the dispute over the Three Chapters, another translation of works, preserved in the *Collectio Sichardiana*,[51] was made available to Latin readers. Following the example of some Greek authors, the translator, who favoured "St. Theodoret", edited Cyril's *Interpretatio*, his *Apologeticus* against Theodoret together with (parts of) his *Apologeticus* against the Orientals as one single work.[52]

While the *Sichardiana* remained unused for two centuries, the *Collectio Palatina* was put to use not long after it reached the Papal archives. It is Pope Pelagius II (579-590) or rather his deacon and later successor, Gregory I, who provides the first evidence for its transfer to Rome. As Paul the deacon relates,[53]

---

[44] PL 67, 1203C-1204A compared with *Adversus Nestorii blasphemias* I, 3; PG 76, 34BC.

[45] See also Cyril's letter to John of Antioch cited to the same effect; PL 67, 1204C.

[46] PL 67, 1242D-1243D. See other extracts in PL 67, 1188C, 1189B, 1192D, 1197A, 1213C, 1217A, 1218AB and 1223D.

[47] So called after *Ms* Casinens. *Lat.* 2. Its first complete edition is that of *ACO* I, 3-4. A selection of its documents is published in Mansi V, 731 ff. It is also preserved in *Ms* Vat. *Lat.* 1319, written in France and based on the same common source, now lost. The former was copied in Monte Casino in the twelfth century, the latter in the thirteenth. I found no traces of it in the West before the middle of the twelfth century and believe that it was brought from the East during the crusades.

[48] See PG 77, 161 ff. To Rusticus we owe the preservation, in Latin only, of *Epp.* XXXIV, LIX, LX-LXV, LXVIII and LXX.

[49] *ACO* I, 5, 2, pp. 5-70. *Cf.* E. Amann, *art. cit.*, p. 8.

[50] So called after the ninth century *Ms* Vat. Pal. *Lat.* 234. Cf. R. Devreese, 'Les Actes du Concile d'Ephèse', *Rev. des sc. ph. et th.* 18 (1929), 226 f.

[51] First published by J. Sichardus, *Antidotum* (Basel, 1528), without indication of source. According to E. Schwartz, *ACO* I, 5, 2, p. I, the manuscript used by Sichardus was similar to *Ms* Verona, Chapter Library, *Lat.* LIX (57), written about the year 600, and *Ms* Paris, Arsen. *Lat.* 341, written in the thirteenth century. Cf. Fr. Maassen, *op. cit.*, p. 761.

[52] *ACO* I, 5, 2, p. 250 ff.

[53] *Hist. Longob.* III, 20; MGH, SS Rer. Long., 103.

Gregory composed the third decretal sent to Elias of Aquileja to end the schism which had resulted from the condemnation of the Three Chapters. The decretal cites from Cyril's letter to the presbyter Lampon,[54] as found in the Latin version of the conciliar Acts of the fifth General Council (553).[55] From the same collection, the author quotes the next letter, addressed by Cyril to Acacius of Melitene.[56] It is pointed out that Theodoret was condemned in view of his attack on St. Cyril's 12 *capitula*, to prove which the decretal offers a number of pertinent texts copied from the version of Cyril's *Apologeticus* against Theodoret as preserved in the *Collectio Palatina*.[57]

Some thirteen years later, St. Gregory I (590-604) remarked in a decretal to Secundinus that Ibas had criticized the Cyrillan doctrine before St. Cyril had interpreted his 12 *capitula* and that this had occasioned the suspicion of Apollinarism.[58] Although in general the controversy had come to an end, we learn from a letter to Eulogius of Alexandria that Gregory had searched the Acts of Ephesus, and even had ordered "a very old codex of the same Synod" to be brought from Ravenna to Rome[59] to answer Eulogius' enquiries concerning certain doctrines discussed at the Council of Ephesus. Gregory's effort to obtain the "very old codex" from Ravenna, a Byzantine stronghold, corroborates our previous findings that Rome was not the place where Latin versions of Greek works generally originated.

If we turn to Spain, more strongly dominated by Byzantine influences at this time, the knowledge of St. Cyril's works still appears very second-handed. In the Acts of the second Council of Seville (619), we find two brief passages from Cyril's letters to Succensus and one from his *Exposition of Leviticus*,[60] none of which are derived from a direct version of these works. Instead they were gleaned from an ancient, still extant, translation of Justinian's *Confessio verae fidei*.[61] There is little, if any, evidence that St. Isidore of Seville possessed any Cyrillan works,[62] with the possible exception of fragmentary pieces found in conciliar collections or the Leonine *florilegium*. If versions did become known at a later date, their number must have been very restricted, for in the year 800 Felix of Urgel, excusing himself to Charlemagne for his Adoptionist views, stated that certain texts from St. Cyril and other Fathers had not previously come to his attention.[63]

It may be recalled here that the Spanish *Epitome*, compiled from a larger collection in the last quarter of the sixth century, contained Cyril's anathematisms in an ancient version[64] and that, using a different source, the *Hispana* inserted the whole Synodal Letter and an extract from Cyril's second letter to Nestorius, in the version used by St. Leo, as documents of the Synod of Ephesus.[65] If we add to this St. Leo's *florilegium* attached to his decretal to the Emperor Leo[66] and the short passages in the Acts of the Council of Seville, mentioned above, we may have reached the very limits of what the Spain of St. Isidore knew about Cyril's doctrines.

---

[54] Appendix to Gregory's epistolary, *Ep.* III; MGH, Epp. II, 295. Approximate date: 586. Cf. Cyril, *Ep. LXX;* PG 77, 327A or ACO I, 4, p. 228.

[55] Mansi IX, 234BC. The Greek Acts are lost.

[56] Mansi IX, 245B or PG 77, 338D. MGH, Epp. II, 459 f.

[57] MGH, Epp. II, 464 f. compared with Cyril's comment on the first, third, fifth and tenth anathematisms;PL 48, 972C, 978B, 985C, 994B. Only the text concerning the fifth anathematism shows a variant. The author did not use the texts available in the conciliar Acts. Mansi IX,290 f.

[58] Gregory, *Reg.* IX, 147; MGH, Epp. II, 147. Written in 599. Cf. Pelagius in MGH, Epp. II, 461 and Vigilius in Mansi IX, 102BC.

[59] Gregory, *Reg. Epp.* VII, 31; MGH, Epp. I, 450. Date: 597.

[60] PL 84, 605BC.

[61] PL 69, 234BC and 240C. Cf. J. Madoz, 'El florilegio del Concilio II de Sevilla', *Miscell. Isidoriana* (Rome 1936), 206. Justinian's unabbreviated text from Cyril's commentary on *Leviticus* was cited earlier by Johannes Diaconus, later Pope John III (560-573), *Expos. in Pentateuchum, ed.* J.-B. Pitra, *Spicil. Solesmense* I (Paris, 1852), p. 296.

[62] A. C. Lawson, 'The sources of the De ecclesiasticis officiis', *Rev. Bén.* 50 (1938) 26 ff., could not discover one passage from St. Cyril. To Braulio the Cyrillan Easter table was probably known through Dionysius Exiguus. See *Ep.* XXII, ed. C. Silva-Tarouca, *Fontes Hist. Eccl.* I (Rome, 1930), p. 150.

[63] MGH, Epp. IV, 329.

[64] Fr. Maassen, *op. cit.*, p. 651.

[65] PL 84, 151A-160D.

Conditions in England were far worse and remained so for a considerable number of centuries. Bede tells us that the Council of Hatfield (September 17, 680), presided over by Theodore of Tarsus, decreed to ratify the conciliar decrees issued by the Councils of Nice (325), Constantinople (381 and 553), Ephesus (431) and Chalcedon (451),[67] yet there seems to be no evidence that the Acts of those Councils were known. The *Epistola dogmatica*, sent by Pope Agatho to King Aethelred, was probably the first English contact with Cyrillan texts.[68] The Cyrillan Easter table, popularized through Dionysius Exiguus, need not delay us here[69] and a glance at Bede's library reveals that even the letters of St. Leo were missing.[70] Very little progress was made by later generations as is borne out by English book-lists.[71] If we are told that, four centuries after Bede, St. Anselm (d. 1109) "does quote the opinions of the Greeks',[72] the very scanty evidence for such an assertion is fully accounted for by Anselm's study of St. Augustines *De Trinitate*. The great John of Salisbury (1120-1180) stumbled over some Greek words in Ambrose's *De Incarnatione*,[73] but was apparently acquainted with the Acts of Ephesus, found in France, for he attributes to *Cirillus in epistola Ephesinae Sinodi* the statement: *Dispensationis modus nulli umquam displicuit sapientum.*[74] Robert Grosseteste (d. 1253) grossly neglected St. Cyril,[75] and the writings of Duns Scotus (d. 1307) illustrate the fact that the interest in St. Cyril was by no means vivid in Mediaeval England.[76]

In Italy, some progress was made after the death of Gregory I, because the Roman Council of 649 was able to offer a Latin *florilegium* containing, among other texts, four extracts from Cyril's *Commentary on St. John*, nine from his *De Thesauris* and a passage from *Sermones dialogici vel cogitationes ad Hermen.*[77] These texts were probably not directly translated from the Greek, but chosen from a Latin version of those works, for it was a very ancient conciliar custom to demand a public verification of each text in a *florilegium*: *Necesse est ut codex praedicti doctoris afferatur.*[78] The *Epistola dogmatica*, addressed to the Eastern Emperors by the Roman Council (680), held under Agatho (678-681) and "received" by the third Council of Constantinople (680), also contains passages from Cyrils *De Thesauris*[79] and the Roman delegation in Constantinople presented some additional Cyrillan texts.[80] It is quite possible that St. Thomas, who quotes *De Thesauris* extensively in his *Contra errores Graecorum* and frequently cites from a Latin version of some scriptural commentaries of St. Cyril, made use of the same translations.[81] The prevalence of Greek Popes during this period was not the last reason for the appearance of these versions.

---

[66] PL 84, 737A-746A.

[67] *Hist. eccl. Gentis Anglorum* IV, 15, *ed.* C. Plummer I (Oxford, 1896), p. 240.

[68] Mansi XI, 170B and 259B.

[69] Ch. W. Jones, *Bedae Opera de temporibus* (Cambridge, Mass., 1943), p. 34. PG 77, 383.

[70] See M. L. W. Laistner in A. H. Thompson, *Bede* (Oxford, 1935), p. 263. Like Braulio, Bede knew the Cyrillan Easter table through the *Liber de paschate* of Dionysius Exiguus. Cf. W. Levison, *op. cit.*, p. 114.

[71] See, for instance, N. R. Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain* (London, 1941).

[72] G. R. Stephens, *The Knowledge of Greek in England in the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia, 1933), p. 51.

[73] *Ep.* CLXIX; PL 199, 162B.

[74] *Policraticus* VII, 17, ed. C. C. I. Webb, II (Oxford, 1909), p. 165. I failed to find the text in the Acts of Ephesus, but it occurs in the Acts of the second Council of Nice (787) from Cyril's letter to Gennadius. PL 129, 223A or PG 77, 319C.

[75] Cf. S. H. Thomson, *The Writings of Robert Grosseteste* (Cambridge, 1940), p. 42 ff.

[76] See M. R. James, 'Greek MSS in England before the Renaissance', The Library 7 (1927) p. 337.

[77] Mansi X, 1075C-1078D.

[78] Cf. J. de Ghellinck, 'Diffusion, utilisation et transmission des écrits patristiques', *Gregorianum* 14 (1933) 378.

[79] Mansi XI, 259BC, 266D, 755E, 758D.

[80] Mansi XI, 410A-427D, 758-818. Cited are three texts from *De Thesauris*, two from *Adversus* Julianum, two from his commentary on St. Matthew, one from his *sermo prosphoneticus* to Theodosius and four from his commentary on St. John. Cf. Th. Schermann, *op. cit.*, p. 57. The Acts of the Council were translated during the pontificiate of Pope Sergius (687-701).

III

St. Cyril's influence reached a sudden high point in the Adoptionist controversy at the end of the next century. As *fortissimus contra Nestorium miles*, to use Alcuin's phrase,[1] St. Cyril appeared to be the providential patristic authority to defeat the Nestorian tendencies latent in the Spanish theological current which aroused the Frankish opposition.

We learn from Paulinus of Aquileja[2] that Felix of Urgel (d. 818) claimed the authority of St. Cyril as favouring his doctrine, but Felix admitted later that St. Cyril was not fully known to him. Alcuin's biographer even relates that Felix broke down in tears while reading the *dicta Cyrilli martyris* at the Council of Aachen.[3] The *Confessio fidei*, in which Felix rejected his errors, cites four texts from St. Cyril as found in the Vulgate version of the Acts of Ephesus. Since this collection designates Cyril's famous letter "to the monks" as *tractatus*, we understand how the *Confessio* arrives at the statement: *Cyrillus in tractatu suo inter alia ita dicit* . . .[4] The other three quotations stem from the same document.[5]

The unexpected appearance of St. Cyril as witness against Felix may have motivated Elipandus to omit any mention of St. Cyril in his letters to Megetius, Fidelis and Alcuin,[6] though the real reason may have been a lack of Cyrillan works, for even his adversaries Heterius and Beatus, in their joint "letter" to Elipandus, quote only a brief text from Cyril's Synodal Letter. Characteristically, they introduce it as *Ephesini concilii verae fidei documentum*,[7] an attribution for which the *Hispana* was responsible.

At the Council of Frankfort (794), St. Cyril did not yet play a decisive part in the struggle against Felix. for only the *Epistola episcoporum Franciae* offers a short extract chosen from Cyril's letter to Eulogius.[8] Remarkably tradition-conscious, however, the Carolingian theologians soon turned their attention to Cyril, especially since Pope Hadrian I (772-795) had drawn on the same authority in his decretal to Charlemagne, written about 791. In this decretal the faulty or defective transcription of Cyril's ninth anathematism, for which Carolingian scribes may be to blame, should be corrected by collation with the reading of *Ms* Vat. *Lat.* 1342 used by Hadrian.[9] He also cites from Cyril's letter to John of Antioch as found in the *Quesnelliana*,[10] a text from a work entitled *De Spiritui cultura*[11] and a passage *ex libro adclamatorium ad Theodosium imperatorem*.[12] All these quotations serve to prove the procession of the Holy Ghost from Father and Son and are probably taken from complete translations of those works. In the same decretal Hadrian cites a sermon of St. Cyril "on the veneration of images", which he states to have found in conciliar Acts,[13] and Cyril's letter to Succensus.[14]

---

[81] Concerning the quotations from *De Thesauris* in *Contra errores Graecorum* see A. Gardeil, *Rev. Thom.*, 12 (1904), 490 and P. Renaudin, *ibid.*, 39 (1924), 237. N. Charlier, 'Le "Thesaurus de Trinitate" de Saint Cyrille d'Alexandrie', *RHE* 45 (1950), 35 asserts that the most ancient Latin version dates back to G. de Trébizonde who died in 1486.

[1] *Ep.* CCIII; MGH, Epp. IV, 337. Date: June, 800.

[2] *Contra Felicem* III, 26; PL 99, 436A. Paulinus himself cites only Cyril's second letter to Nestorius in the version used by St. Leo. *Op. cit.*, III, 25; PL 99, 462AB.

[3] *Vita Alcuini*, c. 13; PL 100, 98C. Cf. E. Amann, 'L'adoptianisme Espagnol du VIIIe siècle', *Rev. des sc. rel.*, 16 (1936), 312.

[4] MGH, Conc. II, i, 224.

[5] Cf. Mansi V, 487A, 489AB and 490A respectively.

[6] PL 96, 859 ff.

[7] *Ad Elipandum* I, 21; PL 96, 906A. Cf. PL 84, 154C. The passage was later copied by Paulus Albarus, *Ep.* I, 7; PL 121, 415D-416A.

[8] MGH, Conc. II, i, 154. Mansi V, 676BC.

[9] MGH, Epp. V, 9 collated with Mansi V, 705B. The words missing in the decretal are: *eum uteretur adeoque meruisse (inoperari posse etc.)*.

[10] PL 56, 678AB.

[11] Cf. Cyril, *De adoratione in spiritu et veritate* I; PG 68, 137A.

[12] MGH, Epp. V, 10. E. Duemmler's reference to Cyril's *De recta fide ad Theodosium* is not justified. In his *Contra errores Graecorum* II, i and 9, St. Thomas quotes from a *sermo exhoratorius ad Theodosium* which may be the same work.

The first theologian to cast the full weight of St. Cyril's authority into the Adoptionist controversy was Alcuin, whose progress in patristic studies was closely followed by Charlemagne.[15] An early letter to Felix, written about the year 793, shows that he had studied the Acts of Ephesus.[16] Some four years later he published his *Libellus adversus Felicis haeresin* which, in addition to the text just referred to,[17] offers two other passages from the same letter.[18] The next work against Felix reveals the full fruit of his studies. We now meet Cyril's *Scholia*,[19] copied from the *Quesnelliana* or the Leonine *florilegium*,[20] his second letter to Nestorius probably derived from the same source,[21] passages from his letters to Succensus[22] and to the monks,[23] and from his Synodal Letter to Nestorius.[24] A saying of "a certain Nestorian", which Alcuin professes to have taken from Cyril's work against Theodoret, proves that he used the *Sichardiana*, found in a collection of conciliar Acts as appears from his remark that "the holy and Catholic men" who issued the anathematisms interpreted their meaning.[25] Unaware of the peculiar arrangement of the version, Alcuin only speaks of a *libellus* "which Cyril wrote against Theodoret".[26] Thus, unwittingly, he confuses it occasionally with Cyril's *Explicatio*. His interpretation of the first and eighth anathematisms actually occurs in the *Apologeticus*,[27] while the following text, introduced by *Item in eodem*, belongs to the *Explicatio* of the third anathematism.[28] The next two passages are from Cyril's *Apologeticus* against Theodoret clarifying the same point.[29] On two occasions, Alcuin cites the fifth anathematism with a variant, pointing to an effort to improve upon the translation.[30] This is even more pronounced in the manner in which he cites the eighth anathematism.[31] The explanation following it again reflects the peculiar arrangement of his source.[32] To explain Cyril's tenth anathematism, quoted in part,[33] Alcuin draws on the Synodal Letter and Cyril's *Explicatio.*[34]

---

[13] MGH, Epp. V, 33. Cf. MGH, Conc. II, 1, 92. The Cyrillan texts in the Acts of the Council of Paris (825) are copied from Hadrian's letter. MHG, Conc. II, 2, 511. The Acts of the second Council of Nice (787), translated by Anastasius, contain passages from Cyril's letters to Maximus, Gennadius, Acacius and Succensus; PL 129, 222B-223A, 276C, 431B.

[14] MGH, *Epp.* V, 44. PG 77, 238.

[15] See Alcuin's enumeration of *auctoritates* in MGH, Epp. IV, 337. In dependence on Pope Hadrian, the *Codex Carolinus* (785-791) also draws attention to Cyril. MGH, Epp. III, 641.

[16] MGH, Epp.IV, 63. The text is taken from Cyril's letter "to the monks" as found in Mansi V, 484D.

[17] *Libellus*, c. 14; PL 101, 92D.

[18] *Libellus*, c. 15; PL 101, 93AB compared with Mansi V, 485BC and 487A. The same texts appear later in his *Adversus Elipandum* IV, 6; PL 101, 290D.

[19] *Adversus Felicem* IV, 3; PL 101, 175A.

[20] *Quesnelliana*, c. 41; PL 56, 593B. That he did not use the *Collectio Palatina* is evident from the context, for the succeeding text, introduced by *Et post pauca*, is from Cyril's second letter to Nestorius. Compare PL 101, 175BC with PL 56, 594D-595A. The *Collectio Palatina* was used later by the compiler of the *Ps-Isidorian Decretals.*

[21] *Adversus Felicem* IV, 11; PL 101, 185C. See also *Adv. Elipandum* IV, 6; PL 101, 290C.

[22] *Adversus Felicem* IV, 4; PL 101, 177A. Mansi V, 1006D.

[23] *Adversus Felicem* VI, 8; PL 101, 209BD. Mansi V, 479D, 485BC, 485D, 487A.

[24] *Adversus Felicem* VII, 2, 3, 15; PL 101, 214BC, 215B, 228D. Cyril's letter to John of Antioch is cited as *canonica epistola* in *Libellus de proc. Spiritus sancti;* PL 101, 70C. Mansi V, 673B.

[25] *Op. cit.*, VII, 2; PL 101, 215A. *ACO* I, 5, 2, p. 362.

[26] *Adversus Felicem* VI, 7; PL 101, 208B.

[27] *ACO* I, 5, 2, pp. 255 and 272.

[28] *Adversus Felicem* VI, 7; PL 101, 208C. *ACO* I, 5, 2, p. 259. Cf. Mansi. V, 7E.

[29] *Adversus Felicem* VI, 7; PL 101, 208D. *ACO* I, 5, 2, p. 260 f.

[30] *Adversus Felicem* VI, 8 and VII, 2; PL 101, 209A and 214D. While the *Sichardiana* reads: *Sicut Filium unum et natura* (*ACO* I, 5, 2, p. 265), Alcuin reads first *Filium unicum et naturalem* and later *Filium unicum natura*. The interpretation following the anathematism is derived from Cyril's *Explicatio; ACO* I, 5, 2, p. 266.

[31] *Adversus Felicem* VII, 12; PL 101, 225A. Alcuin's omission of *et eo appellari Deum* and the use of the verb *appellet* instead of *applicat* as found in *ACO* I, 5, 2, p. 271, may be due to human error, but Alcuin is the only writer who decided to take the phrase *Syllaba enim "co" superadjecta hoc cogit intelligi* out of its original place to which he added *quod quasi alter in altero*.

[32] *ACO* I, 5, 2, p. 271 compiled from Cyril's *Explicatio* and *Apologeticus against Theodoret.*

In 818, Agobard of Lyons dedicated to Louis the Pious a work against Felix in which St. Cyril holds an equally prominent position. To describe the doctrine of Nestorius, he offers his readers a Nestorian symbol of faith,[35] part of which was previously cited by Alcuin[36] and immediately adds four Nestorian counter-anathematisms, found in the augmented *Hadriana.*[37] Agobard cites only the first of Cyril's anathematisms,[38] but made numerous and remarkably accurate transcriptions from the *Sichardiana* collection, comprising texts from Cyril's *Explicatio* and *both* apologetical works.[39] The same collection provided him with a passage from Cyril's first letter to Succensus.[40]

Contrary to expectation, Aeneas of Paris made very little use of St. Cyril in his work *Against the Greeks,*[41] and Ratramnus offers no Cyrillan text at all in his *Contra Graecorum opposita.* Paschasius, in his writing to Frudegard, cites only one long passage on the Eucharist from the Synodal Letter.[42]

The learned Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims, whose outstanding knowledge of patristic literature has been duly stressed by H. Schrörs,[43] opposes St. Cyril to Godescalc to prove that Christ died for all mankind. To this effect, he also copied from Cyril's Synodal Letter in the Dionysius version[44] and his letter to the monks, as found in the Vulgate version of the Acts of Ephesus.[45] For Cyril's second letter to Nestorius, he made use of the *Quesnelliana* or the Leonine *florilegium.*[46] In Cyril's letter to Eulogius, found in the Acts of Ephesus, Hincmar saw a confirmation of Bede's statement that in every false doctrine there is a kernel of truth.[47]

After reaching a zenith in the Carolingian renaissance, St. Cyril's influence declined with equal rapidity and remained at a low ebb until St. Thomas turned his attention to the Greek Fathers. The main reason for this decline lies in an unusual lack of Cyrillan writings available to Mediaeval theologians.[48] Even the Carolingian scholars, despite their undeniable interest in St. Cyril, knew him only through conciliar and other canonical collections. When the christological controversies of the twelfth century called for the voice of tradition, these collections were generally buried and forgotten. Sincere efforts to reach into the treasures of Eastern theological thought seem to have suffered from a deplorable ignorance of St. Cyril.[49] His very name became obscure,[50] since for many centuries even the catalogues of ecclesiastical writers failed to do justice to Cyril's literary activity. In 477-478, Gennadius, who had probably read some of Cyril's works in the original, stated only that St. Cyril published *variarum hypotheseon tractatus*, a great number of homilies "which the Greek bishops recommend for recital by memory", *De Synagogae defectu* and *De fide adversus haereticos* or *Elenchus* which is especially directed against Nestorius.[51] In the catalogues of St. Isidore and St. Hildefonsus the Patriarch of Alexandria is not mentioned. Many centuries later, Sigebert relates only that St. Cyril wrote on the Easter cycle.[52] Honorius of Autun copied Gennadius[53] and an anonymous list of authors, composed in the middle of the twelfth century, contains no St. Cyril.[54] At the very end of the Middle Ages, Raphael of Volterra (1451-1522) added to Gennadius only the work *Against Julian*, though he admits that Cyril wrote *multaque alia*. Better informed, though vague, his contemporary, John of Trittenheim (1462-1516), observes that Cyril composed *et alios tractatus qui ad notitiam meam non venerunt.*[55]

---

[33] *Adversus Felicem* VII, 15; PL 101, 228C. *ACO* I, 5, 2, p. 274.

[34] See *Hispana;* PL 84, 153C and *ACO* I, 5, 2, p. 274. The Synodal Letter is also cited in *Libellus de process. Spiritus sancti;* PL 101, 70B. Mansi V, 509B.

[35] *Liber adversus dogma Felicis,* c. 7; PL 104, 39AC.

[36] *Adversus Elipandum* I, 14; PL 101, 250D. Regarding its history see E. Amann, *art. cit.,* 313.

[37] PL 104, 39C-40A compared with Mansi V, 703. In the twelfth century they will be quoted again by Eberhard of Bamberg.

[38] *Liber adv. dogma Felicis,* c. 12; PL 104, 41C. The reading *genuisse eum* should be corrected to *genuit enim. ACO* I, 5, 2, p. 252.

[39] Compare *op. cit.,* cc. 12, 15, 21, 31, 32 and 33 with *ACO* I, 5, 2, pp. 254-282. I could not identify the text in c. 11 (PL 104, 41B) and wish to note the discrepancy in c. 32 (PL 104, 58D) with *ACO* I, 5, 2, p. 286.

[40] *Op. cit.,* c. 8; PL 104, 40B. *ACO* I, 5, 2, p. 298. The *Sichardiana* was also used by Theodulph, *De Spiritu sancto;* PL 105, 248AB. *ACO* I, 5, 2, p. 273. Adoptionist views were still defended by John of Seville in the middle of the ninth century. In opposing him, Paulus Albarus of Cordova, *Ep.* I, ii; PL 121, 417C cited the fifth, sixth, seventh and eleventh anathematisms as found in the *Hispana.* John, *Ep.* III, 7; PL 121, 426A proposed his own interpretation of the eleventh anathematism and ignored the others. See also Albarus, *Ep.* IV, 26; PL 121, 443A. John was familiar with Leo's *florilegium* from which he quotes the Athanasian letter to Epictetus. Compare *Ep.* III, 6; PL 121, 425B with *Hispana,* c. 60; PL 84, 739B. Albarus, on the other hand, had read Cyril's Synodal Letter as results from a comparison of *Ep.* IV, 34; PL 121, 447A with *Hispana,* c. 10; PL 84, 154CD.

[41] *Liber adversus Graecos,* c. 24; PL 121, 702D contains a passage from Cyril's Synodal Letter to prove the procession of the Holy Ghost from Father and Son. Cf. PL 67, 16CD. See also Smaragdus, *Libellus de processione Spiritus sancti;* MGH, *Conc.* II, i, 238. Theodulph, *De Spiritu sancto;* PL 105, 247C-248A.

[42] PL 120, 1355D-1356A compared with *Hispana,* c. 10; PL 84, 155BC. Part of it was later copied by Durandus of Troarn, *Liber de corpore et sanguine Domini* 6, 19; PL 149, 1403AB.

[43] *Hinkmar, Erzbischof von Reims* (Freiburg i. B., 1884), p. 166 ff.

[44] *De praedestinatione diss. posterior,* c. 33; PL 125, 338BC.

[45] PL 125, 338C-339B compared with Mansi V, 486D, 488C, 489E, 489D. The variants indicate that he used the former *Codex Bellovacensis,* now *Ms* Paris, B. N. *Lat.* 1456.

[46] *De praedestinatione,* c. 25; PL 125, 250A. *Quesnelliana,* c. 41; PL 56, 394B. Cf. also PL 84, 159C or *Decretales Pseudo-Isidorianae,* ed. Hinschius p. 281.

[47] *Op. cit.,* c. 19; PL 125, 173D. Mansi V, 657C.

[48] Concerning St. Cyril, J. de Ghellinck, 'En marge des catalogues des bibliothèques médiévales', *Miscell. Ehrle* V (Rome, 1924), 346 sums up his findings in the words: Quelques pièces de Cyrille d'Alexandrie, à

As a result of this meager information, Manegold speaks of him as Cyril of Antioch and martyr[56] and his friend Bernaldus, though more accurate, knows little more.[57] Chronicles offer only generalities[58] and the canonical collections, compiled after the *Ps-Isidorian Decretals*, even failed to incorporate the most widely known Cyrillan documents, *viz.* his Synodal Letter and the Leonine paragraphs from his second letter to Nestorius, until Ivo of Chartres rescued the former from short-lived oblivion by inserting it in a chapter entitled: *Symbolum Ephesini Concilii.*[59] Ivo's failure to incorporate it in his shorter and more popular *Panormia* may account for its omission in Gratian's *Decretum* with the exception of a short paragraph dealing with the procession of the Holy Ghost from Father and Son.[60] In his material concerning the Eucharist, Ivo copied

---

Bobbio et à Siena. He does not even mention St. Cyril in his 'Patristique et argument de tradition au bas moyen age', *Beiträge*, Suppl. III, i (1935), 463 ff. See also the (incomplete) list of extant manuscripts of the works of St. Cyril in P. Renaudin, *La théologie de S. Cyrille d'Alexandrie d'après S. Thomas d'Aquin* (Tongerloo, 1937), pp. 67-71.

[49] See, for instance, Ch. H. Haskin, *Studies in the history of Mediaeval science* (Cambridge, 1924), p. 141 ff.

[50] Misleading and hardly favorable is the information in Cassiodorus' widely read *Hist. Tripartita* XI, 7; XI, ii; XII, 5; PL 69, 1191A; 1193B; 1207B.

[51] *De viris inlustribus*, c. 58, *ed.* E. C. Richardson, Texte und Unters. 14 (1896), p. 81. The *Decretum Gelasianum* only approves St. Cyril's *opuscula* in general. Although it may have served as a guide, it created no particular interest in Cyril's works.

[52] *De scriptoribus ecclesiasticis*, c. 24; PL 160, 552B. See also his *Chronica* (*ad ann.* 437) in MGH, *SS* VI, 308.

[53] PL 172, 217B. Guided by the *Decretum Gelasianum*, Hugh of St. Victor, *Didasc.* IV, 14: PL 176, 786D lists St. Cyril among his *scripturae authenticae.*

[54] PL 213, 961 ff.

[55] *S. Cyrilli Alexandrini Opera Omnia* (Basel, 1566), fol. A2^{v}. This Basel edition, comprising five volumes in Latin, contains a great number of new traslations made by humanists such as G. Trapezontius, J. Oecolampadius, W. Musculus and L. Hunfredus. Since Cyrillan works were still discovered and published in the last century, the Latin readers were indeed long deprived of an adequate knowledge of his literary activity. A list of editions is given by P. Renaudin, *op. cit.*, pp. 71-77.

[56] *Ad Gebehardum*, c. 10 and c. 48; MGH, *Libelli* I, 332 and 394. Cf. MGH, *SS* XXXI, 123. Manegold cites a short sentence from Cyril's Synodal Letter which he probably found in the *Ps-Isidorian Decretals, ed.* Hinschius, p. 278.

[57] MGH. *Libelli* II, 8. 128, 63.

[58] See, for instance, the chronicles in MGH, *SS* XXXI, 131. 239, 248, 277.

[59] *Decretum* I, 3; PL 161, 61-67. Ivo's text of the anathematisms is similar to, though not identical with, the Dionysius version. The quotations from *Symbolum Ephesini Concilii* in Abelard, *Sic et Non*, c. 62 and c. 117; PL 178. 143OC and 1519D are derived from Ivo. See also Walter of St. Victor, *Contra quatuor labyrinthos Franciae*, ed. B. Geyer, *Beiträge* 7 (1909), p. 183.

[60] *Decretum* D., 5 c., 39 *de cons.*

a passage from the Synodal Letter which, slightly abbreviated, entered Gratian's collection.[61]

IV

As a witness to doctrinal tradition, St. Cyril never disappeared entirely from the theological scene. Following the example of Paschasius, Heriger of Lobbes (d. 1007) draws on his Synodal Letter to prove the realism of the Eucharistic Presence.[1] At first undecided, he professes that St. Cyril had a definite influence on his interpretation of the patristic teaching on the Eucharist.[2] The same text appears in Theoduin of Liége (d. 1075)[3] and later, probably through Ivo's *Decretum*, in Alger of Liége.[4] Berengar ignored the evidence as Ratramnus had done in the ninth century.

Among his patristic testimonies concerning the procession of the Holy Ghost from Father and Son, Peter Lombard quotes from the same letter in the Vulgate version[5] which was soon copied by others.[6] This is the one and only Cyrillan text in Peter Lombard's *Sentences* and scriptural commentaries, and one can easily anticipate the results of this astonishing omission. Still more astounding is the fact that the numerous theologians who went so far as to accuse Lombard of heretical leanings regarding the hypostatic Union, failed likewise in claiming the support of Cyril's authority in this matter. I found but two exceptions to this fact: Eberhard II of Bamberg (d. 1172) and especially Gerhoh of Reichersberg (d. 1167) who cites the anathematisms as decisions of the Council of Ephesus.[7] The reading is derived from different sources. His fifth, seventh and ninth anathematisms date back to the Verona collection.[8] In opposing Lombard's view on the adoration of Christ's humanity, he quotes the eighth anathematism no less than five times. In four instances, he offers the Dionysius version[9] and later adopts a reading influenced by the Rusticus revision, as preserved in the *Collectio Casinensis*.[10] That Gerhoh knew and used several collections is still more obvious from an insertion in the eleventh anathematism, also quoted on five different occasions. In the first four instances, his text shows a verbal agreement with a version known in the North through the augmented *Hadriana*,[11] but before completing his work *De gloria et honore Filii hominis*, Gerhoh obtained a copy of the Rusticus compilation as appears from his reading of the first part of the eleventh anathematism:

---

[61] Ivo, *Decretum* II, 2; PL 161, 138BC. Gratian, *Decretum* D., 2 c., 80 *de cons.*

[1] *De corpore et sanguine Domini*, c. 5; PL 139, 183AB.

[2] *Op. cit.*, c. 7; PL 139, 185B. See also his *Tractatus* in PL 139, 119 ff.

[3] Letter to King Henry; PL 146, 1441A. See also the letter of Anastasius to Gerald in PL 149, 435A; Guitmund of Aversa, *De corporis et sanguinis Domini veritate* III; PL 149, 1473BC. In the same sense, Guitmund cites the eleventh anathematism as found in the *Hispana*. Both passages occur likewise in Lanfranc, *Liber de corpore et s. Domini*, c. 17; PL 150, 482CD and in William of Thierry, *De sacramento Altaris*, c. ii; PL 180, 361AB.

[4] *De sacramento* I, 10; PL 180, 769D.

[5] *Sent.* I, d. 11, a. 2, *ed.* Quaracchi I (1916), p. 80. Mansi V, 509B. Both Ivo and Gratian used the Dionysius version as Peter Damiani, *De fide catholica*, c. 10; PL 144, 38C had done in the previous century. St. Cyril's *name* occurs in Sent. III, d. 5, a. i in an extract from St. John Damascene, *De fide orthodoxa* III, 6, in which he explains the formula *natura Verbi incarnata est.*

[6] See Helmold, *Chronica Slavorum;* MGH, *SS* XXI, 120. It may be noted here that Hugo Eterianus who, about the year 1177, dedicated to Alexander III a work *Concerning the heresies of the Greeks*, the Cyrillan texts of which seem to be his own translations. He cites *Cyrillus in septimo ad Hermiam sermone*, a rather poor translation of the ninth anathematism with Cyril's *Explicatio*, passages from the *Apologeticus against Theodoret*, from his Synodal Letter, *Latreia in spiritu et veritate* and from his commentary on Joel. *De haeresibus Graecorum* I, 14; II, 15; III, 21; PL 202, 257D; 315C-316D; 393AB.

[7] In his *Liber de gloria et honore Filii hominis*, c. 17, 3; PL 194, 1135B he oberserves that they are found *circa finem concilii.* Cf. William of Thierry, *De sacramento Altaris*, c. 11; PL 180, 361B.

[8] *Op. cit.*, c. 19, 3; PL 194, 1144CD compared with *ACO* 1, 2, p. 50-51. He probably used the text preserved in *Ms* Vienna, *Lat.* 489, formerly *Ms* Salzburg, *Lat.* 165B the compiler of which incorporated the Verona collection. See also the sixth anathematism quoted in *Ep.* XV; PL 193, 542BC. That he possessed and used the *Collectio Palatina* can be gathered from a text of the Synodal Letter in *Ep.* VII; PL 193, 497D-498A.

[9] *Liber contra duas haereses*, c. 2; Letter to Eberhard, c. 12; *Liber de gloria*, c. 6, 6 and c. 17, 3; PL 194, 1171A, 1071C, 1094C and 1135B compared with PL 67, 18B. Eberhard, *Ep.* XVI; PL 193, 654A used the *Collectio Palatina;* PL 48, 840C. See also the passages from Cyril's Synodal Letter in *Epp.* IX, XIV, XVI; PL 193, 516D, 533CD, 563D compared with PL 48, 836AB. Cf. Gerhoh, Ep. XV; PL 193, 549D.

[10] *Liber de gloria*, c. 19, 3; PL 194, 1144D compared with *ACO* I, 3, p. 34 or Mansi V, 749D.

> Si quis non confitetur carnem Christi vivificatricem—sive, ut quidam codices habent, vivificatoriam—esse et propriam ipsius ex Deo Patre, Verbi scilicet, velut alterius praeter ipsum copulati, anathema sit.[12]

The expression *vivificatoriam* occurs, to the best of my knowledge, only in the Rusticus revision and the translation *velut alterius praeter ipsum copulati* is found in no other version.

It is worth noting that, despite his knowledge of Cyril's anathematisms, Gerhoh was a staunch advocate of the first opinion on the hypostatic Union outlined, but not followed, by Lombard and widely held in the second half of the twelfth century.[13] St. Thomas, to whom we owe the return of St. Cyril into Western theology, at first took a lenient view of this opinion and only remarked in his *Scriptum* (1254-1256): *Non tenetur modo ab aliquo.*[14] While he always preferred the second opinion, he still held in 1258 that this second explanation was *communis opinio modernorum et aliis multo verior et securior.*[15] In his *Summa contra Gentiles*, completed in 1264, he fully abandoned his lenient attitude and declared of the first opinion: *Haec positio de necessitate in errorem Nestorii delabitur.*[16] When he finally wrote the christological part of his *Summa theologica* during the last three years of his life, St. Thomas went even further stating that "out of ignorance" the advocates of the first opinion fell into the Nestorian heresy.[17]

This change from initial tolerance to outright condemnation has been attributed to a more thorough study of the Greek Fathers which Thomas began about the year 1260, and particularly his study of Cyril's anathematisms is supposed to have led to this change. Since Gerhoh used the very same anathematisms to defend the first opinion, the basic reason for this contradiction could be thought to stem from a different interpretation of their meaning. A study of the pertinent parts in St. Thomas does not create this impression and the reason for his change is to be sought not directly in his study of St. Cyril's doctrine, but in a steadily deepening grasp of the unconsciously heretical tendencies latent in the first opinion despite its verbal opposition to Nestorius and Eutyches.[18]

At the same time, it must be conceded that St. Thomas saw in St. Cyril his best patristic authority to combat the elusive error. For that reason he quotes the second anathematism in his *Summa contra Gentiles*, the first witness to his change of mind.[19] He considers it as being contrary to "Cyril's proposition confirmed by the Synod", *i.e.* to the fourth anathematism,[20] and maintains that its very terminology is condemned in the eighth anathematism.[21] In his *Summa theologica* he cites the second, third and fourth anathematisms against it,[22] the last of which is also brought into the discussion on the *communicatio idiomatum*, so intimately connected with the concept of the hypostatic Union.[23] St. Thomas invokes them on various other occasions, *viz.* to prove that Mary may truly be called Mother of God[24] or that the divinity can be said to have suffered—*ratione humanae naturae*—and died.[25] Texts from St. Cyril's letters serve a similar purpose.[26]

---

[11] *Liber contra duas haereses*, c. 2; Letter to Eberhard, c. 11; *Liber de gloria*, 13, 4; PL 194, 1170D, 1071C, 1119A; Letter to Adam; PL 193, 498B compared with Mansi V, 705D. Eberhard remarks in a letter to Gerhoh (PL 193, 521CD) that he added to his letter the anathematisms with their respective Nestorian counter-anathematisms, but they were missing in the manuscripts used in the Migne edition.

[12] *Liber de gloria*, c. 19, 3; PL 194, 1145A compared with *ACO* I, 3, p. 35 or Mansi V, 750C.

[13] *Sent.* III, d. 6, c. 2, *ed.* Quaracchi II (1916), p. 574 ff.

[14] *In Sent.* III, d. 6, q. 1, a. 1, *ed.* M. F. Moos, III (Paris, 1933), p. 225. Cf. H. Dondaine, 'Qualifications dogmatiques etc.', *Les sc. ph. et théol.* 1 (1941/2), 163 ff.

[15] *Quodlib.* IX, q. 2, a. 2.

[16] *Contra Gentiles* IV, 38.

[17] *Summa theologiae* III, q. 2, a. 6.

[18] J. Backes, *Die Christologie des Hl. Thomas von Aquin und die griechischen Kirchenvaeter* (Paderborn, 1931), p. 196 ff., attributes the change to more intensive patristic studies. Déodat M. de Basly, *Inopérantes offensives contre l'assumptus homo* (Paris, 1935), p. 141, even claims the existence of two christologies in the West due to the ignorance of the anathematisms. Although they do not occur in Bonaventure, Alexander of Hales, Eudes Régaud, St. Albert and others, they were surely not as unknown in Latin theology as it might appear to a student of the thirteenth century for, contrary to J. Backes, *op. cit.*, p. 25, St. Thomas is by no means the first to introduce St. Cyril in Latin theology.

Although the opposition of St. Thomas to the first opinion finds its strongest expression in the *Quaestio disputata de unione Verbi incarnati*, written in 1270-72, all reference to St. Cyril is replaced by the fifth canon of the second general Council of Constantinople (553)[27] and in his *Compendium theologiae, cap.* 210, also written in the last years of his life, St. Thomas refrains from all but scriptural references.

An adequate treatment of St. Cyril's influence on St. Thomas is not within the scope of the present study. In general, the Latin theologians before St. Thomas made no direct use of Cyrillan works other than those available in conciliar and canonical collections. St. Leo I, Arnobius Junior and Gelasius, as we have seen, used only the two dossiers sent to Rome by St. Cyril himself and preserved in the archives of the Apostolic See, while Facundus and Rusticus had access to archives in the East where, as it seems, most of the translations originated. Only conciliar *florilegia*, composed in Rome, point to the existence of numerous translations which, for some unknown reason, never attracted the attention of Latin theologians until St. Thomas began to study the Greek Fathers.

---

[19] *Op. cit.*, IV, 38. Source: *Collectio Casinensis, ACO* I, 3, p. 33 or Mansi V, 748A. Cf. *Summa theol.* III, q. 2, a. 3. From the same source he cites Cyril's Synodal Letter in *Contra Gentiles* IV, 24, to prove the procession of the Holy Ghost from Father and Son. See Mansi V, 748A.

[20] *Summa contra Gentiles* IV, 38. *ACO* I, 3, p. 34 or Mansi V, 749B. Cf. *Summa theol.* III, q. 2, a. 3.

[21] *Summa contra Gentiles* IV, 38. Cf. Lombard, *Sent.* III, 11, 3, ed. Quaracchi II, p. 600. *ACO* I, 3, p. 34 or Mansi V, 749D. An abbreviated form is found in *Summa theol.* III, q. 25, a. 1.

[22] *Summa theol.* III, q. 2, a. 3. *ACO* I, 3, p. 33 f. or Mansi V, 749AB.

[23] *Summa theol.* III, q. 16, a. 4. The wording differs considerably from the version used in *Contra Gentiles* IV, 38, and appears to be a revision for which the *translatio prisca* in Mansi V, 703D, served as principal guide. St. Thomas also changed the sixth anathematism from *utpote facto carne Verbo* in *ACO* I, 3, p. 34 to *utpote Verbum factum carnem* in *Summa theologica* III, q. 20, a. 2.

[24] *Summa theol.* III, q. 35, a. 4. *ACO* I, 3, p. 33 or Mansi V, 748E.

[25] *Summa theol.* III, q. 46, a. 12, and q. 50, a. 4.

[26] His reference in *Summa theol.* III, q. 35, a. 2, *ad* 2, to *Cyrillus in quadam epistola* is Cyril's second letter to Nestorius as found in the *Collectio Casinensis*, Mansi V, 496A. His *Cyrillus in quadam epistola contra Nestorium*, cited in *Summa theol.* III, q. 35, a. 4, *ad* 2, is the letter to the monks in the Rusticus revision, *ACO* I, 3, p. 3 ff. Mansi V, 482D.

[27] Mansi IX, 379A.

Le Traité d'Alain de Lille
Sur les Vertus, les Vices et les Dons du Saint-Esprit
ODON LOTTIN O.S.B.

MGR. P. GLORIEUX a prouvé que la Somme porrétaine *Quoniam homines* conservée dans *Ms* Londres, Brit. Roy. 9.E.XII, fols. 168^{r}-210^{v}, est l'oeuvre d'Alain de Lille.[1] Cette Somme est précédée immédiatement, dans le même manuscrit, d'un opuscule *Theologiae due sunt species*, fols. 158^{r}-167^{v}, qui, après le prologue, traite des vertus, des vices et des dons du Saint-Esprit. C'est cet opuscule que nous éditons ici.

Deux motifs nous invitent à cette édition. C'est d'abord parce qu'on a pu identifier ce traité; il est, en effet, lui aussi, l'oeuvre d'Alain de Lille. C'est ensuite parce qu'on peut le situer assez exactement dans son milieu historique et ainsi en mesurer le rôle dans l'évolution doctrinale du douzième siècle.

I. L'AUTHENTICITE ALANIENNE DU TRAITE

Nous n'avons qu'à rappeler brièvement ce qui a été dit ailleurs.[2] *Ms* Paris, B.N., *lat.* 3238F contient, fols. 84^{va}-85^{rb}, un petit traité sur les vertus et les vices attribué nommément à Alain de Lille. Or cet écrit n'a fait que reproduire, en les résumant, deux chapitres d'un exposé beaucoup plus ample, celui-là même que nous publions ici; cet exposé est donc l'oeuvre d'Alain de Lille. Comparons d'ailleurs le début du traité londonien relatif à la definition de la vertu à une oeuvre qui est certainement d'Alain de Lille, les *Theologicae regulae*; confrontons de même l'exposé londonien sur la prudence avec la *Summa de arte praedicatoria* du même Alain, les textes ainsi confrontés se superposent adéquatement. Notons enfin que plusieurs des formules chères à Alain de Lille: *haec est regula in theologia, eleganter, uerbi causa, ex hiis liquet,* se retrouvent dans notre opuscule.[3] L'authenticité est donc solidement établie.

II. LES SOURCES IMMEDIATES DU TRAITE

Alain s'est sans doute inspiré d'auteurs de son temps pour rédiger ses exposés. Le problème se pose, de fait, et d'abord pour le début du traité sur la notion de vertu, qui ressemble étrangement à l'exposé des *Institutiones in sacram paginam* (Somme théologique) de Simon de Tournai. La question doit se poser aussi concernant la classification des vertus morales, laquelle évoque à la fois celles de l'*Isagoge in theologiam* et du *Moralium dogma philosophorum*. Il faudra enfin se demander si pour l'un ou l'autre point encore, Alain n'a rien emprunté à d'autres écrits: la *Summa sententiarum*, Pierre Lombard, Gandulphe de Bologne, Pierre de Poitiers.

(1) *Alain de Lille et Simon de Tournai.* Le problème a été traité ailleurs.[4] Ce n'est pas Alain de Lille qui dépend de Simon; mais c'est celui-ci qui s'est inspiré du maître lillois.[5]

---

[1] P. Glorieux, 'L'Auteur de la Somme "Quoniam homines" ', *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale,* XVII (1950), 29-45.

[2] O. Lottin O.S.B., 'Un traité sur les vertus, les vices et les dons du Saint-Esprit restitué à Alain de Lille,' *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale,* XVI (1949), 161-164.

[3] Voir *infra: hec in theologicis constituatur regula,* prologus, initio; *eleganter,* Appendix de virtutibus, *A; verbi causa,* cap. II, art. 2; cap. III, art. 2; *ex his liquet,* prologus in fine; cap. II, art. 3; cap. III, art. 3 in fine; *clamat auctoritas,* cap. II, art. 3 in fine.

[4] O. Lottin O. S. B., 'Alain de Lille, une des sources des "Disputationes" de Simon de Tournai', *Rech. de théol. anc. et méd.* XVII (1950).

[5] Il y aurait donc lieu de retirer à Simon,

(2) *Alain de Lille*, l'*Ysagoge in theologiam* et le *Moralium dogma philosophorum*. M. Ph. Delhaye a étudié très attentivement les rapports entre ces trois écrits.[6] Notre seul but est d'ajouter quelques remarques qui confirment les vues du docte médiéviste. Deux conclusions paraissent certaines.

La première est qu'Alain s'est inspiré directement de l'*Ysagoge*. Parcourons, à cet effet, les exposés relatifs aux vertus cardinales. Concernant la vertu de justice, on peut relever plusieurs traits communs à Alain et à l'*Ysagoge*: telle l'exégèse du terme *suum* de la définition classique: *vel suum accipientis, vel suum tribuentis*;[7] explication absente du *Mor. dogma*.[8] De même Alain et l'*Ysagoge* emploient la même expression dans la définition de la *concordia*: *in identitate institutorum iuris*,[9] tandis que le *Mor. dogma* porte: *in eodem iure*.[10]

L'exposé de la vertu de force donne lieu aux mêmes constatations: la définition de la magnanimité est la même dans Alain et l'*Ysagoge*,[11] tandis que le *Mor. dogma* ajoute l'épithète *rationabilis*.[12] Alain et l'*Ysagoge* définissent en des termes identiques la vertu de patience: *cum tranquillitate*;[13] de son côté, le *Mor. dogma* porte *equanimiter*.[14] La définition de la magnificence dans Alain et l'*Ysagoge* comporte deux mots: *vis animi*[15] qui manquent dans le *Mor. dogma*.[16] Alain et l'*Ysagoge* sont les seuls à parler, et dans les mêmes termes, de la *firmitas* et de l'*humilitas*.[17]

Les développements relatifs à la tempérance apportent des faits du même genre. La définition de la *verecundia* est la même dans Alain et l'*Ysagoge*,[18] différente de celle du *Mor. dogma*.[19] La définition de la *pudicitia* et de la *castitas* sont identiques dans Alain et l'*Ysagoge*,[20] notions absentes du *Mor. dogma*.

Reste l'exposé relatif à la prudence. On sait que, d'après Pierre Abélard, la prudence est, non point une vertu, mais la reine mère des vertus. On ne s'étonnera donc pas que l'*Ysagoge*, écrit de l'école abélardienne, n'ait pas consacré d'exposé à cette vertu. Mais une longue note ajoutée par une autre main au texte même de l'*Ysagoge* mérite mention, car elle est, à son tour, étroitement apparentée au texte d'Alain. Celui-ci et l'auteur de la note divisent la prudence en six vertus,[21] tandis que le *Mor. dogma* n'en présente que quatre.[22] Les explications d'Alain se retrouvent dans cette note de l'*Ysagoge*,[23] nullement dans le *Mor. dogma*. Un dernier détail: les trois écrits ont une citation de S. Isidore sur la *cautio*: Alain et la note de l'*Ysagoge* citent le texte du saint[24] plus complètement que le *Mor. dogma* à qui il manque la dernière phrase.[25]

Il y a donc relation immédiate entre Alain et l'*Ysagoge*. M. Ph. Delhaye[26] a suffisamment prouvé que l'emprunteur est Alain. La conclusion se confirme du fait que, comme nous allons le voir, Alain de Lille, dans ce traité, a plusieurs fois

---

pour la restituer à Alain de Lille, la paternité de la formule *meritum de congruo*. Voir *infra*, I, 4 in fine, et 5 in fine.

[6] Ph. Delhaye, 'Une adaptation du "De officiis" au XII^e siècle. Le "Moralium dogma philosophorum"', *Rech. de théol. anc. et méd.*, XVI (1949), 242-253.

[7] *Infra*, I, 2, n. 19. *Ysagoge*, éd. A. Landgraf, *Ecrits théologiques de l'école d'Abélard* (Spicilegium sacrum Lovaniense, 14, Louvain, 1934), p. 75, ll. 1-2.

[8] *Das Moralium dogma philosophorum des Guillaume de Conches*, éd. I. Holmberg (Uppsala, 1929), p. 12.

[9] *Infra*, I, 2, n. 40; *Ysagoge*, *ed. cit.*, p. 76, l. 16.

[10] *Mor. dogma*, *ed. cit.*, p. 27, l. 4.

[11] *Infra*, I, 2, n. 45; *Ysagoge*, *ed. cit.*, p. 77, l. 4.

[12] *Mor. dogma*, *ed. cit.*, p. 30, l. 4.

[13] *Infra*. I, 2, n. 58; *Ysagoge*, *ed. cit.*, p. 77, l. 16.

[14] *Mor. dogma*, *ed. cit.*, p. 30, l. 10.

[15] *Infra*, I, 2, n. 53; *Ysagoge*, *ed. cit.*, p. 77, l. 7.

[16] *Mor. dogma*, *ed. cit.*, p. 30, ll. 7-8.

[17] *Infra*, I, 2, nn. 56, 59; *Ysagoge*, *ed. cit.*, p. 77, ll. 9-11, 13-15.

[18] *Infra*, I, 2, n. 67; *Ysagoge*, *ed. cit.*, p. 77, ll. 22-23.

[19] *Mor. dogma*, *ed. cit.*, p. 48, l. 13.

[20] *Infra*, I, 2, n. 66; *Ysagoge*, *ed. cit.*, p. 78, ll. 10-18.

[21] *Infra*, I, 2, n. 3; *Ysagoge*, *ed cit.*, p. 65, n.

[22] *Mor. dogma*, *ed. cit.*, p. 8, l. 26.

[23] *Infra*, I, 2 depuis *Intellectus est comprehensio* jusque *indulgentia pietatis*, nn. 5-17; *Ysagoge*, *ed. cit.*, *p.* 65, n.

[24] *Infra*, I, 2, n. 17; *Ysagoge*, *ed. cit.*, p. 65, n.

[25] *Mor. dogma*, *ed cit.*, p. 10, ll. 19-22.

[26] Ph. Delhaye, 'Une adaptation du "De Officiis" au XII^e siècle', *loc. cit.*, 250.

utilisé le livre des Sentences du Lombard, tandis que l'*Ysagoge*, d'après les recherches de Mgr. A. Landgraf, ne le connaît pas encore.[27]

La première conclusion paraît donc certaine: Alain s'est adressé directement à l'*Ysagoge*. Un second problème: Alain s'est-il en outre adressé directement au *Mor. dogma*? Il est un moyen fort simple de résoudre le problème. Puisque l'exposé d'Alain est plus développé que celui de l'*Ysagoge*, attachons-nous à ces parties ajoutées, pour y déceler la présence du *Mor. dogma*. Or—et quoique le fait puisse surprendre—de tous les passages et bouts de phrase d'Alain absents de l'*Ysagoge*, pas un seul ne se lit dans le *Mor. dogma*. Il est donc certain que le *Mor. dogma* n'a exercé aucune influence directe sur Alain.

Ce qui ne veut pas dire qu'il n'en ait pas exercé indirectement, par l'intermédiaire de l'*Ysagoge*. Il est aisé en effet de constater que maints passages sont communs au *Mor. dogma* et à l'*Ysagoge* et sont absents d'Alain. Il y a donc rapport direct entre le *Mor. dogma* et l'*Ysagoge*. Et puisqu'il est certain qu'Alain a utilisé directement l'*Ysagoge*, il s'en suit que l'*Ysagoge* a servi d'intermédiaire entre le *Mor. dogma* et Alain.

En résumé, Alain s'est adressé directement à l'*Ysagoge*; l'*Ysagoge* s'est inspiré directement du *Mor. dogma*. Celui-ci a donc agi indirectement sur Alain, mais aucunement d'une manière directe.

(3) *Alain de Lille et Pierre Lombard*. Plusieurs textes prouvent qu'Alain s'est inspiré directement du livre des Sentences du Lombard. Adam était-il doté de vertus avant de pécher? Certaines autorités l'affirment, écrit Alain: S. Augustin *in quadam homelia*, le même Augustin en un autre passage, S. Ambroise dans une lettre à Sabinus et le même Ambroise dans son commentaire sur le psaume 118.[28] Les trois premiers textes se lisent, et dans le même ordre, dans la *Summa sententiarum*,[29] et tous les quatre chez Pierre Lombard.[30] Confrontons d'abord les textes d'Alain avec le Lombard. Le texte d'Alain porte *dum uicit Adam*;[31] de même, au dire des éditeurs de Quaracchi,[32] tous les manuscrits du Lombard. Après le second texte d'Ambroise, Alain fait la remarque: *sed quomodo sine uirtute beatissimus erat*;[33] remarque qui se lit aussi chez Pierre Lombard. Avant de citer Ambroise pour la première fois, Alain écrit cette formule de transition: *De hoc eodem*;[34] et de même le Maître des Sentences. Au contraire, la *Summa sententiarum*, au lieu de *uicit*, porte *uidit*, formule qui d'ailleurs s'impose par le contexte; elle n'a pas la transition *de hoc eodem*, et elle omet le second texte d'Ambroise. Il est donc clair qu'Alain s'inspire de Pierre Lombard, et non de la *Summa sententiarum*.

L'énumération des sept péchés chez Alain[35] offre une seconde preuve. Cet exposé se lit en toutes lettres chez Pierre Lombard:[36] même ordre des péchés, commençant par l'*inanis gloria*, même expression *gastrimargia*, même attribution à S. Jean Chrysostome d'un texte de Jean Cassien. Autant de particularités qui font défaut dans l'exposé parallèle de la *Summa sententiarum*[37] laquelle emploie les formules de *superbia* et de *gula* pour désigner respectivement l'*inanis gloria* et la *gastrimargia*, et n'a qu'un bout du texte de Cassien, laissé d'ailleurs dans l'anonymat.

Une troisième preuve est tirée de l'exposé sur les deux espèces de crainte.[38] Cet exposé se constitue de deux textes, l'un de S. Bède, l'autre de S. Augustin.

---

[27] A. Landgraf, *Ecrits théologiques de l'école d'Abélard*, *op. cit.*, p. LIV.

[28] *Infra*, I, 5, n. 5.

[29] *Summa Sententiarum*, tr. 3, 3, c. 7; PL 176, 100C.

[30] *Petri Lombardi libri IV Sententiarum*, lib. II. dist. 29, c. 2; éd. Quaracchi (1916), I, pp. 457-58.

[31] *Infra*, I, 5, n. 4.

[32] *Petri Lombardi libri IV Sententiarum*, *loc. cit.*, p. 457, apparat critique.

[33] *Infra*, I, 5, n. 10.

[34] *Infra*, I, 5, n. 5.

[35] *Infra*, II, 1, n. 1.

[36] *Petri Lombardi libri IV Sententiarum* II, dist. 42, c. 6; *ed. cit.*, I, p. 531.

[37] *Summa Sententiarum*, tr. 3, c. 16; PL 176, 113-14.

[38] *Infra*, III, 2, nn. 5 et 8.

Il se fait que ces deux textes se lisent à la fois chez Pierre Lombard[39] et chez Gandulphe de Bologne.[40] Mais, ici aussi, la conclusion est certaine; le texte d'Alain est absolument identique à celui du Lombard, tandis que celui de Gandulphe est un remaniement du texte du Lombard.

On voudrait surprendre d'autres influences encore. Il faudrait, par exemple, déceler la source du texte relatif aux multiples péchés issus des vices capitaux. Les listes d'Alain de Lille sont notablement différentes de celles de Jean Cassien,[41] et de saint Grégoire;[42] elles s'inspirent sans doute d'un auteur du douzième siècle qui nous est resté inconnu. Quant à une influence de Gandulphe de Bologne et de Pierre de Poitiers, nous n'en avons trouvé nulle trace.

III. LA DATE DE COMPOSITION DU TRAITE

L'exposé qu'on vient de lire sur les sources et l'influence du traité d'Alain permet de fixer une date suffisamment précise. Le traité d'Alain, on vient de le dire, est postérieur au livre des Sentences du Lombard, rédigé en 1150-1151; il est de même postérieur à l'*Ysagoge* que son éditeur, Mgr. A. Landgraf, date des environs de 1148-1152.[43] Il ne paraît pas postérieur à Gandulphe de Bologne (entre 1160-1170) ni à Pierre de Poitiers (vers 1170); car il ne les utilise pas.

Mais d'autre part, il est antérieur aux *Institutiones* de Simon de Tournai. L'important serait donc de fixer la date de celles-ci. Le P. D. van den Eynde a établi qu'elles ont utilisé deux écrits des environs de 1160, à savoir la Glose de Rufin sur le Décret de Gratien, et le *Speculum ecclesiae*; et il estime que l'ouvrage de Simon de Tournai ne peut guère être postérieur à 1165.[44] Le traité d'Alain doit donc se placer entre 1155 et 1165.

IV. LA PORTEE HISTORIQUE DU TRAITE

Le traité d'Alain se présente, à première vue, dans des conditions défavorables. Il paraît en effet avoir été rédigé par pièces et morceaux sans plan préconçu bien arrêté. On sait que le traité comporte trois parties étudiant successivement les vertus, les vices et les dons du Saint-Esprit. Or le début annonce sans doute des questions sur les vertus et les vices, mais n'en annonce aucune sur les dons; le traité des vices s'emboîte dans celui des vertus, sans en être nettement séparé; le traité des vertus lui-même ne suit pas l'ordre annoncé au début. Il arrive aussi à l'auteur d'aborder des questions nullement annoncées, telle la collation des vertus au baptême, la présence des vertus chez Adam avant le péché. Et même, après avoir épuisé les questions relatives aux vices, Alain rebrousse chemin et traite deux nouvelles questions sur les vertus: les vertus sont-elles égales dans une même âme, les vertus sont-elles source de mérite? Bref, le traité apparaît comme rédigé au jour le jour par un maître qui a commencé ses leçons sans avoir, au préalable, bien défini la matière de son cours. Le traité fait ainsi figure d'une suite de *quaestiones* débattues devant les élèves et peut-être en partie provoquées par ceux-ci.[45] Mais ces imperfections de la forme ne doivent pas nous faire mésestimer la valeur doctrinale du traité.

Sans doute Alain s'est inspiré de quelques écrits antérieurs. Toutefois, l'apport du Lombard est minime. L'*Ysagoge* lui a fourni une nomenclature des vertus. Cependant Alain a tenu à l'enrichir de considérations qui traduisent son intention de parler en théologien: telles la formule *cum fuga mali et electione boni* ajoutée à la définition de la prudence, la réduction au nombre de trois des vertus annexes à cette vertu cardinale, l'exposé des trois vertus théologales présentées comme parties de la vertu de religion, la note concernant la *severitas* et *vindicta* qui ne sont pas de vraies vertus, les remarques sur la double obéissance et la triple chasteté.

---

[39] *Petri Lombardi libri IV Sententiarum* III, dist. 34, c. 3; *ed cit.*, II, p. 700.

[40] *Magistri Gandulphi Bononiensis Sententiarum libri quatuor* III, 127, éd. I. de Walter (Vienne, 1924), pp. 367-68.

[41] Iohannes Cassianus, *Collationes* V, 16; PL 49, 633-34.

[42] S. Gregorius, *Moralium* XXXI, 45; PL 76, 621.

[43] A. Landgraf, *Ecrits théologiques . . .*, *op. cit.*, p. LIV.

[44] D. van den Eynde O.F.M., 'Deux sources de la Somme théologique de Simon de Tournai', *Antonianum* XXIV (1949), 19-42.

[45] C'est bien l'impression qui se dégage de cet exemple: Instantia: ex quanta scientia heri disputasti mecum ex tanta hodie disputas mecum; ergo etc.; fol. 165va. *Infra*, Appendix de Virtutibus, *A* in fine.

L'intérêt du traité ne consiste d'ailleurs pas dans cette nomenclature des vertus, ni dans celle des vices; elle réside dans la direction qu'il imprime au concept même de vertu et aux questions qui s'y rattachent. On sait assez que Pierre Lombard n'avait songé qu'aux vertus surnaturelles conférées par Dieu au baptême: *bona qualitas mentis . . . quam Deus in nobis operatur.* Pierre Abélard et son disciple Herman avaient présenté une définition philosophique: *habitus animi optimus, habitus mentis bene constitute.* Le mérite d'Alain est d'avoir expliqué cette dernière définition en exploitant une formule de Boèce, tout en s'élévant au plan surnaturel. La vertu a son substratum dans nos dispositions naturelles au bien; mais elle consiste formellement dans le bon usage qu'on en fait, usage conforme au *debitum officium* et au *debitus finis*; et l'explication fournie de ces termes de Boèce prouve ici encore le souci théologique de l'auteur: l'*officium* réside dans l'obligatoire soumission aux lois de l'Eglise catholique, et le *finis* n'est autre que Dieu.

Mais, en faisant résider la vertu dans un usage, un exercice, Alain devait se poser deux questions que le Lombard supposait *a priori* résolues. Puisque la vertu consiste dans un exercice, et comme cet exercice de dispositions naturelles ne peut, de soi, qu'être naturel, une vertu naturelle "politique" peut-elle devenir surnaturelle, "catholique"? Et si la vertu consiste dans un exercice, comment peut-on parler de vertus conférées au baptême d'un nouveau-né? Deux questions à peine amorcées dans l'école abélardienne. Il en est de même d'autres problèmes: Adam était-il doté des vertus avant de pécher: sujet abordé par le Lombard, mais peu élaboré encore; les vertus sont-elles connexes entre elles: question déjà traitée par Roland Bandinelli,[46] mais moins amplement que chez le maître lillois. Quand on compare les exposés d'Alain sur tous ces points et d'autres encore avec ceux des prédécesseurs immédiats et des contemporains, on doit reconnaître qu'Alain a largement contribué à une élaboration plus technique du traité des vertus.

Le traité d'Alain de Lille occupe donc une place honorable parmi les écrits de l'école porrétaine;[47] et à ce titre il mérite d'être édité.

V. L'EDITION DU TRAITE

Un seul manuscrit livre le texte complet du traité et sert de base à l'édition, celui de Londres. Nous avons dû par endroits en amender le texte; parfois le contexte nous a suggéré la correction, parfois aussi le texte des sources exploitées, spécialement celui de l'*Ysagoge*; et, en ce qui concerne la nomenclature des vertus et des vices, le texte du résumé de Paris B.N., *lat.* 3238F a donné quelques bonnes leçons.[48] Le texte édité ici est donc légèrement corrigé; mais le lecteur

---

[46] *Die Sentenzen Rolands nachmals Papstes Alexander III*, éd. A. M. Gietl O.P. (Freib. i. Br., 1891), pp. 255-57.

[47] Le caractère porrétain de ce traité ressort manifestement de la notion du péché originel, *obnoxietas poenae aeternae. Infra*, I, 4 in fine.

[48] Nous ne donnons donc pas toutes les divergences qui séparent le texte parisien et celui de Londres, car le résumé modifie parfois son texte de base. Nous nous bornons aux leçons qui nous semblent mieux convenir au texte londonien; ces leçons ont été prises du manuscrit parisien lui-même et non de l'édition présentée par J. Huizinga dans son étude 'Ueber die Verknuepfung des Poetischen mit dem Theologischen bei Alanus de Insulis', *Mededeelingen der koninkl. Akademie van Wetenschappen*, Afdeeling Letterkunde, 74, B (1932), 95-100. Il est d'ailleurs évident que les deux manuscrits sont indépendants l'un de l'autre. Un simple coup d'oeil sur l'apparat critique prouve clairement que le résumé parisien suit un autre texte que celui du manu-

trouvera par chaque cas, dans l'apparat critique, la leçon du manuscrit londonien.[49]

Sigles employés dans l'apparat critique:

L:	Londres, Brit. Roy.9.E.XII.
P:	Paris, B.N., *lat.* 3238F.
Glos.:	*Glossa ordinaria* (Parisiis, 1590).
Lomb.:	*Petri Lombardi Libri IV Sententiarum*, éd. Quaracchi, 2 tomes, 1916.
Mor. dogma:	*Das Moralium dogma philosophorum des Guillaume de Conches*, éd. I. Holmberg (Uppsala, 1929).
Ysagoge:	*Ysagoge in theologiam*, édité dans A. Landgraf, *Ecrits théologiques de l'école d'Abélard* (Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense, 14, Louvain, 1934), pp. 63-285.

De Virtutibus et de Vitiis et de Donis Spiritus Sancti[1]

[PROLOGUS]

THEOLOGIE due sunt species: una rationalis que celestium scientiam pollicetur; alia moralis que circa mores siue informationes hominum uertitur. Theologia autem rationalis duo habet predicamenta: predicamentum in quid et predicamentum ad aliquid. Omnes autem termini qui de Deo predicant diuinam usiam pertinent ad predicamentum theologicum substantie; omnes illi termini qui de Deo predicant relationem ad theologicum predicamentum relationis.

Hec ergo in theologicis constituatur regula,[2] quod omnia nomina tam principalia quam sumpta in naturali facultate ad predicamentum substantie, qualitatis et quantitatis pertinentia, si ad diuina transferantur, diuinam predicant essentiam, et omnia in diuinis constituunt predicamentum in quid, ut hoc nomen Spiritus, et hoc nomen substantia, essentia, usia de Deo predicant essentiam diuinam et pertinent ad predicamentum substantie. A simili ista nomina qualitatis: iustus, pius, bonus,[3] que ad predicamentum qualitatis pertinent, de Deo dicta, continentur in theologico predicamento substantie. Similiter nomina quantitatum, ut magnus, unus, immensus, sed et principalia de Deo dicta ad idem pertinent predicamentum, ut pietas, iustitia, bonitas, magnitudo. Termini aliorum predicamentorum ad theologica translati quasdam relationes siue collationes predicant de Deo; sicut enim in naturali predicamento relationis et in predicamento habitus et reliquis quinque, non ostenduntur alique proprietates inherere subiecto, ita nec in diuinis huiusmodi terminationes diuinam naturam predicant, sed potius, ut dictum est, quedam collationes uel usie ad creaturas, ut cum dicitur: Deus est dominus creaturarum; uel hypostasis ad hypostasim designat, ut cum dicitur: Pater est pater filii. In naturalibus enim terminis septem predicamentorum non ponuntur proprietates rebus subiectis inherentes, sed quidam status extrinsecus affixi predicantur[4] cuius aduentu uel recessu non mutatur substantia. Cum enim dico: Petrus est pater filii, non ostenditur Petro aliqua inherere proprietas, sed quedam collatio attribuitur Petro respectu filii, cuius aduentu uel recessu non mutatur. Absurdum est enim dicere rem totiens permutari quotiens aliquis extrinsecus status uel relatio uel habitus et consimilia subiecto adueniunt uel recedunt. Quid enim absurdius quam hominem asserere totiens permutari quotiens incipit uel desinit esse aliqua sinistra uel dextera alicuius rei, quia secundum hoc singulis momentis inciperent esse in subiecto infinite proprietates et desinerent esse.

---

scrit londonien.

[49] Pour aérer le texte, nous avons divisé le traité en chapitres et en articles. Les titres ainsi composés par nous sont imprimés entre crochets.

[1] In marg. infer. fol. 158ra.

[2] Voir, *supra*, Introd., n. 3.

[3] bonus: unus, immensus *add.* *L*.

[4] predicatur *L*.

Eodem modo de habitu et de aliis ratiocinandum est. Non enim aliquis in se nouam suscipit proprietatem cum galeatus esse incipit. Unde Augustinus in libro de Trinitate[5] omnia predicamenta reducit ad tria, scilicet ad predicamenta substantie, qualitatis et quantitatis, per hoc insinuans quod in ceteris predicamentis certi nominis proprietates non continentur. Boetius etiam in libro de Trinitate, cum ostendisset quid in diuinis predicatur terminis trium predicamentorum, de reliquis addit dicens: *reliqua uero nec de Deo nec de ceteris predicantur; nam ubique uel de Deo uel de homine predicari potest; de homine ut in foro, de Deo ut ubique, sed ita ut non quod ipsa res sit id quod predicatur; non enim homo ita dicitur esse in foro quemadmodum uel albus uel longus.*[6] (158^{rb}) Et tamen in diuinis non idem predicant hii termini que in naturalibus: immo cum ad diuina tranferantur propriam mutant significationem. Unde Boetius in libro de Trinitate de his terminis loquens ait: *atque*[7] *hec cum quis in diuinam uertit predicationem, cuncta mutantur queque predicari possunt.*[8]

Ex his liquet[9] quod non ea que his terminis predicantur in naturalibus predicantur in diuinis, sed potius alia; tamen utrobique relationes predicantur; quod diligens inquisitor in singulis inuenire poterit.

A simili moralis theologus duo habet predicamenta: predicamentum uirtutis et predicamentum uitii. Longe tamen diuersa speculatione speculatur[10] ista et illa: hec ad usum, illa uero ad fugam. Omnis enim scientie integritas in duobus consistit: in eis que impediant et eis que expediunt proposito. Et quamvis apud naturalem philosophum in eodem predicamento consistant uirtutes et uitia, iuxta quod Aristoteles ait quod *si unum contrariorum erat quale, reliquum erit quale,*[11] ut si uitium qualitas, et uirtus, tamen apud moralem theologum in diuersis sistuntur predicamentis, cum uitium et uirtus in nullo genere conveniant.[12] Ad hoc autem ut aliqua in eodem contineantur predicamento, oportet ad minus ut unum habeant supremum genus.

CAPUT I. DE UIRTUTIBUS

ART. 1. *DE NATURA UIRTUTIS*

Primum ergo de uirtute hoc ordine agendum est. Primo considerandum quid sit uirtus genere; secundo, quid usu; tertio, que differentia sit inter catholicas et politicas uirtutes; quarto, utrum politice fiant catholice; quinto, quomodo ordinentur singule uirtutes in praedicamento uirtutis; sexto, utrum quelibet uirtus habeat sibi uitium oppositum; et si oppositum, utrum mediate uel immediate; septimo et ultimo, utrum qui habet unam uirtutem habeat omnes; et per simile, qui habet unum uitium habeat omnia.

Quelibet uirtus genere qualitas est. Unde Aristoteles in predicamento qualitatis ait: *amplius scientie et uirtutes.*[1] Tullius etiam[2] in Rethorica inuentionum ponit uirtutes inter species naturalis iuris.[3] Naturale autem ius dicitur omne id quod rei a natura inditum est; specificatur tamen circa id quod a natura rationali creature datur.

Ex ipsius etiam uirtutis diffinitione liquet quod uirtus genere qualitas est: uirtus enim est habitus mentis bene constitute; omnis autem habitus uel dispositio genere qualitas est. Ad interrogationem factam per quale, respondetur: iustus, fortis.

---

[5] Loc. non repert.

[6] Boetius, *De Trinitate*, c. 4; PL 64, 1252D.

[7] at *L.*

[8] Boetius, *De Trinitate*, *ibid.;* PL 64, 1252A.

[9] Voir *supra*, Introd., *ibid.*

[10] speculantur *L.*

[11] Aristoteles, *Categoriae*, c. 6; éd. Firmin-Didot I, p. 15, ll. 45-47.

[12] conueniant *L.*

[1] Aristoteles, *Categoriae*, c. 16; *ed. cit.*, I, p. 13, l. 12.

[2] enim *L.*

[3] Cicero, *Rhetoricorum libri duo qui sunt de inventione rhetorica* II, 53.

Cum ergo uirtus genere qualitas est, naturalis etiam iuris species a creatione confertur anime uirtus; non tamen quod confertur est uirtus, sed qualitas. Accidentale est enim ei esse uirtutem, sed substantiale est esse qualitatem. Sunt enim uirtutes naturales potentie rationali creature a creatione indite. Sicut enim gressibilitas uel rationalitas est potentia homini indita a creatione, ita potentia non eleuandi prosperis uel frangendi aduersis, potentia reddendi quod suum est, est homini a creatione indita. Sicut enim homo natus aptus ad gradiendum, aptus ad ratiocinandum, sic natus est aptus ad (158$^{\mathrm{va}}$) uitiis resistendum. Has potentias complexus est Aristoteles sub nomine mansuetudinis, cum ait: *homo est animal mansuetum*[4] natura. Sed quamuis homo a natura habeat has potentias, tamen adueniente etate non denominatur ab eis fortis, iustus, temperatus, quia huiusmodi denominationes potius sumuntur ab usu potentie quam a potentia. Sic homo, adueniente etate, non dicitur intelligens, ratiocinans, memorans, quamuis a creatione habeat intellectum, rationem et memoriam; ista enim potius predicant usum potentiarum quam potentias usuum. Similiter homo non dicitur fortis a potentia illa qua aptus est ad hoc uel illud faciendum, sed potius ab usu potentie; unde, cum uentum est ad annos discretionis, si homo utitur illa potentia bene que dicitur fortitudo uel illa que dicitur prudentia, fortis uel prudens dicitur. Unde ante annos discretionis, uirtutes homo habere non dicitur, cum non habeat eas ut uirtutes, sed ut potentias. Unde nec fortitudinem nec prudentiam habere dicitur, quia non habet illam uirtutem ut fortitudinem uel illam ut prudentiam. Hec autem nomina sortiuntur potentie a suis usibus. Possumus tamen dicere quod puer iste fortis est natura, prudens est natura, et quod habeat prudentiam uel fortitudinem naturaliter. Non tamen simpliciter concedendum quod habeat fortitudinem uel prudentiam; sicut aqua ista que actu calefacta est, naturaliter dicitur frigida, non tamen simpliciter frigida; et catulus iste ante tempus determinatum dicitur uidere naturaliter, nec tamen simpliciter uidere, sed postquam uentum est ad tempus determinatum, si usus potentie additur, uidere dicitur.

Dictum est quid sit uirtus genere. Restat ostendere quid sit usu.

Cum potentia illa genere sit qualitas, usu fit uirtus. Accidentale est enim ei esse uirtutem. Videamus ergo que concurrunt ad hoc ut potentia uirtus sit. Duo concurrunt: officium et finis, ut ait auctoritas:[5] uirtus in duobus consistit: in officio et fine, ut scilicet quis utatur illa potentia que est uirtus secundum debitum finem et secundum debitum officium. Verbi gratia: iste est castus, non propter Deum, sed propter humanum fauorem: castitas ista uirtus non est, quia caret altero articulo, scilicet debito fine: non enim facit hoc propter Deum; iste uero in criminali peccato existens, uerbi causa in homicidio, plenarie obuiat luxurie, et ita castus est propter Deum, sed caret debito officio. Cum enim officium sit congruus actus uniuscuiusque persone secundum mores et instituta patrie, officium christiane religionis est congruus actus uniuscuiusque persone secundum mores et instituta Ecclesie; mores autem et instituta Ecclesie sunt ut opus dirigatur ad Deum et in caritate fiat. Iste ergo castus dicitur, quia abstinet a luxuria propter Deum, sed nec debito officio utitur; unde talis castitas uirtus non dicitur. Quare etiam iudeus uirtutes habere (158$^{\mathrm{vb}}$) non dicitur; quamuis enim habeat suam prudentiam, suam castitatem, et finaliter propter Deum, non tamen utitur debito officio. Cum ergo usus uirtutis in duobus consistat, in officio et fine, secundum talem usum potentia uirtus dicitur. Videamus ergo quid sit uirtus secundum usum.

Virtus est habitus mentis bene constitute. Ostenditur in hac descriptione quid <sit>[6] genere et quid sit uirtus usu. Per hoc enim quod dicitur habitus, ostenditur genere qualitas esse; omnis enim habitus uel dispositio, ut dicit Aristoteles, *genere qualitas est.*[7] Per hoc autem[8] quod dicitur: bene constitute, ostenditur quid sit usu, scilicet uirtus, et eleganter dicitur habitus et non dispositio. Sunt enim multi qui ad hoc disponuntur ut reddant unicuique quod suum est, ut non frangantur aduersis nec eleuentur prosperis quodam naturali appetitu qui potest dici uoluntas affectionis, quo scilicet affectant hoc; sed non efficaciter uolunt; unde dicere possunt cum propheta: *concupiui desiderare iustificationes,*[9] non enim desiderat iustificationes, sed concupiscit desiderare; de qua uoluntate dicitur ab Apostolo: *uelle adiacet michi, perficere <autem bonum>*[10] *non inuenio;*[11] talis dispositio non est habitus, et ideo non est uirtus; sed quando habet uoluntatem efficaciter, ita ut habeat uoluntatem nullo modo recedendi ab hac uoluntate, tunc non est dispositio, sed habitus, et tunc est uirtus. Unde dicitur: uirtus est habitus mentis bene constitute; habitus enim est qualitas difficile mobilis[12] a subiecto. Sequitur "bene constitute": per hoc intelligitur predictus usus qui in duobus consistit: in officio et fine; quando Deus non est in causa, sed gloria humana, uel quando non est in debito officio, ut iudei, quamuis uideantur habere uirtutes, tamen ueri nominis uirtutes non habent, quia quamvis usus potentiarum dirigant ad debitum finem, id est Deum, tamen non in debito officio; unde predicte potentie secundum predictos usus non dicuntur simpliciter uirtutes, sed uirtutes politice, a polis, quod est pluralitas, quia a pluribus laudantur huiusmodi uirtutes; uel a polis, quod est ciuitas, quia secundum usum ciuitatum tales uirtutes appellantur, has autem solent habere iudei uel gentiles. Ille autem ubi nec officium nec finis deest dicuntur catholice, quia universales, uel quia uniuersaliter ab hominibus appellantur, uel quia fides catholica, id est uniuersalis, eas approbat. Unde Boetius in libro de Trinitate ait: *christiane religionis reuerentiam usurpant plures, sed catholica fides maxime pollet que propter uniuersarum precepta regularum quibus eiusdem fidei roboratur auctoritas catholica siue uniuersalis uocatur.*[13]

---

[4] Aristoteles, *Peri Hermeneias*, c. 11; éd. Firmin-Didot, I, p. 32, ll. 31-32.

[5] Boetius, *De Consolatione philosophiae* IV, prosa 2 (quoad sensum); PL 63, 792B-793A.

[6] sit *om. L.*

Dicitur autem uirtus a ui, quod est necessitas, quia est habitus et ita qualitas difficile mobilis a subiecto; uel ideo dicitur quod ui stans quia secundum eam resistitur uitio uirtuti opposito; potentia enim illa secundum cuius usum resistitur ei uitio opposito dicitur uirtus. Nulla enim potentia cuius usui non opponitur aliquod uitium potest esse uirtus. Unde et castitas secundum quam resistitur luxurie uirtus censetur et quare uoluntas uirtus esse non potest; uoluntas enim qualitas non est secundum cuius usum resistemus (159ra) uitio. Voluntas enim motus procedens est a sensualitate aut a ratione, nec habet substramentum qualitatis, unde uirtus esse non potest. Cetere etiam potentie que non habent uitia sibi opposita, ut ratio, intellectus, memoria uirtutes esse non possunt, quia ui non stant. Huiusmodi enim potentie operantur ad exercitium uirtutum; ordinante enim ratione uel intellectu surgit usus prudentie uel fortitudinis.

Constituamus ergo uirtutem genus generalissimum in predicamento moralis theologie; proximo autem loco, quatuor cardinales uirtutes, scilicet prudentiam, iustitiam, fortitudinem, temperantiam. Hec autem quatuor uirtutes cardinales dicuntur, uel quia initiales siue principia sunt, quia ab istis cetere[14] procedunt quasi a quibusdam initiis; uel quia circa eas tamquam circa cardinem cetere uertuntur.

ART. 2. *DE UIRTUTIBUS CARDINALIBUS*

Primo ergo agendum est de prudentia hoc ordine: primo, considerando quid sit prudentia; secundo, in quibus consistat; tertio, quot species prudentie.

---

[7] Aristoteles, *Categoriae,* c. 16; *ed. cit.,* I, p. 13, l. 12.

[8] enim *L.*

[9] *Ps.* cxviii, 20.

[10] autem bonum *om. L.*

[11] *Roman.* vii, 18.

[12] difficile mobilis: dissimilis *L.*

[13] Boetius, *De Trinitate,* c. 1 (fere ad litteram); PL 64, 1249BC.

[14] cetera *L.*

Prudentia est rerum bonarum et malarum et utrarumque discretio[1] cum fuga mali et electione boni. Utrarumque ideo apponitur, quia non sufficit bona et mala a se inuicem diuidere, sed etiam bona ab inuicem, et mala ab inuicem, id est bona a melioribus et minus bonis, et mala a peioribus uel minus malis.[2] Nec sufficit ista discernere nisi sequatur boni electio et mali aspernatio; unde sequitur: cum fuga mali et electione boni.

Ex premissis liquet in quibus consistat prudentia, scilicet in discretione bonorum et malorum et in istorum electione et in illorum aspernatione.

Secundum philosophos autem in hec diuiditur prudentia, scilicet in intellectum, rationem, prouidentiam, circumspectionem, docibilitatem, cautionem.[3]

Superius tamen ostensum est rationem et intellectum et huiusmodi naturales potentias uirtutes non esse; quia qua ratione iste potentie essent uirtutes, eadem ratione et memoria. Unde miror quare a philosophis inter cetera collocata non sit, nisi forte intelligatur a sequentibus, scilicet in prouidentia, et circumspectione. Preterea, que differentia esset inter naturalia et gratuita, si huiusmodi naturales potentie essent uirtutes? Item, uirtutibus abuti non possumus, ut dicit auctoritas;[4] predictis autem naturalibus potentiis abuti possumus. Puto tamen predictas potentias a philosophis ideo dictas uirtutes, quia per usus earum possumus uitia refrenare.

Ideo ergo uisa philosophorum distinctione, uideamus que sint species prudentie; inter quas primo occurrit intellectus.

Intellectus est comprehensio gerendorum. Prius enim oportet gerenda concipere; post, discernere, secundum illud Salomonis: *palpebre* <*tue*>[5] *gressus tuos preueniant.*[6]

<Ratio est potentia anime qua intellectu comprehensa discernit>[7]

Prouidentia est peritia[8] animi qua metimur futura secundum preterita, ut si uidimus aliquem ex tali occasione in tale uitium decidisse, secundum hoc metiamur futura, ne ex consimili occasione in consimile decidamus uitium.

Circumspectio est cautela contrariorum uitiorum,[9] qua fugamus auaritiam, qua cauemus (159^{rb}) prodigalitatem. Dicitur autem circumspectio eo quod omnia uitia circumspicit. Hanc uirtutem Salomon persuadebat dicens: *omni custodia conserua cor tuum;*[10] dicturus "custodia" premisit "omni", ne si hinc hosti seras claudas, alia ex parte aditum pandas.[11]

Docilitas est prudentia[12] erudiendi.[13] Dicitur autem docilitas quasi docendi habilitas. Hec autem est recta docibilitas ut prius nos,[14] deinde alios instruat. Unde Salomon: *Fili, bibe aquam de cisterna tua et fontes tui deriuentur foras, et in plateis aquam diuide.*[15]

Cautio est prudentia discernendi uitia uirtutum speciem preferentia.[16] Ut enim ait Isidorus: *quedam uitia uirtutum speciem preferunt, unde perniciosius suos sectatores decipiunt, quia se sub uelamine uirtutis tegunt; nam sub pretextu iustitie crudelitas agitur, et remissa segnities mansuetudo creditur; plerumque hoc agit torporis negligentia quod agere creditur indulgentia* <pietatis>.[17]

Quamuis secundum philosophos in has species diuidatur, tamen paucioribus speciebus prudentia secundum theologos clauditur; diuiditur enim in prouidentiam, circumspectionem et cautionem.

---

[1] *Mor. dogma, ed. cit.*, p. 7, ll. 18-19; p. 8, ll. 20-21; *Ysagoge, ed. cit.*, p. 65, n.

[2] *Mor. dogma, ed. cit.*, p. 8, ll. 21-22; *Ysagoge, ibid.*

[3] *Mor. dogma, ed. cit.*, p. 8, l. 26; *Ysagoge, ibid.*

[4] Augustinus, *De Libero arbitrio* II, 19; PL 32, 1268.

[5] tue *om. L.*

[6] *Proverb.* iv, 25. *Ysagoge, ed. cit.*, p. 65, n.

[7] *P om L.*

[8] *Ysagoge;* potentia *L* et *P.*

[9] *Mor. dogma, ed. cit.*, p. 10, l. 12; *Ysagoge, ibid.*

[10] *Proverb.* iv, 23.

[11] *Mor. dogma, ed. cit.*, p. 10, ll. 15-17; *Ysagoge, ed. cit.*, p. 65, n.

[12] prudentia *Ysagoge;* potentia *L* et *P.*

[13] *Mor. dogma, ed. cit.*, p. 11, l. 1; *Ysagoge, ibid.*

[14] nos: hos *L* et *P.*

[15] *Proverb.* v, 15-16. *Mor. dogma, ed. cit.*, p. 11, ll. 1-4; *Ysagoge, ibid.*

[16] *Mor. dogma, ed. cit.*, p. 10, ll. 18-19.

[17] Isidorus, *Sententiarum libri II*, c. 35; PL 83, 636C-637A. *Mor. dogma, ed. cit.*, p. 10, 11. 19-22; *Ysagoge, ibid.* pietatis: *om. L* et *P.*

Sequitur de iustitia; de qua hoc ordine agendum est: primo, quid sit iustitia; secundo, in quibus consistat; tertio, quot sunt species ipsius iustitie.

Iustitia est uirtus ius suum cuique tribuens, communi utilitate seruata.[18] "Suum" possumus dicere: uel suum accipientis, uel suum tribuentis.[19] Nec sine ratione additur "communi utilitate seruata": aliquando enim aliquis dignus est pena, quam tamen ei dare iniustum esset propter scandalum aliorum; aliquando minori pena dignus, tamen maior infligenda ad cautelam: aliquando enim excusande sunt pene, aliquando remittende.[20]

In his autem duobus consistit iustitia: in hoc quod redditur Deo quod suum est, et proximo quod suum est.

Secundum hec duo diuiditur iustitia in uarias species, quarum alie pertinent ad reddendum Deo quod suum est, alie pertinent ad reddendum proximo quod suum est. Unde omnes uirtutes ad iustitiam quodammodo referuntur; quia in omni uirtute aut redditur Deo quod suum est, aut proximo; immo et in omni uirtute redditur Deo quod suum est; omnis enim uirtutis usus ad Deum dirigitur tamquam ad debitum finem, et ita iustitia est limes et uia per quam quelibet uirtus dirigitur ad Deum. Unde rationabiliter iustitia dicitur uirtus cardinalis, quia circa eam omnes uertuntur quasi circa cardinem. Possunt etiam omnes uirtutes referri ad prudentiam: omnis enim uirtus consistit in aspernatione mali et electione boni.

Diuiditur autem specialiter in illas species quarum quedam pertinent ad reddendum Deo quod Dei est, quedam ad reddendum proximo quod proximi est.

Hec autem sunt species iustitie: religio, pietas, seueritas, uindicta, innocentia, gratia, reuerentia, misericordia, concordia.[21]

Religio est uirtus quedam superioris nature[22] quam diuinam uocant philosophi <curam ceremoniamque affert>.[23]

Unde et religio dicitur a religo, religas, quia hac uirtute religamur diuino cultui. Consistit autem religio (159va) in hiis: in diligendo Deum, et reddendo gratias Deo <et> in exhibendo debitum cultum Deo.

Diuiditur autem religio in has species: in fidem, spem et caritatem.

Fides autem est perceptio ueritatis rerum cum assensione sine causarum cognitione. Ideo dicitur "ueritatis perceptio", quia falsorum fides non est. Sed quia aliquando opinamur, sequitur "cum assensione". Sed quia aliquando percipitur ueritas et adhibetur firma credulitas mediantibus naturalibus causis, additur "sine causarum cognitione": ubi enim causarum cognitio preuenit ad aliquid probandum, non est fides sed scientia. Fides est supra opinionem et infra scientiam constituta.[24]

Siquidem hec descriptio fidei nimis generalis est, tam informate quam informi fidei conueniens, tam catholice quam politice, ideo specialiter catholice fidei descriptio adhibenda.

Fides catholica est perceptio ueritatis rerum inuisibilium[25] ad christianam religionem pertinentium. Res inuisibiles secundum theologum ea dicuntur que nec sensu nec intellectu comprehenduntur, sed solummodo creduntur, ut ea que fides catholica de unitate trinitatis et trinitate unitatis et consimilibus testatur, quarum cognitionem cause siue naturales rationes non preueniunt, sed solummodo creduntur. Unde Gregorius: *fides non habet meritum cui humana ratio prebet experimentum.*[26]

---

[18] Cicero, *De Inventione rhetorica* II, 53.

[19] *Ysagoge, ed. cit.*, p. 75, ll. 1-2.

[20] *Ysagoge, ed. cit.*, p. 75, ll. 7-9 (quoad sensum). Alanus, *Summa de arte praedicatoria*, c. 19 in fine; PL 210, 149A.

[21] *Mor. dogma, ed. cit.*, p. 23, ll. 2-4; *Ysagoge, ed. cit.*, p. 76, ll. 5-18.

[22] nature *Ysagoge*: uite *L* et *P*.

[23] curam . . . affert, ex *Ysagoge, ed. cit.*, p. 76, ll. 8-9. Cicero, *De Inventione rhetorica* II, 53.

[24] *Ysagoge, ed. cit.*, p. 79, l. 20.

[25] rerum inuisibilium ueritatis *L*.

Spes uero est uirtus qua speramus premium uite eterne iustorum meritis reddendum. Differentia est inter spem et fidem, quod fides tam de preteritis quam de futuris, quam de presentibus; spes uero tantum de bonis futuris.

Caritas est uirtus qua mouemur ad diligendum Deum et proximum, Deum supra nos, proximum iuxta nos. Secundum hoc diuiditur caritas in dilectione Dei et dilectione proximi.

Hee tres uirtutes specialiter pertinent ad religionem. In his enim maxime consistit religio christiana; quamuis et alie possint ad religionem referri. In omnibus enim consideratur religio; unde et ipsa posset constitui quasi genus; quare et Tullius in Rhetorica inuentionum[27] eam ponit primam speciem naturalis iuris tamquam principalem uirtutem et generaliorem; unde, quamuis sub iustitia collocetur quodam respectu, tamen alio respectu potest constitui superior.

Pietas est uirtus qua potentibus honorem debitum exhibemus, non solum in ueneratione, uerum in necessariorum exhibitione.

Seueritas est uirtus qua, communi utilitate seruata, districte agimus in reddendis suppliciis, ut nichil relinquamus de pena debita.

Vindicta est uirtus qua propulsamus iniurias nobis illatas.

Sed si altius quis consideret, inueniet hec duo, scilicet seueritatem et uindictam non esse uirtutes. Cum enim omnis uirtus a natura initium habeat et sit species naturalis iuris, uindicta uel seueritas potius ex infirmitate initium habent quam a natura. Indultum (159^{vb}) est enim homini ex infirmitate ut illatas propulsaret iniurias.

Innocentia est uirtus animi omnis iniurie illationem reformidans.[28]

Gratia est uirtus qua beneficiis nostris ratione[29] beneficiorum grati tenemur.

Reuerentia est uirtus personis[30] grauibus[31] uel aliqua prelatione sublimibus debitum honorificationis cultum exhibens.[32] Hec diuiditur in duas species: in uenerationem et obedientiam.

Veneratio est uirtus qua reuerentiam exhibemus maioribus in corporis humilitate, gestus demissione, uerborum humilitate.

Obedientia est animi deliberatio honesta iuste iussionis effectus; nisi enim iusta fuerit iussio et cum discretione animi[33] deliberatio, non tenemur obedire prelato.

Diuiditur autem obedientia in duas species: una enim est quando obedimus suscipiendo honores, in qua nichil nostre uoluntatis debet interesse, quia non debemus honores appetere; alia uero fit in sustinendo aduersitates ubi debet se nostra uoluntas admiscere: iusti enim est tribulationes desiderare. Unde Gregorius: *sciendum summopere est quod obedientia aliquando si de suo aliquid habeat, nulla est; aliquando si de suo aliquid non habeat minima; nam cum huiusmodi successus precipitur, cum locus superior imperatur, is qui ad percipienda hec obedit, obedientie sibi uirtutem euacuat, si ad hec etiam ex primo desiderio anhelat. Rursus cum mundi despectus precipitur cum probra adipisci et contumelie iubentur, nisi hec ex seipso animus appetat, obedientie sibi meritum non acquirit.*[34] *Debet ergo obedientia etiam in aduersis de suo aliquid habere, et rursum in prosperis de suo aliquid non omnimodo non habere.*[35]

Misericordia est uirtus per quam animus super[36] calamitate mouetur.[37] Hec quidem uirtus quadam excellentia caritas uel iustitia Dei dici solet. Unde psalmista: *dispersit dedit pauperibus; iustitia eius manet in seculum seculi.*[38] Iustitia quidem specialiter hec uirtus ideo dicitur quia, dum quelibet necessaria indigentibus ministramus, sua illius reddimus, non nostra largimur.[39]

---

[26] Gregorius, *Homeliae in Evangelia* II, hom. 26; PL 76, 1197C.

[27] Cicero, *De Inventione rhetorica* II, 57.

[28] *Mor. dogma, ed. cit.*, p. 25, l. 11; *Ysagoge, ed. cit.*, p. 76, l. 11.

[29] ratione *P*: in datione *L*.

[30] personis, ex *Ysagoge, ed. cit.*, p. 76, l. 14: primis *L* et *P*.

[31] grauibus, ex *Ysagoge, ibid.*: generibus *P*.

[32] *Mor. dogma, ed. cit.*, p. 26, ll. 16-17; *Ysagoge, ed. cit.*, p. 76, ll. 13-15.

[33] animi: causa *P*.

[34] non acquirat: euecuat *P*.

[35] Gregorius, *Moral.* XXXIII, 14; PL 76, 766D-767A. Cf. Alanus, *Summa de arte praedicatoria*, c. 16; PL 210, 144A-B.

[36] super: semper *L*, *om.* *P*.

[37] *Mor. dogma, ed. cit.*, p. 27, l. 17; *Ysagoge, ed. cit.*, p. 76, l. 17.

Concordia est uirtus conciues et compatriotas in idemptitate instituti iuris[40] et cohabitationis[41] spontanee uinciens.[42]

Fortitudo est uirtus que nec aduersitatis impulsu[43] frangitur nec prosperitatis blandimento eleuatur.[44]

Ad fortitudinem quoque referuntur quecumque faciant nos in aduersis constantes. Hec autem sunt magnanimitas, fiducia, securitas, magnificentia, constantia, firmitas, patientia, perseuerantia, longanimitas, humilitas.

Magnanimitas est uirtus spontanea difficilium agressio.[45] Unde Calcidius in prologo ad Osium[46] ait: *quid enim generosam*[47] *super magnanimitatem uel aggredi pigeant uel ceptum fatiget?*[48]

Fiducia[49] est certa spes animi rem inchoatam (160ra) ad finem perducendi.[50]

Securitas est uirtus incommoditates imminentes et rei[51] inchoate affines non formidans.

Magnificentia est uirtus[52] animi[53] altorum et[54] preclarorum dans consummationem.[55]

Constantia est stabilitas animi firma et in proposito perseuerans.

Firmitas est uirtus animi omnia equanimiter portans.[56]

Patientia est uirtus[57] animi contumeliarum et omnis aduersitatis impetus cum tranquillitate[58] sustinens.

Perseuerantia est animi firmitas in bono proposito usque ad finem persistens.

Longanimitas est animi virtus qua patienter uite eterne premium expectamus.

Humilitas est uirtus per quam animus in nullo se efferens, nichilque bonum sibi ascribens, exterius etiam deiecti[59] prefert habitum.[60] Humilitas autem diuiditur in tres species: in illam qua homo se humiliat maiori, que dicitur sufficiens; et illam qua homo se humiliat pari, que dicitur perfecta; et illam qua se humiliat minori, que dicitur superabundans.[61]

Inter has uirtutes potest etiam mansuetudo computari. Mansuetudo est animi uirtus qua homo se tolerabilem[62] reddit.

Ad fortitudinem possunt referri omnes uirtutes; quia in omni uirtutis usu quodammodo resultat effectus fortitudinis.

Temperantia est uirtus, <que>[63] cum sit potentia refrenandi[64] illecebras in nos impetus facientes,[65] partes habet potentias ad hoc pertinentes. Hee autem sunt[66] continentia, castitas, pudicitia, sobrietas, parcitas, moderantia, honestas, abstinentia, uerecundia, modestia.

---

[38] *Ps.* cxi, 9.

[39] *Ysagoge, ed. cit.*, p. 76, ll. 23-25.

[40] instituti iuris. Cf. Introd., n. 9.

[41] cohabitationis, ex *Ysagoge*: coercionis *L* et *P*.

[42] *Mor. dogma, ed. cit.*, p. 27, ll. 4-5; *Ysagoge, ed. cit.*, p. 76, ll. 15-17.

[43] impulsu *P*: incursu *L*.

[44] Fortitudo . . . eleuatur: *haec verba in* L *sunt post* longanimitas, humilitas (*statim infra*).

[45] *Mor. dogma, ed. cit.*, p. 30, l. 3; *Ysagoge, ed. cit.*, p. 77, l. 4.

[46] Osium: Exosium *L*.

[47] generosam: genero *L*.

[48] fatigat: fatigetur *L*. Chalcidius, *In Timaeum Platonis*, Proemium, éd. G. A. Mullach, *Fragmenta philosophorum graecorum* II (Paris, 1867), p. 148.

[49] Fiducia . . . equanimiter portans. *Mor. dogma, ed. cit.*, p. 30, ll. 4-10; *Ysagoge, ed. cit.*, p. 77, ll. 4-11.

[50] perducendi: perducens *P*.

[51] rei *P*: re *L*.

[52] uirtus: uis *P*.

[53] animi. Cf. Introd., n. 15.

[54] altorum *P*: arduorum *L*.

[55] magnificentia . . . dans consummationem. Cf. Introd., *ibid.*

[56] Firmitas. . . . Cf. Introd., n. 17.

[57] uirtus: uis *add. L*.

[58] cum tranquillitate. Cf. Introd., n. 13.

[59] deiecti: delicti *P*.

[60] *Ysagoge, ed. cit.*, p. 77, ll. 12-14.

[61] Humilitas . . . superhabundans: *iste textus est infra in* L, *post* ad temperantiam reduci potest.

[62] tolerabilem: tolerabiliorem *P*.

[63] que *om. L*.

[64] refrenandi, ex *Ysagoge*: reseruandi *L*.

[65] refrenandi facientes: resistendi illecebris in nos impetum facientibus *P*.

[66] Hec autem sunt . . . immoderatum reuocans usum. Cf. *Mor. dogma, ed. cit.*, pp. 50-51; *Ysagoge, ed. cit.*, p. 77, l. 18; p. 78, l. 18.

Continentia est uirtus abstinendi ab illicitis.

Castitas est uirtus sub iugo rationis libidinis impetum refrenans.

Pudicitia[67] est uirtus non solum impetum libidinis coercens, uerum etiam signa cohibens. Signa autem libidinis sunt gestus corporis, ac habitus accuratus. Et ita differentia est inter castitatem et pudicitiam: castitas enim refrenat motum, pudicitia uero et motum et signum; unde uirgines dicimus castas licet accurate ornatas, matronas uero pudicas.

Castitas autem diuiditur in tres species: in statum uirginalem, et continentiam uidualem, et pudicitiam coniugalem. Virginitas est uirtus qua homo sic refrenat motus concupiscentie carnalis quod non incurrit lubricum carnis. Continentia uidualis est uirtus que post expertum luxurie lubricum non amplius se subicit experientie. Pudicitia coniugalis est uirtus que per matrimonii sacramentum releuat carnale commercium.

Sobrietas est uirtus qua excessum potus cibique cohibemus.

Parcitas est uirtus qua retinemus retinenda; sicut largitas est uirtus qua damus danda; unde et largitas ad temperantiam reduci potest (160^{rb}). Uel parcitas potest dici uirtus mensuram refectionis non excedens.

Moderantia est ciborum nimium appetitum rationis imperio reuocare.

Honestas est nec lautiora fercula querere nec in accurato apparatu operam dare.

Abstinentia est statutum prandendi tempus non preuenire.

<Verecundia est feda et superflua uerba reprimere>.[68]

Modestia est corporei ornatus et cetere necessarie suppelectilis immoderatum reuocans usum.

Hee uirtutes specialiter ad temperantiam pertinent. Omnes tamen reduci possunt ad temperantiam, quia, cum uirtus sit medium uitiorum utrimque redactum, in omni uirtute potest considerari effectus temperantie ubi nichil est superfluum, nichil est diminutum.[69]

ART. 3. AN UIRTUTES CARDINALES FIANT GRATUITE

Queritur (161ra) post hec utrum politice uirtutes fiant catholice.

Quod probatur. Sicut caritas que in futuro[1] non euacuabitur, immo plenius consummabitur, quia mors non interrumpit ordinem caritatis, spes autem euacuabitur, caritas autem non excidet, sic uidetur quod ille qualitates que in infideli, iudeo uel gentili dicuntur politice uirtutes, informantur per caritatem quando infidelis anima conuertitur ad fidem et fiant catholice uirtutes, ut temperantia uel prudentia uel fortitudo uel iustitia que prius erat[2] in gentili informis consequenter recipiat formam.

Quod autem fides informis consequenter informetur et fiat uirtus, uidetur uelle auctoritas que dicit quod Petrus Christum negauit uerbo, fidem tamen in mente retinuit quam prius habuit, et ita in eo erat fides que prius fuerat uirtus.

Item. Temperantia que est in hoc iudeo, uel informari potest caritate, uel non. Si non potest informari caritate, non uidetur usus eius bonus, et ita non uidetur de genere bonorum.

Item. Cum sit de genere uirtutum, si informari potest caritate, potest[3] fieri uirtus.

Amplius. Virtus in duobus consistit: in debito officio et debito fine.[4] Temperantia autem que in isto est potest consistere in debito officio et debito fine; ergo potest fieri uirtus.

---

[67] Pudicitia. Cf. Introd., n. 20.

[68] uerecundia . . . reprimere *P*: *om. L.*

[69] In fol. 160^{v}, per totum, legitur conspectus schematicus omnium virtutum de quibus supra sermo fuit.

[1] futuro: presenti *L.*

[2] erat: erant *L.*

[3] potest: potes *L.*

[4] Boetius, *De Consolatione philosophiae* IV, prosa 2; PL 63, 792B-793A.

Item, indirecte sic. In prima creatione fuerunt in Adam iste naturales potentie, iustitia, fortitudo, et huiusmodi. Ergo, aut ille desierunt esse in Adam aduenientibus gratuitis, et ita priuatus est quibusdam naturalibus ante peccatum; aut si non desierunt esse, inceperunt esse uirtutes; uel due temperantie, due fortitudines fuerunt in ipso: una formata, alia informis.

Item. Qua ratione dicere possumus aliam fidem esse in isto christiano cum iustus est, alia cum iustus non est, cum eadem sit perceptio rerum inuisibilium ad christianam fidem pertinentium?

Contra sic. Dona gratuita modo sunt in isto que prius non fuerunt in isto, que nichil aliud sunt quam uirtutes. Ergo uirtutes que modo sunt in isto, prius non fuerunt in isto.

Item, indirecte sic. Nulle qualitates sunt in isto iustificato que prius non fuerunt in isto. Ergo nullas uirtutes nunc primo confert ei Deus. Simili ratione nulla conferuntur isti iustificato.

Item. Differentia est inter gratuita et naturalia ut naturalia non sint gratuita nec e conuerso. Nec etiam naturalia possunt esse supererogata. Unde cum naturales potentie que in isto sunt, sint naturalia, non possunt esse supererogata.

Item. Sicut alia est actio qua iste incipit ire ad ecclesiam causa orandi, alia qua consummat iter causa mulierem uidendi, cum enim prima sit informata caritate, secunda deformata uitio, nec illa que informata est potest esse illa que deformata est, nec una potest intelligi partim deformis, partim formata, sic alia uidetur temperantia que cum caritate habetur, alia que sine caritate.

Item. Caritas informis esse non potest (161^{rb}); est enim talis uirtus cui non communicat alienus. Similiter uidetur quod cetere uirtutes informes esse non possint.

Preterea. Sicut uirtutibus abuti non possumus, ita uidetur quod non possumus eis uti nisi meritorie.

Preterea. Sicut scientia in futuro euacuabitur, sic uidetur quod illa politica uirtus euacuetur, accedente catholica.

Ad hec dicimus quod dona gratuita que modo sunt in isto, prius fuerunt in isto, sed non fuerunt in isto prius gratuita uel uirtutes. Secundum hoc dicitur quod nunc primo gratuita sunt in isto uel uirtutes, quia nunc primo sunt in eo gratuita.

Simili ratione Deus dicitur isti conferre uirtutes, non quia conferat ei ea que sunt uirtutes, sed quia ea facit esse uirtutes, cum prius non essent uirtutes. Et secundum hoc magis bona dicitur Deus homini conferre, cum per ea que prius habebat facit eum dignum uita eterna, informans ea debito fine et debito officio. Sicut faber iste aurarius qui de auro alterius illi cuius est aurum format annulos aureos gratis, illi dicitur multa conferre.

Differentia autem que assignatur inter gratuita et naturalia non attenditur in essentiis, sed in utendi modis. Cum enim utimur naturalibus solo ductu nature, non informatione gratie, naturalia dicuntur. Cum uero eis caritate informante utimur, gratuita nuncupantur.

Ad hoc quod sequitur respondemus quod natura actionum in fluxu est, ita quod alia actio est que preteriit, alia que instat, alia que futura est, sed una eademque potentia permanet in subiecto; et ita potest esse ut que prius est informis consequenter informetur.

Quod autem de caritate dicitur quod ei non communicat alienus, cum pondere intelligendum est, ut hoc nomen caritas intelligatur esse nomen uirtutis informate. Quod enim sic caritas intelligatur esse nomen uirtutis id est talis ut[5] ei communicet alienus a uirtutibus, est impossibile; et sic de illis uirtutibus intelligendum est.

Quod autem dicitur quod non possumus uti uirtutibus nisi meritorie, quia non possumus eis abuti, non est ratio, quia abuti et meritorie uti non sunt opposita immediate, sicut in sequentibus ostendetur.

---

[5] ut: tus *L.*

Ad hoc quod obiectum est scientiam in futuro euacuari, dicimus quod modus scientie euacuabitur, sed non potentia sciendi. Vel ita potest esse quod alia erit scientia in futuro, alia in presenti, quod operabitur diuersus status. Sed hic ubi unus et idem manet status, potest informis qualitas formari. Qua enim ratione diceretur caritas informare uirtutes nisi prius qualitates ille que sunt in homine prius informes consequenter per caritatem informarentur?

Propter predictas obiectiones dicunt quidam quod accedente caritate incipit esse quedam qualitas in homine et esse uirtus, et illa est bonum gratuitum et non naturale. Et sicut in terra est quedam uis naturalis ex qua et rore de sublimi descendente germen in terra procreatur, ita in anima liberum arbitrium est quedam uis (161^{va}) naturalis, et superueniente fidei gratia tamquam rore, ex ipsa et libero arbitrio motus quod dicitur sperare ex dilectione et libero arbitrio diligere.

Isti iterum sic opponunt: substantiale est cuilibet naturali esse naturale; hoc naturale fit bonum gratuitum; ergo tunc etiam est bonum naturale. Sed ponatur quod iste peccet mortaliter; iste spoliatur gratuitis omnibus; ergo non solum uulneratur in naturalibus sed spoliatur, quia ipsa gratuita sunt naturalia.

Sed ad hoc dicimus quod iste spoliatur gratuitis in eo quod gratuita, sed non in eo quod naturalia. Sicut iste diues spoliatur istis diuitiis in eo quod sunt annuli, posito quod forme annulorum subtrahantur auro et argento, sed non in eo quod sunt aurum et argentum.

Item. Naturalis dilectio que in nobis est, superueniente Spiritu sancto, fit uirtus; illa sola dilectio que est uirtus est in nobis, et illa diligimus Deum; aliqua dilectione que est in nobis diligimus brutum animal; ergo eadem dilectione diligimus Deum et brutum animal.

Ad quod dicimus quod secus est in dilectione quam in aliis potentiis. Sunt enim in homine due dilectiones: una que procedit ex sensualitate qua diligimus terrena, et illam quodammodo habemus communem cum brutis animalibus que nunquam informatur caritate nec fit uirtus; alia uero qua apti sumus nati ad diligendum Deum propter se et proximum propter Deum. Sed non ita sunt in homine due iustitie, due fortitudines quarum una procedat ex sensualitate, alia ex ratione.

ART. 4. *AN UIRTUTES CONFERANTUR IN BAPTISMO*

Post predicta queritur utrum paruulo conferantur uirtutes in baptismo.

Quod sic probatur. Dicit auctoritas: *fides datur in aquis et nutritur in aquis*:[1] datur quantum ad paruulos, nutritur quantum ad adultos.

Item. Baptismus non solum remittit penam, sed confert gratiam.

Item. De baptismo generaliter dicitur quod in eo datur Spiritus Sanctus baptizato. Unde Iohannes dicit: *ego baptizo uos aqua, ille uos baptizabit in aqua et Spiritu Sancto*.[2] Et alibi: *nisi quis renatus fuerit ex aqua et Spiritu sancto*, etc.[3]

Item. Egressus uitiorum est ingressus uirtutum.[4]

Item. Virtus et uitium sunt opposita immediate; sed paruulus iste non habet uitia, ergo habet uirtutes.

Item. Baptismus facit illum dignum uita eterna. Sed nullus dignus est uita eterna nisi ratione uirtutum; ergo iste habet uirtutes.

Item. Puer ante baptismum erat membrum diaboli per originale uitium, post baptismum est membrum Christi: ergo per originalem uirtutem, ut ita liceat loqui.

Item. Post mortem non est locus iustificandi. Nullus enim post mortem inuenitur iustus nisi in uita fuerit iustificatus. Ergo anima ista que post baptismum decedit post mortem non erit iusta nisi in baptismo fuerit iustificata. Ergo si in baptismo iustificatur, ei uirtutes conferuntur (161^{vb}).

---

[1] Lomb., *Liber IV Sent.*, d. 4, c. 5; *ed. cit.*, II, p. 770.

[2] *Marc.* i, 8.

[3] *Johan.* iii, 3.

[4] *Die Sentenzen Rolands nachmals Papstes Alexander III*, éd. A. M. Gietl O.P. (Freiburg i. Br., 1891), p. 256, ll. 15-16.

His auctoritatibus ducti dicunt[5] uirtutes conferri in baptismo paruulis, habitu inquam, non usu; quia eas habent in quadam habilitate et aptitudine, ut eis utantur cum ad annos discretionis peruenerint, nisi per ipsos obstiterit;[6] sicut rationem et memoriam et intellectum habent non usu, <sed>[7] in habitu, et si discretionem haberent,[8] eis uti possent.[9]

Nos uero dicimus quod uirtutes in baptismo non conferuntur paruulis, cum tunc non habeant uelle uel nolle. Omnis enim uirtus consistit penes usum liberi arbitrii. Ante peccatum autem eadem ratione fuerunt in paruulo uirtutes quia <fuerunt>[10] quedam potentie quibus aptus natus est ad hoc ut esset fortis, prudens, mansuetus, iustus; est enim *homo animal mansuetum*[11] natura.

Quod autem paruulo non conferantur in baptismo, sic probatur. Si paruulus iste ideo dicitur habere uirtutes quia immunis est a peccato et membrum Christi, eadem ratione habebat uitia uirtutibus opposita, cum esset membrum diaboli et teneretur peccato originali, et ita in eo erant luxuria, iniustitia, intemperantia; et sic si decederet, non dampnaretur pro solo originali sed pro aliis uitiis.

Item. Si iste puer qui baptizatus est habet fidem, credit et diligit; et ita diligit Deum supra se et proximum tamquam se. Eadem ratione iste credit omnes articulos fidei, et ita cum uentum fuerit ad annos discretionis, et habebit maiorem fidem[12] et usum fidei, fide utetur ad credendum omnes articulos fidei; quod falsum est, posito quod futurus sit simplex et ydiota. Eadem ratione iste paruulus post baptismum habet caritatem perfectam uel imperfectam.

Item. Cum uirtutes habeat in habitu, eis mereri potest, cum aliquis ex eo quod habeat uitia in solo habitu mereatur penam.

Item. Cum auctoritas dicat quod circumcisio delebat culpam, sed non conferebat gratiam,[13] queritur quomodo paruulis conferebantur uirtutes tempore circumcisionis, cum nullum sacramentum esset in ueteri testamento tante efficacie. Videtur ergo quod in ueteri testamento paruulis non conferebantur uirtutes ante annos discretionis, si malint, nec in baptismo ante annos discretionis.

Dicimus ergo quod prima auctoritas intelligenda est de statu adultorum quibus aut fides datur si tunc primo conuertuntur quando baptizantur, aut in eis nutritur si prius conuersi[14] ad baptismum accedunt.

Secunda etiam auctoritas de eodem statu adultorum intelligenda est.

Spiritus sanctus uero dupliciter dicitur dari: aut quantum ad peccati remissionem paruulis, aut quantum ad uirtutum collationem prout datur adultis.

Quod autem dicitur quod egressus uitiorum est ingressus uirtutum locum habet circa statum (162ra) adultorum.

Ad hoc quod dicitur quod uirtus et uitium sunt opposita immediate, dicimus quod non sunt opposita immediate, maxime infra annos discretionis, sicut in sequentibus ostendetur; quemadmodum uisus et cecitas circa animal irrationale, uel latrabile ante tempus determinatum, ita spiritualis uisio et spiritualis cecitas circa animal rationale ante annos discretionis.

Ad hoc quod dicitur quod baptismus facit paruulum dignum uita eterna, dicimus quod puer post baptismum dignus est de congruo ratione innocentie, sed non de merito. Congruum est enim ut aliquis immunis a peccato saluetur. Puer autem non alia de causa dicitur membrum diaboli nisi quia obnoxius est pene eterne; non enim aliquod peccatum habet in se, sed hoc contraxit originaliter a primo parente ut pro peccato eius obnoxius sit pene eterne. Paruulus ergo iste nec ante baptismum proprie habet peccatum, nisi peccatum uocemus reatum, id est obnoxietatem pene eterne; nec post baptismum uirtutem, nisi uirtutem uocemus quamdam dignitatem congrui quam contrahit ex baptismo et fide ecclesie.

---

[5] Lomb., *Liber IV Sent.*, d. 4, c. 7; *ed. cit.*, II, p. 772.

[6] obstiterit: steterit *L.*

[7] sed *om. L.*

[8] haberent: haberet *L.*

[9] possent: posset *L.*

[10] fuerunt *om. L.*

[11] Aristoteles, *Peri Hermeneias*, c. 11; *ed. cit.*, I, p. 32, ll. 31-32.

[12] fidem: spem *L.*

[13] Lomb., *Liber IV Sent.*, d. 1, c. 9, n° 18; *ed. cit.*, II, p. 750.

[14] conuersi: contriti *L.*

Hoc uero quod dicitur quod post mortem non inuenietur iustus aliquis nisi in uita fuerit iustificatus, intelligendum est de adultis tantum, uel nisi fuerit iustificatus aut peccati remissione aut uirtutis collatione.

ART. 5. *AN ADAM HABUIT UIRTUTES ANTE PECCATUM*

Similiter queritur utrum Adam habuit uirtutes ante peccatum.

Sunt qui dicunt duos fuisse status Ade ante peccatum: primum fuisse innocentie in quo habuit tantum naturalia, secundum gratie in quo habuit cum naturalibus gratuita; primum autem habuisse ante peccatum quando formatus fuit in agro damasceno antequam esset in paradiso; secundum uero quando translatus fuit in paradiso.

Quod et auctoritatibus et rationibus conantur asserere.

Auctoritatibus sic. Legitur in Genesi quod Adam factus fuit *ad ymaginem et similitudinem*[1] Dei: ad ymaginem quantum ad naturalia, ad similitudinem quantum ad gratuita. Ergo uel tunc non habuit naturalia, uel tunc habuit gratuita.

Item. Dicit auctoritas[2] quod uulneratus fuit in naturalibus et spoliatus in gratuitis.

Augustinus[3] etiam in quadam homilia ait: Adam perdita caritate malus inuentus est.

Item, *princeps uitiorum dum uidit*[4] *Adam de limo terre factum ad ymaginem Dei, pudicitia armatum, temperantia compositum, caritate splendidum, primos parentes illis donis ac tantis donis expoliauit pariterque peremit.*

De hoc eodem Ambrosius ad Sabinum[5] ait: *quando Adam solus erat non est preuaricatus,*[6] *quia eius mens Deo adherebat.*[7]

Super psalmum quoque <dicit>[8] quod ante peccatum *beatissimus auram carpebat etheream.*[9] Sed quomodo sine uirtutibus beatissimus erat?[10]

Rationibus sic. Adam ante peccatum fortitudinem, iustitam et consimiles qualitates habebat. Ille erant in eo informes aut formate. Si formate, ergo erant uirtutes; si informes, quid deerat ad formam?

Item. Dilectionem habebat ordinatam, diligebat enim Deum supra se et uxorem suam tamquam se; et ita habebat ordinatam caritatem, et ita eam habebat uirtutem.

Item. Si aliquis dicat ideo illas naturales (162^{rb}) potentias non esse uirtutes quia non erat ui stantes; contra: uitia non erant uitia que impellerent; eadem ratione nec angeli habent uirtutes nec anime sanctorum que in celo sunt.

Item. Si Adam diabolo restitisset, per hoc meruisset uitam eternam; sed meritum non posset esse in eo sine uirtutibus, nec aliquibus restitisset suggestioni demonum nisi uirtutibus quas habebat; et ita habebat uirtutes ante suggestionem.

Sunt alii qui dicunt unum solum fuisse statum Ade ante peccatum in quo preditus fuit naturalibus et non gratuitis.

Et isti iudicant de statu Ade secundum statum angelorum qui creati fuerant in statu innocentie sine collatione gratie, in ruina etiam angelorum et confirmatione bonorum collata sunt gratuita ipsis stantibus. In similitudinem, dicunt

---

[1] *Gen.* i, 26.

[2] Lomb., *Liber IV Sent.*, d. 25, c. 7; *ed. cit.*, I, p. 432.

[3] *Ibid.*, d. 29, c. 2; *ibid.*, p. 457. Cf. *supra*, Introd., n. 28.

[4] uidit: vicit *L.*

[5] Sabinum: Sabellium *L.* Cf. *supra*, Introd., n. 34.

[6] preuaricatus: privatus *L.*

[7] Ambrosius, *Epist. XLIX ad Sabinum;* PL 16, 1204A.

[8] dicit *om. L.*

[9] Ambrosius, *Expositio in ps. CXVIII;* PL 15, 1307B.

[10] Cf. *supra*, Introd., n. 33.

Adam fuisse creatum ut si in naturalibus perstitisset non consentiendo demoni, gratuita consecutus fuisset.

Et hoc auctoritatibus et rationibus probant.

Ait enim auctoritas: *Adam habuit quo posset stare, sed non quo posset proficere.*[11]

Item. Alibi legitur quod *habuit posse quo uellet, sed non habuit uelle quo posset.*[12]

Rationibus sic. Ideo uidetur ruina Ade fuisse reparabilis, angelo uero non, quia Adam non habuit naturalia ita firma sicut angelus, nec gratuita que supplerent infirmitatem naturalium, angelus uero etsi non habuit gratuita, habuit tamen naturalia firmissima, firmiora naturalibus Ade et gratuitis eius, si gratuita habuisset.

Item. Qua ratione constituuntur duo status in Adam, et non duo in angelo, cum dilata sint angelo gratuita usque dum conferrentur stantibus, aliis cadentibus, similiter uidentur dilata gratuita Ade ut conferrentur ei si perstitisset in bono.

Item. Qua ratione opponitur eis qui dicunt unicum fuisse statum Ade de illis potentiis utrum fuerunt informes uel formate, potest opponi eis qui duos constituunt status, secundum primum statum in quo Adam illas potentias habuit.

Ad hec dicimus sine preiudicio melioris sententie quod unicus fuit status Ade ante peccatum in quo habuit naturalia et non gratuita, que tamen habiturus esset si in naturalibus perstitisset.

Dicitur ergo Adam factus fuisse ad similitudinem Dei quantum ad gratuita non que habuit, sed que habiturus fuerat si in statu innocentie perstitisset et ad que habenda ex creatione aptus fuit. Ergo creatus fuit ad ymaginem Dei quantum ad naturalium appositionem, ad similitudinem uero quantum ad gratuitorum habilitatem.

Similiter quod dicitur quod spoliatus gratuitis, referendum est quantum ad habilitatem, sicut iste dicitur amittere ludum alearum, non quem habuit sed ad quem habendum aptus fuit ludendi habilitate.

Similiter Adam dicitur amisisse caritatem. Dicitur etiam caritatem, pudicitiam, temperantiam habuisse, non quia eas habuit ut uirtutes, sed quia eas habuit <ut>[13] potentias naturales; sicut legitur in Glosa super Osee quod (162va) diabolus creatus fuit in pinguedine caritatis, non quia habuerit caritatem uirtutem, sed quia immensam habuit naturalem dilectionem. Mens etiam Ade dicitur Deo adhesisse, non per caritatis uirtutem sed per quamdam naturalem dilectionis plenitudinem. Et hoc est quod alibi dicitur de Adam quod auram carpebat etheream.

Ad hoc uero quod queritur utrum naturales potentie in Adam essent informes uel formate, dicimus quod duplex est forma: est forma nature qua informate erant ille naturales potentie: naturaliter enim diligebat Deum et naturaliter credebat eum; et est forma gratie qua non erant informate: non enim adhuc[14] diligebat uel credebat ut Deum haberet in premium: ad hoc enim non mouebatur. Similiter dicimus quod quamuis dilexerit Deum plus quam se et proximum tamquam se, tamen illa dilectio non erat uirtus, quia non dirigebat eam ad Deum ad hoc ut ipsum haberet in premium.

Unde dicimus hanc non fuisse causam quare non habuerit uirtutes ante peccatum, quia ille potentie non fuerunt ui stantes contra uitia, sed quia illarum potentiarum usum non referebat ad Deum ut ipsum haberet in premium. Si autem restitisset temptationi diaboli, non hoc fecisset per gratuita, sed per naturalia, per quod reddidisset se dignum uita eterna, id est congruum ut conferrentur ei gratuita.

---

[11] Lomb., *Liber II Sent.*, d. 24, c. 1; *ed. cit.*, I, p. 419.

[12] Augustinus, *De Correptione et gratia*, c. 11, n° 32; PL 44, 936.

[13] ut *om. L.*

[14] adhuc: ad hoc. *L.*

ART. 6. *AN UIRTUTES SINT INTER SE CONNEXE*

Predictis adnectitur questio qua queritur utrum sic sibi cohereant uirtutes ut qui habet unam habeat omnes.

Quod et auctoritatibus et rationibus uidetur posse probari.

Super Genesim ubi fit mentio de uernaculis Habrae dicit auctoritas,[1] quod per uernaculos Habrae intelliguntur uirtutes que ita sibi coherent quod una non est sine alia.

De hoc ait Jeronimus: *omnes uirtutes sibi coherent ut qui una careat omnibus careat,*[2] qui ergo unam habet, et omnes.

Item. Ait super illum locum Isaie: *uenter meus ad Moab ut cithara clamabit; sicut cithara sonum compositum non emittit si una corda rupta fuerit, sic spiritualis uenter prophete dulce melos non resonabit, si una uirtutum defuerit. Philosophorum quoque habet sententia sibi coherere uirtutes; et Iacobi cui deest una, deesse omnes.*[3]

Item. Augustinus[4] super illum locum Iohannis: si diligitis me, sepe commendat caritatem sine qua cetere non habentur, que sine ceteris haberi non potest.

Item. Dicit auctoritas: *qui offendit in uno factus est omnium reus,*[5] ergo qui non offendit in uno non offendit in aliis; a simili qui habet unam uirtutem habet omnes.

Rationibus sic. Caritas mater est omnium uirtutum. In quocumque mater est. scilicet caritas, et cuncte filie eius, id est uirtutes, recte fore creduntur. Unde Augustinus:[6] *ubi est caritas, quid est quod possit deesse? Ubi autem non est, quid est quod possit prodesse?* Cur ergo non dicimus: qui habet hanc uirtutem habere omnes, cum plenitudo legis sit caritas?

Item indirecte sic. Virtus et uitium sunt immediate opposita. Si ergo quis non habet uirtutem, habet uitium sibi oppositum. Si quis ergo habet unam uirtutem. non habet uitium sibi oppositum. Si quis habet unam uirtutem et non habet aliam. habet uitia illi opposita. Ergo simul habet uirtutes et uitia, quod est impossibile.

Item. Qui (162^{rb}) iustus est reddit Deo quod suum est et homini; etiam in hoc prudenter agit. Ergo qui iustus est prudens est. Sed qui prudens est nec frangitur aduersis nec eleuatur prosperis, nec succumbit illecebris. Ergo qui prudens est fortis est et temperatus. Et sic qui habet iustitiam, et alias. Similiter de prudentia et aliis ratiocinandum est. Sed qui habet cardinales habet eas que ad cardinales pertinent. Omnes autem pertinent ad cardinales. Ergo qui habet unam habet omnes.

Contra. Ait Augustinus:[7] *Philosophorum habet sententia sibi coherere uirtutes. sed non christianorum:* non enim qui habet unam habet omnes.

Item. Augustinus ad Ieronimum uidetur insinuare quod in aliquo magis est una uirtus quam alia, et una est in aliquo et non altera. Ait enim sic:[8] *Ita sunt anime <intentiones>*[9] *ut corporis membra, non quod uideantur locis sed quod sentiantur affectibus, et alius illuminatur amplius, alius minus, alius omnino caret luce, profecto ut quisque pie illius intentioris affectus est in aliquo magis, in alio minus. in alio nichil sic dici potest et habere aliam et non habere aliam, et aliam magis et aliam minus habere uirtutem, nam et maior est in isto caritas quam in illo, et nulla in isto, quantum pertinet ad caritatem que pietas est, et in uno homine maiorem quidem habere pudicitiam quam patientiam et maiorem hodie quam heri, si proficit et adhuc non habet continentiam et habet non paruam misericordiam.*

---

[1] *Gen.* xiv, 14. *Glossa ordinaria* in h. loc.; I, p. 204.

[2] Ieronymus, *In Isaiam* XV, 56; PL 24, 558C.

[3] Ieronymus, *In Isaiam* VI, 16; PL 24, 246A.

[4] Augustinus, *Tract. in Iohan.*, 87, n° 1; PL 35, 1853.

[5] *Epist. Iacobi* ii, 10.

[6] Augustinus, *Tract. in Iohan*, 83, n° 3; PL 35, 1846.

[7] Augustinus, *Epist. CLXVII*, c. 2 (*De Sententia Iacobi*); PL 33, 735.

[8] Augustinus, *ibid.*, c. 4; *ibid.*, 739.

[9] intentiones *om. L.*

Item. In uita beati Britii legitur quod quamuis superbus esset et uanus, castus tamen habebatur in corpore.

Item. Ait Gregorius super Iob:[10] *si deest sapientia, minor est intellectus.* Sicut ergo unum donum Spiritus sancti uidetur posse haberi sine alio, ita et una uirtus sine alia.

Item. Multi coniugati habent ceteras uirtutes, non tamen uirginitatem; et sic non habet omnes qui habet unam.

Item. Si omnes uirtutes sibi coherent ut qui habet primam habeat omnes, et quelibet uirtus habet uitium sibi oppositum et quodlibet uitium uirtutem, uideretur quod qui habet unum uitium habeat omnia uitia, cum dicat auctoritas quod qui offendit in uno reus est omnium.

Ad hec dicimus quod qui habet unam uirtutem habet omnes in habitu, quod non in usu, ut referatur ad mentis habitum, non ad usum.

Auctoritates ergo Augustini que dicunt quod una habetur sine alia referende sunt ad actum, non ad habitum. Multi enim habent unam in actu qui non aliam, omnes tamen habent in habitu.

Quod de beato Britio legitur quod erat superbus et uanus, referendum est ad apparentiam, non ad rei existentiam; non enim in rei ueritate uanus et superbus erat, sed talis esse apparebat propter quedam uerba iocosa que uidebantur esse uanitatis et superbie signa.

Quod autem dicitur a Gregorio: *si deest sapientia, minor est intellectus*; id est minoratur intellectus, id est adnulatur, ut comparatiuum negative teneatur, non positiue; sed fortasse minora dona possunt haberi sine superioribus, sed non e conuerso; de quo diligentius in sequentibus tractabitur.

Coniugatus autem qui caret uirginitate non minus habet omnes uirtutes, quia castitatem habet in coniugali statu, quamuis non habeat in uirginali.

Utrum autem quelibet uirtus habeat uitium sibi oppositum, et si oppositum, utrum mediate uel immediate dubium est.

Ut autem magis hoc elucescat primo uidendum est quot modis dicitur uitium; secundo, in qua acceptione dicitur uirtuti oppositum; tertio, cui uirtuti quod uitium sit oppositum; quanto, utrum mediate uel immediate.

CAPUT II. *DE UITIIS*

ART. 1. *DE SEPTEM UITIIS CAPITALIBUS*

(163ra) Vitium aliquando dicitur infirmitas, ut potius designet penam quam culpam, unde cecitas uel surditas potest dici uitium, et secundum hoc uitium oppositum est naturali potentie uel naturali habitudini, ut surditas auditui, cecitas uisui, egritudo sanitati. Sed quia de huiusmodi uito eiusque oppositione, eiusdemque multiplici specie potius pertinet ad logicum disserere quam ad theologum, his supersedendum est.

Vitium apud theologum dicitur actus interior uel exterior debito fine priuatus, ut mala uoluntas uel malum opus. Quod ideo dicitur uitium quia extraordinarium, id est debito fine priuatum.

Secundum hoc etiam non credere in Deum, non ire ad ecclesiam et huiusmodi uitia dicuntur; quia his atque huiusmodi locutionibus que uidentur priuationes notare et nil ponere, quia per negationem dicuntur, uere aliqua ponuntur, actusque interiores per ea significantur; ut non credere in Deum incredulitas dicitur et nomen incredulitatis malum actum significat; ita etiam cum dicitur non ire ad ecclesiam malum est, non euntis contemptus significatur, id est uoluntas mala uel propositum; hoc enim est declinare a bono et ideo malum est; sicut e conuerso declinare a malo bonum est. Sicut ergo declinatio a malo aliquid ponit, scilicet uoluntatem et propositum uitandi malum, quod non potest non esse bonum, quod a natura nil est, ita declinatio a bono quod est significat uoluntatem et propositum mali.

---

[10] Gregorius, *Moral.* I, 32; PL 75, 547C, (quoad sensum).

Et secundum hoc uera est et generalis illa uitii descriptio: uitium est actus interior uel exterior debito fine priuatus. Secundum hoc uitium dicitur mortale peccatum.

Iuxta[1] quam acceptionem, septem dicuntur esse capitalia uitia uel principalia, ut Gregorius super Iob[2] ait: *inanis gloria, ira, inuidia,* acedia, *auaritia,* gastrimargia,[3] *luxuria;*[4] que, ut ait Chrisostomus,[5] significata sunt in septem populis qui terram promissionis Israeli promissam tenebant, et per septem demonia intelliguntur que a Maria Magdalene eiecta creduntur. De his quasi de septem fontibus cuncte animarum mortifere corruptele emanant. Et dicuntur hec capitalia, quia ex his oriuntur omnia mala: nullum enim est quod non ab aliquo horum trahat originem.

Primo ergo agendum est de inani gloria hoc ordine; primo, considerando quid sit inanis gloria; secundo, unde dicatur; tertio, quot sunt species; quarto, quibus descriptionum signaculis inter se discernantur.

Inanis gloria est inordinatus animi motus quo quis propriam excellentiam desiderat ut alios honore precellat. Hec grece dicitur ceciodoxia, id est uana gloria.

A fine autem suo inanis gloria dicitur, quia secularis gloria ei tamquam finis constituitur.

Hee autem species ad inanem gloriam spectant; elatio, superbia, arrogantia, insolentia, contentio, contumelia, contumacia, contemptus, presumptio, inobedientia, irreuerentia.

Elatio est animi tumor quo quis non uult pati priorem uel parem.

Superbia est animi tumor ex proprio honore immacerans alios supra ire contendens;[6] unde et superbia dicitur a super et eo, is.

Arrogantia est animi motus quo quis mouetur ad iactandum se habere quod non habet.

Insolentia est extra communem omnium[7] usum quasi ceteris despectis uerba, facta gestus habitusque specificare.

Contentio est impugnatio ueritatis per confidentiam clamoris (163^{rb}); hec ad inanem gloriam refertur, quia spe inanis glorie exercetur.

Contumacia est auctoritati maioris ex contemptu obuiare.

Contemptus est ad[8] quod homo tenetur negligenter[9] omittere.

Presumere est quod aliorum est sibi specialiter ascribere.

Inobedientia est suo prelato in iniunctis[10] non obedire.

Irreuerentia est debitam reuerentiam maioribus denegare.

Eodem modo uidendum est quid sit ira.

Ira est subita animi tempestas quo quis aduersus alium commouetur.

Hec diuiditur in has species: in odium, discordiam, rixam, iniuriam, contumeliam, impatientiam, proteruitatem, malitiam, nequitiam, malignitatem, furorem, homicidium.

Odium est inueteratus animi rancor; unde odium solet dici inueterata ira.

Discordia est dissentio aliquorum quos prius amoris uinculum colligauit.

Rixa <est>[11] ire motus in facti iniuriam.

---

[1] Iuxta . . . trahat originem. Lomb., *Liber II Sent.,* d. 42, c. 6; *ed. cit.,* I, p. 531.

[2] Iob: Exodum *L.*

[3] gastrimargia: castrimargia *L.*

[4] Gregorius, *Moral.* XXXI, 45; PL 76, 621A. *Loco* accedia *et* gastrimargia *legitur apud Gregorium:* tristitia *et* ventris ingluvies.

[5] Chrisostomus, *vel potius* Iohannes Cassianus, *Collat.* V, 24-25; PL 49, 640-41.

[6] contendens: ostendens *P.*

[7] omnium; hominum *P.*

[8] ad *om. L.*

[9] negligenter *P*: om. *L.*

[10] iniunctis *P*: in licitis *L.*

[11] est *om. L.*

Iniuria est uerbo uel facto cum aliquo iniuste agere.

Contumelia est iniuria in uerbis.

Impatientia est impetuosum animi motum non[12] refrenare.

Proteruitas est subitaneo motu in inhonesta uerba prorumpere.

Malitia est quando aliquis dampnum molitur[13] alicui.

Nequitia est temeritas quando quis audet quod nequit.

Malignitas est mala uoluntas hominis cum multa non possit.

Furor est inueterata animi tempestas rationem[14] proscribens.

Homicidium est actu uel uoluntate alii mortem moliri.

Hee omnes species specialiter ad iram referuntur, quia ex ira occasionaliter[15] oriuntur.

Eodem modo uidendum est quid sit inuidia.

Inuidia est dolor ex aliena felicitate nascens. Inuidus enim dicitur qui alterius felicitate torquetur, et sic inducitur in duplicem passionem, cum aut quod alium esse non uult, aut uidens alium esse meliorem dolet se non esse consimilem. Unde inuidia dicitur ab in et uidere; quia ille qui alii inuidet eius bona uidere non potest.

Diuiditur autem in has species: detractionem, susurrum, deprecationem,[16] ingratitudinem, mali inuentionem, boni compressionem[17] inuidentiam.

Detractio est aliorum bona negare.

Susurrum est inter amicos discordiam seminare.

Deprecatio[18] est bona alterius inuertere uel mala memorare. Possemus tamen constituere differentiam inter deprecationem et maledictionem, ut deprecatio[19] pertineat ad inuersionem boni, maledictio ad memorationem mali.

Ingratitudo est de beneficiis gratiam non referre.

Inuentio mali est alii imponere nouum genus peccati.

Boni compressio est alterius bonum tacere.

Inuidentia est bonos successus alterius nolle uidere.

Restat agere de accidia; de qua ordine pretaxato agendum est.

Accidia est animi torpor quo quis aut bona negligit inchoare aut fastidit perficere.

Diuiditur autem in has species: desidiam, pigritiam, pusillanimitatem, negligentiam, improuidentiam, incircumspectionem, tepiditatem, ignauiam.

Desidia est segnities animi qua quis bonum aggredi formidat.

Pigritia est mentis inertia uel animi fatigatio qua quis bonum inchoatum consummare fastidit.

Pusillanimitas est mentis angustia qua (163va) timet aggredi magna.

Negligentia est animi torpor quo quis minus diligens est in exsequendo quod debet.

Improuidentia est obtenebratio qua quis minus prouidens est in metiendo futura siue preterita.

Incircumspectio est animi uitium quo quis minus caute discernit contrarietatem uitiorum, ut si quis ita uitat auaritiam quod incidat in prodigalitatem.

Tepiditas est torpor animi quo quis torpet[20] in illius executione in quo deberet feruere. De qua tepiditate legitur in Apocalipsi: *utinam esses calidus aut frigidus, sed quia tepidus es, euomam te ab ore meo.*[21]

Ignauia est animi uitium quo quis in nullo opere debitam adhibet discretionem.

---

[12] non: ire *add. L.*

[13] molitur: mollitur *L.*

[14] rationem *P*: ratione *L.*

[15] occasionaliter: actionaliter *L.*

[16] deprecationem: deprauationem *L* et *P.*

[17] compressionem *P*: comprehensionem *L.*

[18] deprecatio: deprauatio *L* et *P.*

[19] deprecatio: deprauatio *L* et *P.*

[20] torpet *P*: tepet *L.*

[21] *Apoc.* iii, 16.

Restat agendum de auaritia ordine pretaxato.

Auarita est animi pestis cupiditate[22] adquirendi uel retinendi diuitias inhians. Ad hanc pertinent ambitus, simonia, usura, latrocinia, periuria, furta, mendacia, rapine, uiolentie, inquietudines, iniusta iudicia, obstinatio, doli.

Ambitus est honoris cupiditas que, quamuis ad inanem gloriam possit referri, tamen specialiter refertur ad auaritiam. Auaritia enim non solum consideratur in cupiditate pecunie, uerum etiam in appetitu honoris, in nimio desiderio scientie. Unde et primi parentes leguntur fuisse auari quia cupierunt esse scientes sicut dii.

Simonia est studiosa emendi uel uendendi cupiditas spirtuale uel annexum spirituali. In hoc enim simonia attenditur quod spirituale uel annexum spirituali, ut beneficium ecclesiasticum, cupide emitur uel uenditur. Dicitur autem symonia a Symone mago qui primus uoluit emere spirituale, id est gratiam operandi miracula. Proprie tamen symoniaci,[23] qui emit giezice, qui uendit, a giezi discipulo Elisei qui a Naaman Syro pro curatione lepre munus accepit uel extrosit.[24]

Symonia autem in uarias distribuitur species. Est enim symonia a manu quando munus presentatur; ab officio quando aliquis spirituali uel spiritualibus adnexo remuneratur pro officio suo, non intuitu religionis, persone, sed solius remunerationis extrinsece; ab adulatione quando quis pro sola adulatione spiritualibus uel his adnexis premiatur; uel <a>[25] timore quando <alicui pro>[26] timore principis ordo uel canonica datur; ab amore quando solo carnali amore quis ductus alii ecclesiastica beneficia impendit; a prece ut si quis solis precibus uictus secure ecclesiasticum beneficium eroget.[27]

Usura est studiosa cupiditas recipiendi aliquid supra sortem, ut si quis hoc pacto accomodat decem ut recipiat uiginti.[28] Sed quia infinitis modis uariatur usura, de quibus alias diligentius agitur, ad presens his supersedendum est.

Latrocinium est uiolenta aliene rei usurpatio, inuito domino.

Periurium est mendacium iuramento firmatum. Tres autem sunt species periurii: una species est iurare falsum, uoluntate fallendi; alia species est iurare, putando falsum quod uerum est; tertia species est iurare, putando uerum quod falsum est. Unde Augustinus: homines falsum iurant uel cum falluntur aut putat homo uerum quod falsum est et temere (163^{vb}) iurat, aut putat falsum esse et tamen pro uero iurat et nichilominus cum scelere iurat. Distant autem illa periuria duo que commemoraui; fac illum iurare qui uerum esse putat pro quo iurat; uerum putat esse et tamen falsum est, non ex animo iste periurat sed fallitur: hoc pro uero habet quod falsum est, non pro falsa re sciens iurationem interponi. Da alium qui scit falsum esse et dicat uerum esse. Videtis quam ista detestanda belua. Fac alium qui putet falsum esse et iurat tamquam uerum sit et forte non est. Verbi gratia, pluit in illo loco; interrogas hominem et dicit pluisse et tunc cum pluit ibi, sed disputat non pluisse, periurus est. Interest quemadmodum uerbum procedat ex anima rea; linguam non facit nisi mala mens. His euidenter traditur quod tripliciter periurat homo, ut supra diximus, dum scilicet uel sciens falsum iurat, uel putans falsum quod uerum est iurat, uel existimans uerum quod falsum est iurat.

Furtum est latens usurpatio rei aliene, inuito domino.

Mendacium est falsa significatio uocis cum intentione fallendi. Nota aliud esse mentiri, aliud mendacium loqui, alterum falsum dicere. Alia est enim ueritas Aristotelis, alia ueritas Christi; alia ueritas nature, alia ueritas gratie. Veritas Aristotelis circa enuntiationem uertitur, ueritas Christi circa intentionem uersatur. A ueritate uel falsitate enuntiationis, id est ab eo quod aliquis enuntiat[29] uerum uel falsum dicitur aliquis uerus uel falsus. A ueritate uero uel falsitate intentionis dicitur aliquis uerax uel fallax. Potest ergo aliquis simul esse et uerus et uerax, si et uerum dicit et uerum dicere intendit. Aliquando uero aliquis est uerus et tamen est fallax, quando dicit uerum et tamen intendit dicere falsum, ut si quis putans latrones esse in nemore esse uiatori dicat latrones non esse in nemore ut eum decipiat, cum tamen uerum sit eos non esse in nemore: uerum quidem dicit, sed falsum dicere intendit, et ideo mendax est et mentitur, non tamen mendacium loquitur; quia ad hoc ut aliquis mendacium loquatur, duo concurrunt, ut sit et falsus et fallax, id est ut falsum dicat et falsum dicere intendat. Mendacium enim est falsa significatio uocis cum intentione fallendi. Aliquis uero est falsus et tamen est uerax, quia cum falsum dicit, tamen uerum dicere intendit; ut Paulus qui se iturum ad Corinthios promisit et tamen non iuit, falsum quidem dixit et ita falsus fuit, sed tamen uerax quia uerum dicere intendit, licet falsum dixerit.

---

[22] cupiditate *P*: cupiditati *L*.

[23] Symoniacus: Symoniaci *L*.

[24] *Regum IV*, v, 23-27.

[25] a *om.* *L*.

[26] alicui pro *P*: *om.* *L*.

[27] eroget *P*: exroget *L*.

[28] XX *L*: XII *P*.

[29] enuntiat: annuniat *L*.

Diuiditur autem mendacium in octo species. Primum capitale est mendacium longeque fugiendum quod sit in doctrina religionis, ad quod nulla causa quisquam debet adduci. Secundum tale est quod nulli prosit et[30] obsit alicui. Tertium quod ita prodest alicui ut alteri obsit.[31] Quartum sola mentiendi fallendique libidine.[32] Quintum quod fit sola placendi cupiditate de usuali eloquio. His omnibus euitatis sequitur sextum genus quod nulli obest et prodest alicui ad conseruationem exterioris substantie, id est pecunie, ut si quis pecuniam alicuius iniuste tollendam sciens ut sic se nescire mentiatur. Septimum quod et nulli obest et prodest alicui ad conseruationem uite temporalis ut si quis uolens hominem quesitum ad mortem prodere mentiatur. Octauum quod nulli obest et ad hoc prodest ut ab immunditia corporali, id est a peccato aliquem tueatur.

Rapina est uiolenta depredatio aliene rei.

Violentia est iniuriosa coactio, ut quando quis alium iniuste ad aliquid cogit ut aliquid emungat.

Inquietare est alium iniuriose[33] commouere.

Iniustum iudicium est iniusta sententie latio ex amore uel timore uel pecunie cupiditate promulgata (164^{ra}).

Obstinatio est pertinacia in malo.

Dolus est fraudulenta deceptio.

Restat agere de gastrimargia,[34] ostendendo quid sit, et unde dicatur et in quot species diuidatur.

Gastrimargia est in his que homini necessaria sunt excessus et in cibo et in potu et huiusmodi.

<Et dicitur gastrimargia a castris et margine, quia in locis talibus homines ex moribus corruptis hinc inde magis prodigi solent existere>.[35]

Diuiditur autem in gulositatem, ebrietatem, prodigalitatem, inabstinentiam, immoderantiam, inuerecundiam, uaniloquium, impudicitiam, inhonestatem, immodestiam.

Gulositas est excessus in cibo que alio uocabulo[36] crapula solet censeri.

Ebrietas est in potu excessus.

Prodigalitas est effundere danda et non danda.

Inabstinentia est statutum comedendi tempus preuenire.

Immoderantia est ciborum nimius appetitus.

Inuerecundia est feda turpia uerba proferre.

Vaniloquium est in otiosa uerba exire.

Impudicitia est exterioribus signis luxum animi demonstrare.

---

[30] et: si *L.*

[31] ut alteri obsit: et obest alteri *P.*

[32] Quartum . . . libidine: quartum est quod nulli prodest et multis obest *P.*

[33] iniuriose: iniuste *P.*

[34] gastrimargia *et deinceps*: castrimargia *L.*

[35] Et dicitur . . . existere *P*: *om. L.*

[36] uocabulo: nomine *P.*

Inhonestas est lautiora fercula querere et accuratis operam dare.

Immodestia est corporei ornatus superfluus usus.

Sequitur de luxuria. Luxuria est corporalis incontinentia ex pruritu libidinis nascens. Dicitur autem luxuria, quia solet ex luxu nasci cibi uel potus uel alterius rei <prouenire>.[37]

Diuiditur autem in simplicem fornicationem, adulterium, incestum, peccatum contra naturam.

Simplex fornicatio est carnale commercium preter legitimum coitum, citra adulterium, incestum, peccatum contra naturam constitutum.

Adulterium est quando maritus cognoscit alienam uel uxor cognoscitur ab extraneo.

Incestus est quando aliquis cognoscit aliquam sibi carnali uel spirituali affinitate proprinquam.

Peccatum contra naturam est quando extra locum ad hoc deputatum funditur semen.

Ecce habes quomodo ex septem cardinalibus uitiis alia procedunt; ita tamen sunt connexa sibi ut ex singulis uideantur procedere singula.

ART. 2. *DE OPPOSITIONE INTER UITIA ET UIRTUTES*

Preter hanc significationem alio modo sumitur uitium negatiue secundum quosdam, ut cum dicitur intemperantia uitium, imprudentia, iniustitia, ut his nominibus uirtutum priuationes non predicentur, immo uirtutes remoueantur nec aliqua predicentur, ut sit sensus: intemperantia est in isto, id est iste non habet temperantiam cum deberet eam habere, ut sicut cecitas aufert habitum et importat debitum, quia est priuatio uisus. Sensus enim est: iste est cecus, id est non est uidens, cum debeat esse uidens; sic intemperantia, cum sit priuatio temperantie, aufert habitum, ut sit sensus: iste est intemperatus, id est non utitur temperantia cum deberet uti. Et secundum hanc opinionem cum[1] usus temperantie consistat in duobus: in debito officio et debito fine, priuatio illius usus dicitur intemperantia, scilicet aliquando non uti, cum debeat uti. Isti dicunt quod temperantia et intemperantia et sic de aliis, opposita sunt ut priuatio et habitus; nec intemperantia proprie est opposita temperantie illi potentie, sed usui eius. Dicitur tamen ei esse opposita, gratia usus; sicut cecitas non proprie est opposita potentie uidendi sed usui, id est uisui; et sicut cecitas et usus opposita sunt circa animal secundum tempus determinatum nec ante tempus determinatum sequitur: si non est uidens, est cecus; sic temperantia et intemperantia circa rationalem creaturam secundum tempus determinatum, id est annos discretionis, opposita sunt ut priuatio et habitus, ut cum uentum fuerit ad annos discretionis, si iste (164^{rb}) non utitur temperantia, cum debeat uti, intemperatus censetur. Isti non dicunt aliquem habere uirtutes nisi eas habeat in usu; unde non dicunt istum habere patientiam nisi utatur patientia, eam tamen concedunt haberi in habitu; id est in habilitate quadam et aptitudine; sed secundum hoc non deberent <dicere>[2] istum esse patientem, uel fortem, uel iustum, cum non concedant simpliciter istum habere fortitudinem uel patientiam. Si uero quis institerit dicens: patientia et impatientia sunt opposita ut priuatio et habitus, sed iste non habet patientiam, ergo habet impatientiam, instare conantur hoc modo: uisus et cecitas sunt opposita ut priuatio et habitus; iste catulus non habet uisum, ergo habet cecitatem. Dicunt enim quod sicut uisus et cecitas sunt opposita circa tempus determinatum, ut sicut catulus dicitur esse cecus cum uisum non habuerat cum habere debuerat, sic patientia et impatientia sunt opposita circa tempus determinatum, ut sic iste non fuerat usus patientia cum tempus exegerat, ingruente scilicet necessitate, diceretur impatiens.

---

[37] prouenire *P*: *om. L.*

[1] cum: et *L.*

[2] dicere *om. L.*

Huic autem opinioni multipliciter obuiatur.

Et sic. Iste iudeus qui politicas habet iurtutes non utitur patientia, temperantia et aliis uirtutibus, cum tempus exigit. Ergo habet uitia eis opposita, et ita habet iniustitiam, intemperantiam, imbecilitatem, imprudentiam. Sed quid est quam dicere catonem uticensem(!) tot uirtutibus politicis preditum pretaxata uitia habuisse. Eadem ratione coguntur asserere istum christianum qui in criminali peccato est infidelem esse, qui fidem uirtutem non habet; ergo habet infidelitatem, et ita est infidelis.

Item. Secundum hanc opinionem, nulla erit differentia inter hec duo: aliquem non esse prudentem et esse imprudentem, aliquem non esse iustum et esse iniustum.

Item. Luxuria est species intemperantie; sed luxuria non ponitur priuatione, sed positiue. Videtur ergo quod genus luxurie, id est intemperantia, aliquid ponat, non priuet.[3]

Item. Si uirtutes et uitia ita immediate sunt opposita, ut dictum est, predicta obiectio locum habet qua probatum est quod qui habet unum uitium habet omnia, sicut qui habet unam uirtutem habet omnes.

Propter has obiectiones dicunt quidam quod uirtus et uitium non sunt opposita ut priuatio et habitus, sed potius ut contraria immediate. Sed si sunt contraria immediate, ergo sub eodem genere conueniunt; ergo si uirtus est qualis, et uitium est quale. Secundum <hoc>[4] luxuria erit qualitas que est opposita castitati. Sed quis sani capitis diceret luxuriam esse quamdam qualitatem, cum huiusmodi uitia potius proueniant ex causa deficiente quam ex causa efficiente? Quis enim dicet motus auaritie, superbiam esse qualitatem ex qua procedat similiter motus inuidie? Isti enim motus sunt ex infirmitate, non ex natura procedentes; non enim iste ex natura inuidus uel superbus est, sed ex nature deprauatione.

Item. Si temperantia et intemperantia opposita sunt ut contraria, uidetur aliquod esse medium, inter temperantiam et intemperantiam. Iste enim gentilis in quo sunt politice uirtutes nec utitur motu temperantie uirtutis nec motu intemperantie, et ita est in neutro habitu, et sic aliquid medium est inter temperantiam et intemperantiam. Sed si aliquod medium est, de eo queritur utrum sit bonum uel malum. Si bonum est, contrarium uirtutis non est; item si bonum est, inter uirtutem et uitium medium non est. Item, si malum[5] est, uirtuti contrarium est, et ita bonum non est. Si non malum est, potius uirtus deberet esse media inter illa quam illud inter uirtutem et uitium.

Ad hoc dicendum est quod sicut apud naturales philosophos sanum et egrum dicuntur esse contraria immediate (164va) apud philosophos qui subtilius scrutantur naturas rerum dicuntur esse opposita mediate, quia inter sanitatem et egritudinem constituunt neutralitatem, et ita neutrum constituunt inter sanum et egrum, sic apud ethicos temperantia et intemperantia dicuntur esse opposita mediate; apud celestes uero philosophos, id est theologos, qui penitus scrutantur naturas uirtutum et uitiorum, constituitur quedam specialis neutralitas inter sanitatem uirtutis et uitii egritudinem. Verbi causa, gentilis iste qui subiectus est politicis uirtutibus nec temperantiam habet uirtutem nec intemperantiam uitium, sed in neutro habitu est ut nec temperatus nec intemperatus possit dici. In quadam tamen aptitudine est et quasi in quadam conualescentia ad hoc ut habeat uirtutes, sicut ille qui conualescit ab egritudine aptus est ad hoc ut habeat sanitatem, non tamen sanus uel eger iudicandus, et secundum hoc qualitas qualitati opposita non est, sed potius motus motui, siue abusus abusui, ut motus intemperantie motui temperantie. Dicitur tamen intemperantia, talis scilicet motus, opposita esse temperantie qualitati, non propter ipsam qualitatem sed propter motum eius. Non enim sicut temperantia qualitas cuius usus est non succumbere illecebris, ita intemperantia qualitas quedam est cuius abusus[6] est frangi illecebris; sed ipsa intemperantia nichil aliud est quam illicitus motus quo quis mouetur ad illecebras; uitia enim non habent subiectas qualitates quarum motus illiciti sunt, sed ipsa sunt motus illiciti ex infirmitate procedentes; non enim habent homines huiusmodi uitia ex natura, sed ex nature deprauatione. Quid enim aliud est luxuria quam motus ex nature deprauatione procedens, scilicet ex prauitate procedens? Vel ergo una sola erit qualitas, scilicet concupiscendi pronitas ex qua procedent diuersa et opposita uitia, et ita unius qualitatis erit usus siue abusus; uel non erit inuenire diuersas qualitates istis uitiis subiectas.

---

[3] priuet: priuetur *L.*

[4] hoc: *om. L.*

[5] malum: medium *L.*

Item. Si aliqua proprietas est ex qua procedat motus intemperantie, queritur utrum a natura sit uel non. Si a natura est, bonum est; si a natura non est, queritur a quo sit, utrum a diabolo uel ab homine. Sed quis dicet diabolum uel hominem esse auctorem qualitatis?

Item. Si intemperantia qualitas est, queritur utrum homo ea possit uti bene. Sed non aliqua potentia in homine est qua homo uti bene non potest. Si uero potentia non est sed impotentia, qualitatis priuatio est, et ita qualitas non est.

Sunt tamen qui dicunt quod sicut per studium innascitur scientia que est qualitas, ita mediante infirmitate innascitur isti qualitas que dicitur intemperantia.

Possumus ergo dicere quod intemperantia, inhonestas et huiusmodi sunt pronitates quedam per quas homo pronus est ad hunc abusum uel ad illum, ut intemperantia dicatur quedam pronitas ad succumbendum illecebris, et sic de ceteris; et sic huiusmodi pronitates ad uitia erunt opposita quasi contraria immediata.

Sed secundum hoc queritur utrum ille pronitates peccata sint uel non.

Ad hoc dici potest quod illiciti motus ex his prouenientes peccata sunt; ipse autem non sunt peccata unde fit peccator, sed sunt peccata, id est uitia, infirmitates scilicet. Vel dicamus quod iste pronitates reducte quasi in habitum peccata sunt. Cum autem Aristoteles dicat quod *si unum contrarium est quale, reliquum est quale*[7] large sumpsit hoc uocabulum "quale" ut etiam uitia inolita dicantur qualitates, sicut et cecitatem uocat speciem insensibilitatis, cum tamen cecitas non sit proprie species alicuius (164^{vb}) generis. Inter temperantiam uero et intemperantiam non dicitur aliquid esse medium per positionem, sed per negationem; sicut neutrum genus dicitur per abnegationem quasi nec est masculinum nec femineum, non tamen neutrum genus est aliquod genus, sicut et medium dicitur inter uisum et cecitatem in catulo ante tempus determinatum per abnegationem quidem, non positionem. Non enim aliqua qualitas est media inter uisum et cecitatem in catulo. Similiter non temperantia dicitur esse in hoc iudeo qui politicas habet uirtutes per abnegationem; non per positionem ut sit sensus: non temperantia est in iudeo, id est in iudeo non est temperantia uirtus.

Cum ergo queritur utrum illud medium sit bonum uel malum non est questio; tamen non dicitur ibi esse aliquod medium per positionem. Sed dicamus illud medium quod est inter temperantiam et intemperantiam esse malum, id est delictum quod non fit in committendo quod oportet, sed in omittendo quod oporteret; sicut dicitur esse malum non ire ad ecclesiam; nec inde sequitur quod uirtus deberet esse media inter illa duo uitia quantum uitium, inter uirtutem et uitium; uirtus enim non obtinet locum nisi inter uitia maxime a se distantia, ut largitas inter prodigalitatem et auaritiam.

ART. 3. *DE CONNEXIONE UITIORUM INTER SE*

Ex his liquet non ideo habere omnia uitia qui habet unum, quamuis habeat omnes uirtutes qui habet unam; quia uirtus et uitia non sunt immediate opposita, uitium etiam uitio oppositum est, prodigalitas scilicet auaritie.

---

[6] abusus: abusio *L.*

[7] Aristoteles, *Categoriae*, c. 6: *ed. cit.*, I, p. 15, ll. 45-47.

Quod autem dicitur: *qui offendit in uno reus est omnium*[1] sic intelligi potest: qui offendit in uno cetera insufficientia sunt ei ad salutem; uel: qui offendit in uno, id est in caritate ad quam tamquam ad matrem et ad . . . tendunt uirtutes reus est omnium, quia quodammodo offendit filias qui offendit matrem. Verum tamen est quod qui habet unum eorum uitiorum que tantum per abnegationem dicuntur habet reliqua; quia qui est intemperatus est iniustus, est non prudens, et sic de aliis.

Sed queritur quomodo intelligendum sit quod dicitur quod qui habet unam uirtutem in habitu habet alias: in qua scilicet significatione ponatur hoc nomen habitus ibi; utrum scilicet hic sit sensus: qui habet unam uirtutem in habitu, id est qui habet unam uirtutem in habitu[2] habet ceteras ut habitus. Sed iste sensus non uidetur posse stare, cum nulla uirtus habeatur nisi ut habitus. Dici potest quod is est sensus: qui habet unam uirtutem in habitu, id est in habilitate, id est qui habilis est ad utendum prima uirtute, non dico per naturam sed per facilitatem, alias habet in habitu, id est in habilitate; non tamen qui habet unam in usu, id est qui una utitur, utitur aliis. Non uidentur tamen omnes eque haberi in habitu: aliquis enim iustus pronior esse uidetur ad usum unius uirtutis quam ad usum alterius.

Ad hoc potest dici quod quantum ad habilitatem nature pronior est iste ad usum huius uirtutis quam usum illius; sed non quantum ad habilitatem gratie que procedit ex caritate.

Videtur tamen quod qui habet unam cardinalium in usu habeat alias cardinales in usu: qui enim utitur temperantia quodammodo fortitudine utitur, quia illecebris non frangitur; prudentie etiam usum retinet, quia eligit agendum et uitat cauendum; in hoc etiam iustitiam exercet, quia in hoc reddit Deo quod suum est.

Ad quod dicendum est quod usus istarum uirtutum, ut superius dictum est, inter se sunt discreti, nec qui habet usum unius principaliter habet usum aliarum principaliter. Sed potest esse quod qui habet <usum>[3] unius principaliter, aliarum habet usus secundario, ut sicut iuxta Aristotelem qui unum dicit principaliter quodammodo plura dicit imminutiue. Verbi causa, qui utitur principaliter temperantia secundario utitur fortitudine et aliis, principaliter tantum istam habet in usu. Cum ergo omnes simul infundantur, (165ra) sciendum quod in primaria infusione omnes habentur in habitu, non tamen in usu; inclinant animam et disponunt ad actus suos pro loco et tempore exsequendos. Non enim quando habet quis omnes uirtutes habet omnes usus earum, sed aptus et habilis est ad omnes pro loco et tempore exsequendos. Et hoc est uirtutes habere in habitu; sicut paruulus dona naturalia, rationem, intelligentiam habet in habitu, non tamen in usu; non enim discernit uel intelligit. Sed sicut uirtutes in adultis sunt sine usibus suis, numquid ideo otiose? Non, quia etsi non semper habeant usus suos, semper tamen habent suos effectus, ut distinguatur inter usum uirtutis et effectum. Semper enim prudentia facit prudentem, fortitudo fortem, temperantia temperatum, id est aptum uel habilem precauere insidias, perferre molestias, cohibere illecebras pro tempore et loco, licet non semper <precaueat>,[4] perferat uel cohibeat. Et sicut omnes uirtutes simul infunduntur, ita omnes sibi cooperantur et sese mutuo coadunant in operibus suis, ut, cum diligere sit opus caritati appropriatum et quasi priuilegiatum, nichilominus in eo operatur fides, sicut cum credere sit proprium opus fidei, nichilominus operatur in eo caritas; unde uidetur dicendum quod diligere sit opus fidei, credere opus caritatis. Et ratione sic arguitur: credere est meritorium uite eterne, ergo est opus caritatis, cum penes caritatem sit omne meritum; et eadem ratione diligere est opus fidei, et si quis hoc recipiet, in hanc deducatur confusionem ut dicat actus priuilegiatos singularum esse actus singularim aliarum, quod est absonum dicere. Sicut enim diceretur quod opus iustitie parcere, opus misericordie dampnare; item credere est opus fidei, id est opus caritatis; et eodem modo ergo est eque meritorium ex utraque et magis ex hoc quam ex illa.

---

[1] *Epist. Iacobi* ii, 10.

[2] habitu: habitum *L.*

[3] usum *om. L.*

[4] precaueat *om. L.*

Ad hoc dici potest quia non eodem modo dicitur opus caritatis, id est caritate informatum, dicitur opus fidei id est ab eo denominatum uel ei appropriatum quasi priuilegiatum, quia fides specialiter ad hoc opus mouet liberum arbitrium; similiter diligere est opus fidei, id est fide informatum uel habens fidei fundamentum sic est opus fidei, id est surgens specialiter ex ea per cooperationem liberi arbitrii.

Sed cum omnes uirtutes simul infundantur, quid est quod multiplex auctoritas clamat fidem esse priorem ceteris uirtutibus; unde in simbolo legitur: quicumque uult saluus esse, ante omnia oportet ut teneat catholicam fidem; et in Psychomachia[5] Prudentii:[6] prima petit campum <dubia sub sorte duelli>.

Sed hoc ad usum referendum est, non ad habitum, quia homo credit Deum remuneratorem bonorum, ideo sperat, quia sperat, ideo diligit. Caritas tamen dicitur prior quia forma est et causa uirtutum.

[APPENDIX DE UIRTUTIBUS]

[A. AN UIRTUTES IN QUOCUMQUE SINT PARES]

Sed etiam queri utrum omnes uirtutes in quocumque sunt sint pares. Multe enim auctoritates uidentur hoc insinuare. Dicit enim auctoritas quod per quatuor cardinales latera ciuitatis equalia intelliguntur, quatuor cardinales uirtutes sibi equales. Unde Augustinus in sexto libro de Trinitate: *si dixeris istos esse equales in fortitudine, si illum prestare prudentia, sequitur ut huius fortitudo minus prudens sit, ac per hoc nec fortitudine equales sunt, quia est istius fortitudo prudentior quam illius, atque sic de ceteris uirtutibus inuenies si omnes eadem consideratione percurras.*[1]

De paritate uel imparitate uirtutum et huiusmodi in magna incertitudine disserimus, quia uirtutum penitus ignari, iocunditatem quam pariunt nullatenus[2] gustamus, immo etiam odoramus; ideo illud modicum vix aliquantulum capimus quod nobis in sacra scriptura depinxerunt qui in libro (165^{rb}) experientie talia legerunt, quia circa huiusmodi non habet sapientiam a sapere qui caret sapientia[3] a sapore.

Quidam satis eleganter et facile pertranseunt; inquiunt enim omnes esse pares in nullo a se dissidentes unde et reddunt consonantiam, sic uirtutes in animo humano dicuntur pares quia in nullo dissident; alioquin non redderent spiritualem harmoniam.

Alii minus eleganter assignant equalitatem uirtutum in temporis continuatione[4] ut in hoc attendatur equalitas quod quantum una durat in subiecto, tantum alia.

Forte dici possunt pares, id est pariter intense quoad habitum interiorem, non quoad usum exteriorem.

Quod per satis elegans simile potest ostendi. Ecce aliquis paterfamilias conducit quatuor seruientes et singulis diffinit et assignat propria negotia ea conditione ut singuli ad eius arbitrium parati sint. Ita cum singule uirtutes habeant officia priuilegiata, omnes tamen prompte sunt ad exsequenda aliarum officia sicut et sua; et quantum intendet animum temperantia in usu exteriori ad coercendus illecebras tempore prosperitatis tantum intendet fortitudo in habitu interiori ad perferendas molestias in tempore aduersitatis, non in tempore prosperitatis, et ad hoc non mouet animum sed disponit, quia non est opus. Ergo possunt intelligi uirtutes pares in habitu interiori.

---

[5] Psychomachia: Sichomachia *L.*

[6] Prudentius, *Psychomachia* 21; PL 60, 22A.

[1] Augustinus, *De Trinitate* VI, 4; PL. 42, 927.

[2] nullatenus: penitus *L.*

[3] sapientia: sapientiam *L.*

[4] continuatione: continuationem *L.*

Contra. Quanta temperantia aliquid fit tanta prudentia fit idem; ergo quanto temperantius fit tanto prudentius fit.

Instantia: ex quanto calore sol calefacit Indos ex tanto calefacit Parthos: ergo quantum calefacit Indos tantum calefacit Parthos. Quod non sequitur; quia quamuis non sit maior calor solis in essentia apud Indos quam apud Parthos, tamen maiorem habet effectum apud Indos quam habeat apud Parthos. Ita quoque licet non magis sit intensa temperantia in habitu interiori quam prudentia, immo quantum hoc tantum illa, non tamen ideo in opere exteriori. Unde non sequitur: quanto prudentius fit tanto temperantius, quia proceditur ad usus exteriores.

Illud tamen sic uidetur posse argui: quanto quis iustius facit tanto magis uitat non agenda. Item quantum iustior tantum prudentior.[5] Unde uidetur posse inferri: ergo quanto iustior tanto prudentior.

Soluimus per interemptionem: non enim quanto quis iustius facit tanto magis uitat non agenda.

Item quanto iustior tantum prudens. Si enim in aliquo iustior quam prudens, ergo in aliquo minus prudens; ergo in aliquo minus precauet insidias; ergo non est prudens.

Item hoc soluimus per interemptionem: non enim si in aliquo iustior quam prudens in aliquo minus prudens. Possumus tamen dicere quod quantum est iustus tantum est prudens ut nomina predicent aptitudinem interioris habitus, et non usum; non tamen quanto iustius tanto (165va) prudentius; hoc enim refertur ad usum.

Item. Si aliquis promptus est ad exsequenda opera iustitie, naturaliter timidus ad sustinenda aduersa, numquid in eo par est fortitudo et iustitia? Sic quantum ad interiorem habitum, scilicet ad aptitudinem quam habet ex caritate ad usum omnium uirtutum, non tamen quantum ad timiditatem que procedit ex infirmitate.

Item. Ex quanta iustitia tenetur quis seruire Deo ex tanta prudentia. Ergo tantum iuste quam prudenter.

Instantia: ex quanta scientia heri disputasti mecum ex tanta hodie disputas mecum; ergo tam scienter heri ut modo; quod non est uerum, quia ut testatur auctoritas: ars semper eadem est sed non semper ex arte idem.

Item. Quanto aliquis est iustius uel fit tanto est maioris meriti, et quanto est maioris meriti tanto est melius; ergo quanto est iustius tanto melius; sed quanto est melius tanto prudentius.

Ad hoc dicimus quod non quanto aliquis est iustius tanto est maioris meriti.

[B. *AN UIRTUTIBUS MEREAMUR*]

Illud quoque queri solet utrum uirtutibus mereamur.

Quod uirtutibus mereamur auctoritate sic probatur. Iohannes ait: *et de plenitudine eius omnes accepimus*,[1] scilicet gratiam et ueritatem, gratiam pro gratia, id est beatitudinem pro gratia et ita pro uirtute; et sic uirtute meremur beatitudinem.

Item. Deus remunerat in nobis dona sua, ergo gratuita uel naturalia. Sed non naturalia, ergo gratuita, ergo uirtutes; ergo pro uirtutibus remuneramur et ita uirtutibus meremur.

Item. Caritas meretur augeri ut aucta mereatur et perfici.

Rationibus uero sic. Virtutes faciunt nos dignos uita eterna; ergo uirtutibus meremur.

---

[5] prudentior: prudentius *L*.

[1] *Iohan.* i, 16.

Item. Vitium est oppositum uirtuti; uitio meremur penam uel augmentum pene; ergo uirtute coronam uel augmentum corone.

Item. Virtus et opus uirtutis sunt duo bona gratuita; altero meremur uitam, altero non meremur; ergo magis est eligendum quo meremur.

Item. Virtus facit opus meritorium, ergo excellentius bonum est ipso opere; ergo potius uirtute meremur quam opere.

Item. Virtus est quasi arbor, opus est quasi fructus, et ita hoc propter illud.

Ad quod dicendum est quod uirtutibus meremur et operibus uirtutum alio et alio modo. Virtute meremur tamquam causa formali que mouet hominem ad bonum operandum; opere uero ipso meremur tamquam causa instrumentali. Sicut iste dicitur currere naturali potentia qua aptus est ad currendum; ipso etiam cursu dicitur currere; alio tamen modo potentia dicitur currere, alio modo ipso cursu (165^{vb}).

Contra uidetur posse probari quod uirtutibus non meremur.

Nulla uirtus est meritum humanum uel esse potest; ergo nulla uirtute meremur.

Item. Omne meritum ex gratia et ex libero arbitrio; ergo omne quod meremur est ex gratia et ex libero arbitrio. Sed uirtus non est ex gratia et ex libero arbitrio; ergo uirtute non meremur. Unde Augustinus ait: ex ipso libero arbitrio creatur in anima bonus affectus siue bonus motus mentis, et hoc est primum bonum meritum hominis.

Prime obiectioni respondentes dicimus quod uirtutes possent dici merita quia eis tamquam causis formalibus meremur. Sed tamen hoc nomen meritum restringitur circa usus et opera uirtutum. Non ideo sequitur quod si uirtus meritum non dicatur, ea non mereamur, cum et ipsa meritum posset dici.

Ad secundum dicimus quod omne illud quo meremur non est ex gratia et libero arbitrio. Instantia enim est in equiuoco: sicut omne illud quo iste meretur actio est, tamen non naturalis potentia qua mouetur actio est uel pes quo movetur.

Item. Sic obicitur: in paruulo post baptismum sunt uirtutes, nec tamen habet aliqua merita nec aliquibus meretur; uidetur ergo quod quis non mereatur uirtutibus, sed potius operibus uirtutum.

Ad hoc dicimus quod paruulus post baptismum non habet uirtutes nec in usu nec in habitu. In habitu quidem <non>[2] habet, quia non habet illas potentias in habilitate uel aptitudine ut eis utatur si tempus exigat; habet, inquam, eas potentias que possunt fieri uirtutes, sed non habet eas uel in habitu uel in usu uirtutes (166va).[3]

CAPUT III. DE DONIS SPIRITUS SANCTI

ART. 1. DE SEPTEM DONIS

Pertractatis his que de uirtutibus et uitiis dicenda erant, de donis Spiritus sancti agendum est, hoc ordine: primo, uidendo quot modis dicitur donum Spiritus sancti; secundo, quid specialiter; tertio, quot sunt dona Spiritus sancti prout specificatur hec circumlocutio; quarto, utrum dona Spiritus sancti uirtutes sint uel non; quinto, que differentia inter dona et effectus donorum et beatitudines.

Hec circumlocutio: donum Spiritus sancti aliquando ita large sumitur ut et naturalia homini a Deo collata dicantur dona Spiritus sancti. Aliquando minus large ut omnia supererogata, id est gratuita, dona Spiritus sancti dicantur; secundum quam acceptionem distinguitur inter data et dona, ut naturalia data supererogata dona dicuntur; unde Iacobus: *omne datum optimum et omne donum perfectum desursum est,*[1] etc. Secundum hanc acceptionem, interpretari sacras[2] scripturas, prophetizare, timere facere malum, dicuntur dona Spiritus sancti. Sed secundum hanc acceptionem donorum Spiritus sancti aliud datur a Spiritu sancto, et non in Spiritu, ut seruilis timor qui est a Spiritu sancto, sed non in Spiritu sancto, quia non est in caritate et cessat[3] ab aliquo peccato quod dicitur pluuia diuine gratie a Gregorio; aliud datur a Spiritu sancto et in Spiritu, ut uirtutes. Aliquando ita restringitur hec circumlocutio ut dicantur tantum esse dona Spiritus sancti que numerantur ab Ysaia ubi ait: *et requiescet super eum Spiritus sapientie*, etc.[4] que ideo specialiter dicuntur dona Spiritus sancti quia in eis elucescit singulariter Spiritus sancti gratia.

---

[2] non *om. L.*

[3] In fol. 166^{r}, per totum, legitur conspectus schematicus omnium vitiorum.

[1] *Epist. Iacobi.* i, 17.

[2] sacras: semper *L.*

Notandum ergo quod Spiritus timoris, id est timor collatus a Spiritu sancto, est primum donum inter septem dona iuxta ordinem naturalem quem prosequitur Ysaias, ordine artificiali dicens: *requiescet super eum Spiritus sapientie*,[5] etc. Ordo autem artificialis attenditur ratione dignitatis; unde premisit excellentiora dona pro dignitate. Et attende quis timor dicitur unum septem donorum Spiritus sancti. Non enim quilibet timor dicitur donum illud, sed *timor Domini sanctus, permanens in seculum seculi*,[6] id est timor filialis qui dicitur "timor Domini", ad differentiam mundani qui non est Domini sed mundi; "sanctus", ad differentiam seruilis qui non est sanctus, licet sit Domini uel a Domino qui tamen secundum largam acceptionem donum est Spiritus sancti; "permanens in seculum seculi", ad differentiam initialis quem foras mittit perfecta caritas. Potes tamen in dono timoris initialis intelligere utrumque timorem tam initialem quam castum, quia uterque in caritate habetur.

Secundum donum est Spiritus pietatis, id est pietas collata a Spiritu sancto.

Tertium spiritus scientie, id est scientia gratis a Spiritu sancto data, non per humanum studium adquisita, cuius effectus in homine est docere homines uiuere *in medio nationis praue et peruerse*.[7]

Quartum spiritus fortitudinis, fortitudo scilicet homini a Spiritu sancto data.

Quintum spiritus consilii: spiritus consilii est donum quo notificatur nobis uoluntas Dei, et ad eam implendam nos dirigit.

Sextum est spiritus intelligentie. Est autem differentia inter intelligentiam et intellectum. Intelligere est donum Spiritus sancti quod dicitur spiritus intelligentie; intellectus uero siue ratio donum est naturale. Illud tamen donum Spiritus sancti appellauit Ysaias intellectum dicens: *spiritus sapientie et intellectus*;[8] propter hunc oculum qui dicitur[9] ratio uel intellectus dicitur homo ad ymaginem Dei conditus. Iste oculus in homine per peccatum obnubilatur et quibusdam ignorantie nebulis obfuscatur, sed spiritus intelligentie astringit huiusmodi limpitudinem reformans (166^{vb}) Dei ymaginem in homine. Itaque intelligentia est cognitio diuinorum ad contemplationem eternorum, oculis illuminans rationem.[10]

Septimum donum est spiritus sapientie. Est autem distinguendum inter spiritum sapientie et spiritum intelligentie et spiritum scientie. Scientia enim est cognitio terrenorum per quam recte uiuitur in medio praue nationis. Intelligentia cognitio diuinorum per quam mundatur oculus mentis. Sapientia est spiritualis iocunditas de utroque procedens per quam utrumque dulcius sapit palato mentis. Per spiritum scientie homo in mundo se regit, per spiritum intelligentie ueritatem inuisibilium capit.

ART. 2. AN DONA SINT UIRTUTES

De his donis queritur utrum uirtutes sint uel non.

Quod non sint uirtutes sic probatur. Dicit auctoritas super Mattheum quod *per petitiones uenitur ad dona, per dona ad uirtutes, per uirtutes ad beatitudines*.[1]

---

[3] cessat: cessare *L.*

[4] *Ysaias* xi, 2.

[5] *Ysaias* xi, 2.

[6] *Ps.* xviii, 10.

[7] *Epistol. ad Philipp.* ii, 15.

[8] *Ysaias* xi, 2.

[9] dicitur: dicit *L.*

[10] rationem: rationis *L.*

[1] Glos. *in Matth.* vi, 13; éd. Anvers (1634), V, p. 133.

Item. Cum omnis timor passio sit, quomodo donum timoris erit uirtus, cum omnis uirtus genere qualitas sit et uirtus dicatur quasi ui contra passiones stans?

Item. Sapientia que est iocunditas quedam mentis nascens ex terrenorum et diuinorum comprehensione quomodo erit uirtus, ad quam cardinalium uirtutum refertur, ad quas omnes referuntur uirtutes?

Item. Si scientia uirtus est, aut prudentia aut alia uirtus est. Sed non uidetur esse alia uirtus; ergo est prudentia. Sed que differentia sit inter prudentiam et scientiam ex predictis liquet.

Item. Cum omnis uirtus dicatur quasi ui stans contra oppositum uitium, quomodo donum sapientie erit uirtus, cum non habeat contrarium uitium cui resistat?

E contrario probatur ea dona esse uirtutes.

Unde Ambrosius:[2] *cum Spiritus sanctus nostre mentis arcana tamquam inferiora prestringat, celestem illam angelorum naturam effusione quadam sanctificationum ubertate letificat. His autem sanctificationibus intelligitur plenitudo septem spiritualium uirtutum quas enumerat Ysaias dicens: spiritus sapientie*, etc.

Item. Quid est donum pietatis nisi pietas uirtus?

Sed quam uirtutum dicemus esse timorem nisi timorem dicamus reuerentiam que aliquando timor dicitur quia timorem comitatur? De qua dicitur: *timor Domini sanctus permanet in seculum seculi.*[3] Non enim hoc intelligi potest uel de initiali uel de casto timore: nullus enim in futuro timebit uel puniri uel separari. De reuerentia ergo illud intelligitur, quia in futuro sancti reuerebuntur, iuxta quod et illud exponitur: tremebunt angeli, non quod tremor uel timor sit in angelis in die iudicii, sed reuerebuntur. Quod enim nec initialis nec castus timor in futuro erit ostendit Beda dicens: *Duo sunt timores Domini: seruilis qui principium est sapientie, et amicabilis qui perfectionem sapientie comitatur. Seruilis principium est sapientie, quia post errata sapere incipit primo timore Domini corripitur ne puniatur; sed hunc perfecta caritas foras mittit; succedit huic timor Domini, sanctus permanens in seculum seculi quem non excludit caritas sed auget, quo timet filius ne uel*[4] *in modico oculos amantissimi patris offendat. Uterque in futuro cessabit; caritas uero numquam excidet.*[5]

Augustinus quoque super illum locum psalmi: *adorabo ad templum sanctum tuum,*[6] id est in timore tuo. Timorem desiturum[7] de futuro dicit sic; *timor Domini est magnum presidium proficientibus ad salutem, sed preuenientibus foras mittitur. Non enim timent iam amicum, cum scilicet ad id quod repromissum est perducti sunt.*[8]

Preterea. Cum Ysaias[9] dicat in (167ra) Christo fuisse spiritum timoris, quid ibi uocatur timor nisi reuerentia? Non enim uel initialis uel castus fuit in eo, quia nec separari nec puniri timebat.

Similiter cum Ambrosius[10] dicat *septem sanctificationes id est septem dona Spiritus sancti esse in angelis,* quid uocat ibi donum timoris nisi reuerentiam?

Possumus ergo dicere quod predicta dona uirtutes sunt, ut per timorem reuerentiam intelligatur, non timor passio.

Ubi autem super Mattheum distinguitur inter dona et uirtutes, uirtutes uocantur effectus donorum, ut paupertas spiritus dicatur effectus timoris, mansuetudo effectus pietatis; paupertas autem spiritus nichil aliud est quam humilitas; mansuetudo uero uirtus est qua[11] quis non mouetur contumeliis uerborum in facie obiectis. Effectus uero scientie est peccata lugere; accipitur autem hic luctus, non pro effusione lacrimarum[12] sed pro dolore animi. Effectus fortitudinis esuries iustitie, quia fortitudo iustos in iustitia roborat et eo ipso esuriem[13] iustitie prestat, quia quanto amplius in iustitia roborantur iusti et perficiuntur, eo magis eam esuriunt et sitiunt. Qui enim affectum iustitie amplius sentit amplius sitit, qui amplius capit amplius cupit. Effectus uero consilii est perfecta misericordia. Spiritus enim consilii, id est consilium inspiratum a Spiritu, Dei uoluntatem a nobis notam facit, ad eam implendam dirigit, nos docet quid precipue Deo aptum sit et id ipsum efficit, scilicet perfectam misericordiam; perfecta autem misericordia est eque sollicitum esse de tolerandis alienis iniuriis, non de propriis. Virtus intelligentie id est effectus est munditia cordis. Intelligentia namque collata a Spiritu sancto in nobis operatur cordis munditiam, id est oculi cordis: oculus cordis dicitur ratio siue intellectus quod idem est secundum theologum, non secundum philosophum; hec ergo naturalem intellectum illuminat et ignorantie nubem eliminat. Sapientie uero effectus est pax pectoris. Ipsa enim sapientia animam dulcificat, motus inquietos pacificat; de qua pace dicitur: *beati pacifici quoniam filii Dei uocabuntur.*[14]

---

[2] Ambrosius, *De Spiritu sancto* I, 16; PL 16, 770C-771A.

[3] *Ps.* xviii, 10.

[4] uel *om. L.*

[5] Beda, *Super Parabolas Salomonis allegorica expositio* I, 1; PL 91, 939CD. Cf. *Magistri Gandulphi Bononiensis Sententiarum libri quatuor,* éd. I. de Walter (Vienne, 1924), p. 368.

[6] *Ps.* v, 18.

[7] desiturum *om. L.*

[8] Augustinus, *In Psalmos* v, 9; PL 36, 87. Cf. *Magistri Gandulphi . . . libri quatuor, ed. cit.,* p. 368. *A verbis* Duo sunt timores Domini *usque ad* perducti sunt, *textus totus desumitur* ex Lomb., *Liber III Sent.,* d. 34, c. 3; *ed. cit.,* II, p. 700.

[9] *Ysaias* xi, 2.

[10] Ambrosius, *De Spiritu sancto* I, 16; PL 16, 771A.

Possumus etiam dicere quod predicta dona habent septem capitalia uitia sibi opposita. Timor enim reuerentia contraria est superbie, pietas inuidie, scientia ire siue odio, quia per scientiam docemur dimittere rancorem animi; consilium auaritie, quia per consilium <docemur>[15] misericordiam libenter impendere; donum intelligentie gule, quia spiritus intelligentie interna refectione uerbi Dei cohibet exteriorem appetitum et mentem spirituali cibo roborat ut non ualeat eam corporalis egestas frangere, non carnalis uoluptas superare. Sapientia est contra luxuriam, quia mens per sapientiam gustu interne dulcedinis tacta totam se per desiderium intus colligit, ne foris tam eneruiter carnis uoluptate dissoluatur, quia totum intus possidet in quo delectatur.

Secundum predicta dicere possumus donum quod dicitur scientia esse speciem prudentie que dicitur uirtus.

Sunt qui dicunt ista posse haberi sine caritate. Sed quomodo sine caritate haberi possunt que specialiter <sunt>[16] dona Spiritus sancti? Quomodo etiam castus timor sine caritate haberi potest? Sapientia etiam que est mentis iocunditas que ex intelligentia et scientia procedit quomodo sine caritate haberi potest?

Ad quod dicunt quod sicut ille potentie que fiunt uirtutes in aliquo sunt in quo non sunt uirtutes, ut fortitudo uel iustitia que est in iudeo uel gentili que tamen si caritate informantur fit uirtus, sic predicta dona in aliquo christiano qui in criminali peccato est esse possunt, que consequenter per caritatem informata specialiter dicentur dona Spiritus sancti. Verbi gratia (167^{rb}), in isto christiano litteratissimo, quamuis teneatur peccato, est perceptio celestium et ita intelligentia, sed in eo non est donum Spiritus sancti, secundum quod donum Spiritus sancti dicitur caritate informatum. Similiter in eo est pietas qua mouetur ad compatiendum proximo; secundum <quod>[17] mitis et mansuetus est.

Secundum hoc uolunt illud exponere: *per petitiones uenitur ad dona, per dona ad uirtutes*,[18] quia iste potest habere dona sine uirtutibus, et consequenter, cum uirtutes infunduntur, de donis peruenitur ad uirtutes.

Secundum alios[19] fit distinctio inter dona et uirtutes, nec dona sunt uirtutes. Isti dicunt timorem, initialem scilicet, posse haberi sine caritate. Dicunt enim duplicem esse initialem timorem, politicum scilicet et catholicum: politicus est in iudeo qui timet non solum facere malum, sed etiam uelle facere bonum[20] partim quia diligit Deum naturali dilectione, partim quia timet et uindictam pene; catholicus, qui est in aliquo habente perfectam caritatem.

---

[11] qua: quo *L.*
[12] lacrimarum: lacrimis *L.*
[13] esuriem: esurie *L.*
[14] *Matth.* v, 9.
[15] docemur *om. L.*
[16] sunt *om. L.*
[17] quod *om. L.*
[18] Glos. *in Matth.* vi, 13; éd. Anvers (1634), V, p. 133.
[19] alios: istos *L.*

Sed isti[21] quomodo exponent auctoritatem Ambrosii qui dicit dona Spiritus sancti esse uirtutes nisi large sumitur hoc nomen uirtutes?

Sunt alii qui distinguentes inter dona et uirtutes dicunt dona non posse dari sine caritate, non tamen uirtutes esse sed comitari uirtutes, eas tamen precedere natura, non actu, secundum quod dicitur per dona peruenire ad uirtutes: timor enim introducit caritatem; potentia quedam qua iste aptus est ad hoc ut mansuetus sit introducit pietatem; unde donum fortitudinis non uocant fortitudinem; sed donum in quo datur fortitudo. Similiter donum pietatis in quo datur pietas ut sit transitio inter donum et <uirtutem>[22] pietatis. Sed plerumque in sacra scriptura et fortitudo et pietas dicuntur[23] donum Spiritus sancti, et ideo potius uidetur debere intelligi intransitiue quam transitiue.

Alii distinguentes inter uirtutes et dona dicunt uirtutes precedere dona, natura,[24] non actu. Verbi causa: perfecta caritas introducit castum timorem, quia ex eo quod perfecte Deum diligit timet non puniri. Similiter pietas: hoc donum Spiritus sancti introducit ut tractabilis sit, et secundum <hoc>[25] etiam intransitiue intelligent donum pietatis, id est donum collatum a pietate uirtute.

Sed secundum hanc opinionem quomodo per dona peruenitur ad uirtutes, cum potius perueniatur ad dona, quia dona sunt usus uirtutum, nisi dicant equivoce teneri hoc nomen uirtutes, ut per dona dicitur perueniri ad uirtutes, id est ad confirmationem uirtutum, quia per dona confirmantur uirtutes?

ART. 3. DE CONNEXIONE DONORUM INTER SE

Preter hoc etiam queritur utrum unum donorum possit haberi sine alio. Scientia enim qua aliquis scit[1] se regere in medio praue nationis potest haberi sine sapientia, id est interna iocunditate mentis que nascitur ex scientia et intelligentia. Similiter scientia sine intelligentia.

Item. Dicit auctoritas quod *Spiritus sanctus diuidit dona prout uult.*[2] Unde dicit auctoritas quod *alii datur* (167va) *sermo scientie, alii sermo sapientie.*[3]

Contra uidetur posse probari quod ita sibi inuicem cohereant ut nullum sine alio haberi possit. Ad quid enim Scriptura sub septenario specialiter illa dona complectitur nisi ut tanta eorum habitudo insinuetur quod nullum sine aliis habeatur?

Item. Non potest haberi <sapientia>[4] sine intelligentia et scientia, nec intelligentia sine scientia; nec donum scientie sine dono fortitudinis, et sic de aliis.

Preterea. Sicut uirtutes sibi coherent, ita dona uidentur coherere. Unde Gregorius in Moralibus dicit ita septem dona sibi coherere ut si minus sit unum, minus fit aliud, ut *si minor est sapientia, minor est intellectus.*[5]

Ad quod dici potest quod omnia dona simul habentur habitu, ut si habet donum scientie habet donum intelligentie, ut si non comprehendat omnia, comprehendit tamen aliqua et sic habet sapientiam ex utraque procedentem. Similiter qui habet castum timorem habet perfectam caritatem et sic septem dona Spiritus sancti, quia qui habet perfectam caritatem nullo septem donorum priuatur.

Cum autem Spiritus sanctus dicitur diuidere dona prout uult, omnino ad usum referendum[c] est, non ad habitum. Quidam enim habent maiorem usum unius donorum.

---

[20] bonum: malum *L.*
[21] isti: isto *L.*
[22] uirtutem *om. L.*
[23] dicuntur: dicitur *L.*
[24] natura: causa *L.*
[25] hoc *om. L.*

[1] scit: sit *L.*
[2] *I ad Cor.* xii, 8.
[3] *Ibid.*, xii, 11.
[4] Sapientia om. *L.*
[5] Gregorius, *Moral.* I, 32, n° 45 (quoad sensum); PL 75, 547C.

Quod ergo dicitur: alii datur sermo scientie, alii sermo sapientie, ad differentiam sermonum, non ad diuisionem donorum referendum est: quidam enim maiorem habent gratiam docendi ea que pertinent ad mores, alii maiorem docendi ea que pertinent ad celestia.

Ex his liquet que sint dona Spiritus sancti, que uirtutes, id est effectus donorum. Restat ostendere que sint beatitudines.

ART. 4. DE BEATITUDINIBUS

Quidam dicunt septem beatitudines esse idem quod septem uirtutes, id est effectus septem donorum, que ideo dicuntur beatitudines quia per huiusmodi effectus donorum quodammodo homo beatificatur in uia.

Alii dicunt septem beatitudines septem diuersitates premiorum que reddentur iustis secundum predictos effectus donorum quod, quamuis una sit uite eterne beatitudo, tamen in uita eterna plures sunt mansiones, quia quamuis unus erit denarius, tamen circa idem denarium diuersus erit status.

[c] referendum: referenda *L.*

Giles of Rome on Boethius' "Diversum est esse et id quod est"

PETER W. NASH S. J.

GILES of Rome (*ca.* 1243-1316), Master of Theology at Paris, General of the Hermits of St. Augustine and Bishop of Bourges, had studied under St. Thomas Aquinas from 1269-1272.[1] Despite a life-long critical attitude towards his teacher,[2] and despite contemporary appraisal of him as the founder of a new school,[3] a legend took firm hold that he was an authentic disciple of St. Thomas.[4] The myth, thanks mainly to the work of Father Edgar Hocedez, has been exploded.[5] Giles' doctrine reveals a dominant Neoplatonic strain that makes it impossible to describe his philosophy as Thomist.[6] It is only to be expected that, in the interpretation of the Boethian opposition of *esse* and *quod est*, Giles should reveal what is proper to his own metaphysical viewpoint. Hence it would seem that Jean Paulus' judgment that Giles understood this opposition in an Avicennian and Thomist sense needs clarification.[7]

---

[1] On the life of Giles (*Aegidius Romanus*) cf. Gerardo Bruni, "Quadro Cronologico della Vita e delle Opere di Egidio Romano: Saggio", *Una Inedita* "Quaestio de Natura Universalis" *di Egidio Romano* (Naples, 1935), 26-43. (Unfortunately this *Quaestio* is spurious, as has been shown by J. Koch in *Giles of Rome, Errores Philosophorum*, p. xxix, note 62). Cf. also *Jordani de Saxonia Liber Vitasfratrum*, ed. R. Arbesmann and W. Hümpfner (New York, 1943), pp. 236-237; F. Lajard, "Gilles de Rome", *Histoire littéraire de la France* XXX (Paris, 1888), 421-566; Pierre Mandonnet, O.P., "La Carrière scolaire de Gilles de Rome", *Revue des Sciences phil. et théol.*, IV (1910), 480-499; Etienne Gilson, *La Philosophie au Moyen Age* (2nd ed. revised, Paris, 1944), pp. 546-548; Aubrey Gwynn, *The English Austin Friars in the Time of Wyclif* (Oxford, 1940), pp. 35 ff. The following articles by E. Hocedez, S.J., should be consulted as making important corrections to Mandonnet's views on the Thomism of Giles: "Gilles de Rome et St. Thomas", *Mélanges Mandonnet* I (Paris, 1930), 385-409, and "La Condamnation de Gilles de Rome", *Rech. Théol. anc. et méd.*, IV (1932), 34-58.

[2] On Giles' critique of St. Thomas cf. *Incerti Auctoris Impugnationes Contra Aegidium Romanum Contradicentem Thomae Super Primum Sententiarum*, ed. G. Bruni (Vatican, 1942). Hocedez in "Gilles de Rome et Saint Thomas" describes this manuscript (Vat. *Lat.* 772, *saec.* xiv) and gives the references to the passages in St. Thomas criticized by Giles. He also gives references to parallel observations made by Denis the Carthusian in the fifteenth century. Bruni in "Egidio Romano e la sua polemica antitomista", *Rivista di Filosofia Neoscolastica*, XXVI (1934), 239-251, notes the existence of another manuscript compilation of the variances between Giles and St Thomas. He gives parallel references to Henry of Ghent and Godfrey of Fontaine. This list complements that derived from *Ms.* Vat. *Lat.* 772, but not even the combination of the two lists is exhaustive. Thus neither list notes that Giles in his *Commentary on the First Sentences* flatly contradicts St. Thomas on a fundamental point of unity and simplicity: compare St. Thomas, *In I Sent.*, d. 8, q. 5, a. 1: Ex hoc autem quod deficit a simplicitate, etc. with Giles, *In I Sent.*, d. 8, pt. 2, pn. 2, fol. 54rH: Ex quo apparet quod recedere a divina simplicitate, etc. We shall have occasion to comment on this opposition in the article. Neither Bruni's nor Hocedez's articles note Giles' direct use of and opposition to St. Thomas' Commentary on the *Liber De Causis* in his parallel *Expositio.*

[3] Cf. Hocedez, *Aegidii Romani Theoremata de Esse et Essentia*, (Louvain, 1930), Introduction, pp. (49)-(50).

[4] Thus, at the end of the fifteenth century, the *Correctorium Corruptorii 'Quare'*, a defence of St. Thomas, came to be attributed to Giles. Glorieux, who edited this work in 1927, proves that Giles is not the author. cf. pp. xliv-l. Hocedez, in "Gilles de Rome et St. Thomas", 400, thinks that this attribution did more than anything else to build up the legend which persisted to as late as 1925; cf. M. de Wulf, *Histoire de la Philosophie médiévale* II (Paris, 1925) p. 59. In his 1936 edition M. de Wulf took cognizance of the work of Father Hocedez, thanks to whose efforts J. Koch, writing in 1941, could say, "The legend of the 'true pupil of St. Thomas' can thus be considered conclusively buried" (*Errores Philosophorum*, p. lvi).

[5] Cf. *Theoremata*, Introd., section VII, "Gilles de Rome et Saint Thomas", pp. (43)-(67).

[6] Cf. Hocedez, *Theoremata*, Introd., section VIII, "Influences néoplatoniciennes", pp. (67)-(74). Cf. also P.W.Nash, S.J., *Esse Actuale, The Problem of Existence and Individuality in Giles of Rome* (Thesis, University of Toronto, 1948). Chapter III, section 6, "Boethius and Proclus", where it is shown that the divergence of Giles from St Thomas is due not so much to an overworked *imagination* (Father Hocedez's opinion) as to a Neoplatonic *metaphysics*. The present article incorporates much of the argumentation.

The occasion of Paulus' opinion is his highly useful and penetrating analysis of the controversy between Henry of Ghent and Giles on the distinction between essence and *esse.*[8] He rightly affirms that the interpretation of the Boethian rule *Diversum est esse et id quod est* is at the heart of the controversy.[9] Giles' main concern in this connection, as Paulus points out, is to show that *esse* means created *esse*, and not, as Henry has it in the tradition of Gilbert de la Porrée, the divine *Esse.*[10] With regard to this one point Paulus is correct in saying that Giles follows Avicenna and St. Thomas. But there any identification with a Thomist interpretation stops.

It is not implied that Paulus is to be criticized for not pointing this out; such a modification of his judgment is not within the scope of his article, and is not called for by the particular work of Giles under examination. But comment is called for in view of the fact that elsewhere, when speaking of Giles' position in general, Paulus follows Hocedez in attributing the difference between the philosophies of Giles and St. Thomas mainly to a Platonically inspired "imagination",[11] as though Giles understood *esse* and essence in the same way as St. Thomas, except for "picturing" these principles as things. What, perhaps, has not been sufficiently realized is that Giles gave these terms a very different meaning,[12] and did so largely because his world was a Boethian world in which the creature is distinguished from the Creator by being a plurality of parts. In that world the Creator alone is truly one. All creatures necessarily bear the marks of composition, plurality, lack of unity. It is the purpose of this article to show that Giles interprets the Boethian dichotomy in function of an essentially Boethian view of the universe, even though he understands *esse* in the Avicennian sense of contingent act of existence. Giles' interpretation is not Thomist, because it is both Avicennian and Boethian.

---

[7] Cf. Jean Paulus, "Les Disputes d'Henri de Gand et Gilles de Rome sur la distinction de l'essence et l'existence", *Archives d'Histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Age*, XIII (1942), 329: A l'interprétation de Boèce, proposée par Gilbert et Henri. . . Gilles oppose l'interprétation de sens avicennien et thomiste. L'*esse* dont parle Boèce ne désigne pas l'*esse increatum*, mais la *forme de l'être* participée réellement par l'essence.

[8] Cf. note 7.

[9] *Ibid.*, 339. Paulus is summarizing Henry of Ghent, who at this point is replying to arguments *in oppositum*: Argument III, 4. (*Interprétation de Boèce*, GILLES, q.9, II, 1 [*Quaestiones Disputatae de Esse et Essentia*]). Tout le conflit porte sur la première règle de Boèce (PL 64, 1311): *Diversum est esse et id quod est; ipsum enim esse nondum est; at vero quod est accepta essendi forma est*. . . Henri défend d'abord son interprétation ancienne qui identifiait l'*esse* ici nommé à l'Etre Divin, le *nondum est* se devant alors entendre de cet Etre, en tant que diffusé dans la création. Mais on peut également, comme les philosophes dont parle Gilbert (PL 64, 1318), identifier *esse* et *quod est* à la forme et au composé; soit encore à l'*esse* créé et à l'essence existante, conçus comme distincts intentionellement. *Cui concordat Dominus Albertus in libro sui de Causis*. . . (*De Caus. et proc. univ.*, II, tr. 2, c.3, t. V, 565b. . .).

[10] The article (cf. note 7) is concerned with the controversy of Henry and Giles on the one point of the distinction between *esse* and essence. Henry admits that the *esse* of the Boethian rules could be created *esse*, provided that no more than an intentional distinction be allowed between it and the *quod est*. Giles' concern is to show that an intentional distinction is not enough. On intentional distinctions, as understood by Henry, cf. Paulus, *Henri de Gand*, pp. 220-237. On parle d'*intentions* en cette occasion pour signifier que l'intellect *tend* déterminément *vers* telle note constitutive de l'essence, et néglige toutes les autres, *ibid.*, p. 221.

[11] Cf. Paulus, *Henri de Gand*, p. 283: Une *imagination* ultraréaliste, toute pénétrée du néoplatonisme de Proclus: telle serait l'origine de la déviation subie par les doctrines de Gilles, au dire de leur plus récent exégète [Hocedez, *Theoremata*, p. (51)-(82)].

[12] Too much prominence has been given to the problem of the "real distinction" and not enough to the meaning of the terms of the distinction. But it is only when it is realized that *esse*, for Giles, is an actuality accidental to the actuality of essence, that it can be seen that the "real" distinction for him is conceived in function of the primacy of essence. The distinction is "real" because *esse* is as much a *res* as the essence, *res* being understood as convertible with *ens*, and *ens* as convertible with essence.

For Giles' interpretation of Boethius we cannot, as is the case with St. Thomas, have recourse to any formal commentary on Boethius. We must depend on Giles' use of his "authorities" in the solution of the various questions dealing with the meaning of *esse* and the composition of creatures.[13] In this regard the text of the immediate controversy with Henry of Ghent is not all-revealing. We must consult an earlier work, the *Commentary on the First Book of the Sentences.*[14] In this work may be seen at its clearest Giles' non-Thomist interpretation, an interpretation which later works confirm. We shall consider first, therefore, those passages in the *Quaestiones Disputatae de Esse et Essentia* which gives Giles' anti-Henrician view of Boethius. Then we shall take up the pertinent passages in the *In I Sent.*, examining first the immediate context (Eighth Distinction), and then the remote context (the preceding Distinctions). Only thus may Giles' use of the Boethian dichotomy be seen in proper perspective. Giles' explanation of this duality gave rise to difficulties in the maintenance of a consistent interpretation of Boethian metaphysics. These difficulties will be dealt with in the concluding section of the article.

I. THE QUAESTIONES DISPUTATAE DE ESSE ET ESSENTIA (1285-1287)

Paulus notes three interpretations of Boethius in the Middle Ages: 1) that of the "philosophers" who, with Boethius, identified *esse* with substantial form, *esse aliquid* with accidental form, and *quod est* with the subsistent individual; 2) that of the "theologians" for whom *esse* was the divine *Esse*; *esse aliquid*, substantial form; and *quod est*, subsistent created being; 3) the Avicennian interpretation of St. Thomas and Giles.[1] Henry of Ghent adopted the second, though he also admitted that *esse* could stand for either the essential or the existential *esse* of creatures, provided it was held to differ only intentionally from creatures.[2] His exposition of this thesis is to be found in his *Quodlibeta*, especially in *Quodl.* I, 9. The objector at the oral dispute, of which the written *Quodlibeta* are but the polished and ordered solution by the presiding Master, seems to have been Giles himself.[3] The objections, drawn from Boethius, which he had put at that time, are faithfully reproduced by Giles in his *Quaestiones Disputatae de Esse.* From the context of the *De Hebdomadibus* Giles claims to show that Henry's interpretation does violence to the text.

Giles opens the solution to the ninth question by affirming that there are great names[4] behind the opinion that essence and *esse* do not differ really in creatures, yet he himself holds the contrary, and does so because he is quite satisfied that it is the right position:

---

[13] There are two problems in the Egidian interpretation of Boethius. The first is that of the precise meaning he intended to give to the Boethian "authorities": this can be gathered only from use and context. The mediaeval writer, as M.D.Chenu points out, [" 'Authentica' et 'Magistralia' dans lieux théologiques aux XII-XIII siècles", *Divus Thomas,* Piacenza, XXVIII (1925), 257-285] had to take cognizance of the recognized "authors", but felt free to explain them according to his own doctrinal position. Hence to understand Giles' interpretation of Boethius one must know something of Giles' metaphysics. The second problem is to know to what extent Giles accepted a fundamentally Boethian viewpoint. It was quite possible for a medieval writer to cite "authorities" without agreeing with the "author's" views.

[14] This commentary was written 1275-77 before Giles' condemnation by Bishop Tempier and subsequent exile from Paris for six years. Dates of other works mentioned in the article: *Errores Philosophorum, ca.* 1270; *Theoremata,* 1278-85; *Quaestiones Disputatae de Esse et Essentia,* 1285-1287; *Quodlibeta,* 1285/6-1291; *Expositio in librum de Causis,* 1290; *Commentarium in II Sent.*, 1390. Cf. G. Bruni, "Quadro Cronologico".

[1] Paulus, *Henri de Gand,* p. 304, note 2.

[2] Cf. *supra,* note 10, and "Les Disputes d'Henri de Gand", 353: Henri précise définitivement la double interprétation, possible à son sens, du *De Hebdomadibus;* la première, qui vient de Gilbert, identifie l'*esse* à Dieu, en tant que principe non point formel, mais causal, de tout ce qui est; la seconde prend l'*esse* nommé par Boèce dans le sens de l'être soit essentiel, soit existentiel des créatures; l'un et l'autre ne différant toutefois de celles-ci que de façon intentionelle.

[3] Cf. Paulus, "Les Disputes", 325.

[4] Henry of Ghent.

> Respondeo dicendum quod circa hoc diversi diversa sentiunt. Licet non ex multo tempore de hoc multae theologorum opiniones fuerint, magni tamen non opinanter proponunt quod in creaturis esse et essentia non differunt; nos tamen sententiam hanc tenemus quod realiter differunt, eo quod huiusmodi dictum magis quietat intellectum nostrum.[5]

After outlining the order in which he will treat Henry's "determination" Giles considers first the "reasons and authorities" which Henry adduces against himself. The "authorities" are all from Boethius' *De Hebdomadibus*. It is easy to recognize the second, sixth and eighth rules:

> Adducunt etiam contra se auctoritates plures quas ponit Boethius *De Hebdomadibus*. Ibi enim dicitur quod *diversum est esse et id quod est* [Rule 2, first half; PL 64, 1311]. Sed id quod est est ipsa essentia, ergo diversum est esse et essentia. Praeterea, in eodem libro dicitur: *id quod est accepta essendi forma est atque subsistit* [Rule 2: second half]. Sed quod accipit est aliud re ab accipiente, ergo essentia quae recipit esse, est realiter differens ab esse. Item ibidem scribitur quod *omne quod est participat eo quod est esse ut sit* [Rule 6]. Sed participans differt a participatio (participato?), ergo etc. Praeterea, ibi habet quod *in omni composito aliud est esse, aliud ipsum est* [Rule 8]. Ergo idem quod prius.[6]

It is clear that Giles takes *esse* to mean that by which an essence is said to be, and that *esse* and essence correspond to the Boethian *esse* and *id quod est*. There is no hint that Boethius might possibly be talking about the distinction between the common form (*esse*) and the concrete individual (*id quod est*).[7] Neither is there St. Thomas' nuanced interpretation, according to which Boethius in the first six rules is talking about "intentions" and only in the seventh and eighth about real things.[8] Giles is concerned at this point solely with objecting to Henry's intentional distinction between *esse* and essence.[9] His objection is very clear: the Boethian rules from the first assert a real distinction. Giles does not have to say what 'real' means, other than to affirm that it is the contrary of *secundum rationem*.[10] He does not even have to say exactly what he means by *esse*, by essence and by act. It is enough to show that by *esse* Boethius meant created *esse*, and that Boethius must have meant it to be really distinct from essence. This Giles undertakes to establish after giving Henry's explanation of the "authorities" cited against him.

Henry, as Giles reports him, explains the Boethian rules thus: *Diversum est esse* (God) *et id quod est* (creature). *Nam illud quod est accepta essendi forma* (the form being the divine likeness) *est atque subsistit* (i.e. actually exists as an effect). *Omnequod est participat esse ut sit* (i.e. the *esse* does not come as a *res* that differs from the essence. The latter participates in the divine *esse* by being a likeness and actually exists by having this likeness as an effect). *In omni*

---

[5] *Quaestiones de Esse*, q. 9, fol. 18ra. This is the text as emended by Chossat, *Revue Thom.*, 18 (1910), 505, and cited by Paulus, "Les Disputes", 328.

[6] *Loc. cit.* Italics mine. It will be noted that in the second rule Giles uses the verb *subsistit*. Both Henry and Giles are consistent in this usage. St. Thomas in his Commentary on the *De Hebdomadibus* has *consistit*, but explains it as *idest in seipso subsistit* (ed. Parma, p. 342, col. 1). The text of Boethius in PL 64, 1311 has *consistit*. Cf. also *Gilberti Porretae Commentaria*, PL 64, 1317: the citation is *consistit* but the explanation (col. 1318) is subsistence.

[7] Cf. H. J. Brosch, *Der Seinsbegriff bei Boethius* (Innsbruck, 1931), p. 65.

[8] Cf. St. Thomas, *In De Hebdomadibus*, lect. 2; ed. Parma, XVII, 341*b*. Cf. also J. de Finance, *Etre et Agir* (Paris, 1945), p. 99.

[9] Cf. *Quaestiones de Esse*, q. 12, fol. 29va.

[10] *Ibid.*, q. 9, fol. 19va: Secunda etiam distinctio non videtur conveniens; quia non videtur quod sit aliquod differre medium inter differre re et ratione. . . Numquam invenimus medium inter differre et re et ratione nisi negemus omnem differentiam, ut si dixerimus quod nullo modo differunt. Sed quod sit dare medium inter differre re et ratione non videtur intelligibile. . . On Giles' mistaken views of the origin of the Henrician *differre intentione* cf. Paulus, *Henri de Gand*, pp. 222 f.

composito (i.e. in every creature) *aliud est esse et illud quod est* (not *re* but only in intention). So in every case *esse* is divine and not created, unless the likeness of the divine *esse* can be said to be the created *esse.*[11]

Giles then claims that he has faithfully reproduced Henry's explanations: *postquam hanc opinionem fideliter recolimus.* He then asserts that the "authorities" do not seem to have been explained according to the mind of Boethius and gives his reasons in each case.

In the first place to say that the *esse* in *Diversum est esse et id quod est* is the divine *esse* is to ignore the words that immediately follow, namely: *ipsum vero esse nondum est.* Boethius must mean that it does not belong to *esse* properly to be. But this cannot be said of God, for St. Augustine says *esse* belongs especially to God. So the *esse* of which Boethius speaks must be a created *esse.* And, as it seems to be Boethius' mind that only that properly is which is *per se*, it is quite right to say that created *esse* properly is not, since it does not exist *per se* but only in so far as it is the reason why something else is.[12]

This interpretation is certainly more natural than the Gilbertian explanation offered by Henry, in which one has to force the *nondum est* to mean that the divine *esse* has not yet been diffused in creation, and that this latter happens only when the divine likeness is received (*accepta forma essendi*).[13] But whatever the merits of the interpretation, the important point is that for Giles *esse* means that distinct intrinsic principle by which the creature actually exists. To this extent he does not differ from St. Thomas.[14] Both admit that *esse* can not be said properly to be, but is that by which something else is.[15] Both affirm that only substances properly are, i.e. those things that are *per se.*[16] Yet this agreement in terminology can cover a wide divergency of meaning, depending on what is meant by existence, by the actuality of *esse*, by the potentiality of essence and by the unity of the supposit.

Again because of the context, Giles continues, the second "authority"; *id quod est accepta essendi forma est atque subsistit*, cannot refer to the reception of the divine likeness. Since this text is a continuation of the first, *essendi forma* must be taken in the same sense as *esse.* Both must mean either the divine *esse* or created *esse*, but not first the divine *esse* and then the divine likeness. Created *esse* is the only interpretation that fits the context; *nondum est* was said of it, because to it *esse* does not belong *per se.* But when *esse* is received, then that which receives it *est atque subsistit*, i.e. has *esse per se*, is a substance. Hence, according to the mind of Boethius, the *esse* which is received is as though it were a form: *quasi forma*. But this is impossible unless the recipient be really different. This is not to deny that the created *esse* is a divine likeness, but it is only by reception of this *esse* that the creature subsists as a divine likeness. So, even if we take *forma essendi* as meaning the divine likeness, we are forced to hold that *esse* differs really from essence.[17]

---

[11] *QQ. de Esse*, q. 9, fol. 18va.

[12] *Ibid*, fol. 18vb: Dicunt enim isti quod cum dicit Boethius per esse increatum sive ipsum, per id quod est intelligit creaturam. Sed ista expositio stare non potest per id quod in littera sequitur. Sic enim iacet textus Boethii. Diversum est esse et id quod est, ipsum vero esse nondum est. Ergo vult quod ipsi esse non proprie competat quod sit. Igitur esse ibi non stabit pro ipso deo vel pro ipso esse divino. Quia ipsi deo maxime competit esse. Unde Augustinus VIIo *De Trinitate*, cap. 5o [melius lib. Vo, c.2; PL 42, 912], vult quod maxime deo competat esse. Quia per esse famulo suo Moysi nomen suum enunciavit dicens: Ego sum qui sum: sic dices ad eos qui est misit me ad vos. Ergo si Boethius loquitur de esse de quo non proprie dicitur quod sit, et ipsi deo maxime competit esse ipse solus proprie est ut idem Augustinus innuit. Oportet secundum intentionem Boethii per esse exponere esse creatum, non increatum. Videtur ergo omnino intentio Boethii quod id proprie est quod est per se. Et ideo sicut dicimus quod esse non proprie competit formae quia non habet per se esse sed est in alio, sed proprie competit ipsi composito quia habet per se esse, et formam intantum est inquantum est ratio essendi aliud, sic ipsum esse creaturae, quia est aliquid in nullo receptum, nec proprie est nec per se est, sed intantum est inquantum est ratio quare aliquid sit.

[13] Cf. Paulus, "Les Disputes", 340.

[14] Cf. St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol.*, I, q. 8, a. 1: Esse autem est illud quod est magis intimum cuilibet, et quod profundius omnibus inest, cum sit formale respectu omnium quae in re sunt.

[15] Cf. St. Thomas, *In lib de Hebd.*, lect. 2; ed. Parma, XVII, 542*a*: 'Ipsum esse nondum est', quia non attribuitur sibi esse sicut subjecto essendi.

[16] *Loc. cit.*: Nom enim ens dicitur proprie et per se, nisi de substantia, cujus est subsistere. Accidentia enim non dicuntur entia quasi ipsa sint, sed inquantum eis subest aliquid. . .

In this passage we note Giles' equation of "really differing" with "differing *re*". This could be an exaggeration of St. Thomas' position or it could mean something quite different. The present context does not tell us. The controversial interest, as before, does not lend itself readily to the assertion of differences between Giles and other upholders of a "real" distinction. There is, however, even here a hint of further difference: where Giles speaks of *esse* as a quasi-form, St. Thomas simply interprets *forma essendi* to mean the act of being.[18] The difference is real enough, for Giles' real opinion is that *esse* is as accidental as any accidental form. *Esse actuale* is also conceived as playing a formal role akin to that of a specific difference, except that it does not constitute a *natura tertia*, since the individual cannot be defined. But these doctrinal differences are only hinted at in the present work.

There is no need to consider Giles' refutation of Henry's exposé of the sixth and eighth Boethian rules. They are interpreted in accord with the fundamental position that *esse* means created *esse*. They confirm the view that, from the controversy alone, one would not suspect Giles' non-Thomist position. At most there is an exaggeration of expression in stating the "real distinction" as operative between two things: *duae res*. St. Thomas does not use this formula.

A passage in the twelfth question is devoted to a further refutation of Henry's interpretation of Boethius' sixth rule. Giles' position, in short, is this: it is possible to understand the *esse*, which differs from essence in creatures, as the first principle or God, since this first principle causes and conserves the *esse* of all things. In this sense, Henry's dictum that *esse* means the first principle and *quod est* that which is from the first principle can be accepted.[19]

From the short passages in *Quaestiones Disputatae de Esse*, which we have analyzed, it is evident that Giles' purpose has been to show that the real distinction between *esse* and essence is consonant with the rules of Boethius, whereas the "theological" interpretation of Henry does violence to the text. Giles' doctrine, on the surface, seems to be in the Thomistic line with one apparent exaggeration. Both upholders of the "real distinction" certainly owe much to Avicenna. Yet it is quite possible that Giles has accepted Avicenna even more wholeheartedly, so that the distinction for him is real because *esse* is really accidental. It is also possible that, though Giles' interpretation seems very different from that of the "philosophers", it is closer to it than to that of St. Thomas.[20]

---

[17] Giles, *Quaestiones de Esse*, q. 9, fol. 18vb: Secunda etiam auctoritas non videtur exposita secundum intentionem Boethii, ut dicatur quod id quod est accepta essendi forma, i.e. accepta divina similitudine. Nam istum continuatur ad praecedens. Sic enim iacet textus: diversum est esse et illud quod est, ipsum vero esse nondum est, id vero quod est accepta essendi forma est atque subsistit. Oportet ergo quod accipiatur ibi essendi forma sicut ibi locutus est de esse, cum iste textus continuetur ad illud. Sed ibi locutus est de esse creato quod dicitur nondum esse, quia ei non competit per se esse. Ergo forma essendi dicetur ipsum esse creatum quod (quo?) id quod est accipiendo esse est atque subsistit. Ergo ipsum esse secundum intentionem Boethii receptum in eo quod est se habet quasi forma per quam quasi forma est, i.e. quod esse non posset nisi esset re differens ab illo, quia nihil seipsum accipit quasi essendi forma. Ubicumque enim esse est aliquid receptum in alio, oportet quod sit re differens a recipiente. Verum est enim quod ipsum esse creatum est quaedam divina similitudo. Et hoc modo verum est quod id quod est accepta ipso esse creato quod est divina similitudo est atque subsistit. Sed sic exponendo de forma essendi et de divina similitudine cogimur ponere quod esse ab essentia sit realiter differens.

[18] Cf. St. Thomas, *In lib. de Hebd.*, lect. 2; ed. Parma, XVII, 542*a*: 'Sed id quod est, accepta essendi forma', scilicet suscipiendo ipsum actum essendi. . .

[19] Giles, *Quaestiones de Esse*, q. 12, fol. 31rb: . . .ostendere volumus quod non bene exponunt auctoritates Boethii. Dicunt enim quod per esse intelligitur ipsum primum principium. Per id quod est intelligitur quod est ex principio, et ideo aiunt quod diversum est esse et id quod est, quia diversa sunt principia et id quod ex principio, vel diversa sunt deus et creatura. . . In omnibus igitur differt essentia et esse actuale <quae> a primo principio causatur et conservatur in qualibet essentia. Igitur per esse quo (quod?) differt ab essentia in qualibet re debemus intelligere primum principium a quo causatur quia ab illo causatur esse omnium rerum. Secundum hoc ergo possumus intelligere quomodo res producuntur a Deo quia producuntur accipiendo esse ab ipso, et quomodo ad momentum non staret creatura si deus ab ipsa recederet, quia statim desineret esse.

The widest discussion by Giles of Boethius in relation to the theory of being occurs in the *In I Sent.*,[21] a work written ten years earlier than the *Quaestiones Disputatae de Esse*. In this work we discover not only his interpretation of Boethius, but also the extent to which he has been influenced by Boethius. We see how, having once accepted the Avicennian view on *esse* as applying literally to the actual order, he consistently applies it to the major metaphysical problems, which the text of Boethius necessarily raises. We see, also, that he considers Boethius defective and, that, to fill the lucunae, he has recourse to the admittedly Neoplatonic theory of participation proposed by Proclus.

II. THE COMMENTARY ON THE FIRST SENTENCES. (1275-1277)

In the *In I Sent.*, Giles agrees,[1] at least verbally, with St. Thomas on five points in the interpretation of the rules from Boethius' *De Hebdomadibus*. The fact is that the rules concern creatures, i.e. things which participate in *esse*, and not God who essentially is His *esse*. Thus St. Thomas says: *Dictum autem Boetii intelligitur de participantibus esse, et non de eo qui essentialiter est suum esse.*[2] Giles insists also that the *esse* which is opposed to *quod est* is created *esse*, for he says: *in omni creato quod habet per se esse oportet nos concedere esse compositionem ex quod est et esse*,[3] and *bene igitur dictum est per Boethium quod omne quod est citra primum est compositum ex quod est et esse* [Boeth., *De Trin.*, I, 2; PL 64, 1250].[4]

A second point of agreement is the description of *esse* as accidental. St. Thomas admits that *esse* 'happens' to the creature; this we gather from the fact that, if in God the *esse* were not identical with His quiddity, something would 'happen' to the quiddity: *accideret quidditati.*[5] But St. Thomas will not admit that, in reality, there is anything more essential to the existent being than *esse*: *hoc quod dico esse est actualitas omnium actuum, et propter hoc est perfectio omnium perfectionum.*[6] Giles too sees *esse* as accidental, e.g.: *aliqua quae vergunt in naturam accidentis ut esse et conditiones materiae.*[7] But, as we shall see, he wants us to understand *esse* as perfecting accidentally in the manner of a second act.

In the third place, Giles agrees with St. Thomas in the application of the theory of act and potency to the Boethian rules. For St. Thomas *esse* is the act of the whole substance: *eius enim actus est esse de quo possumus dicere quod*

---

[20] It is only St. Thomas' doctrine which cannot be equated with either. It is an unique doctrine, in which *esse* is the act of existence that gives the essence actuality not in the order of essence. Cf. St. Thomas, *De Potentia*, q. 7, a. 2, ad 2m: Hoc quod dico *esse* est inter omnia perfectissimum: quod ex hoc patet quia actus est semper perfectior potentia. . . Unde patet quod hoc quod dico esse est actualitas omnium actuum, et propter hoc est perfectio omnium perfectionum.

[21] The edition used in this article is that of Venice, 1521.

[1] Giles wrote the *In I Sent.*, with at least three of St. Thomas' works constantly before him, namely the *In I Sent.*, the *De Potentia*, and the *Summa Theologiae* (Pars Prima).

[2] St.Thomas, *In I Sent.*, d. 8, q. 4, a. 1, ad 2m; ed. Mandonnet, I, 220.

[3] Giles, *In I Sent.*, d. 8, pt. 2, pn. 2, q. 1, fol. 54A.

[4] *Ibid.*, fol. 54B.

[5] St.Thomas, *In I Sent.*, d. 8, q. 4, a. 2; ed. Mandonnet, I, 222.

[6] Cf. *Supra* note 20.

[7] Giles, *In I Sent.*, d. 5, pn. 1, q. 2, a. 3, fol. 37L. This passage will be commented on later.

sit.[8] Giles speaks of *esse* as *actus essentiae.*[9] This agreement, however, is purely verbal, for, as will be seen, *esse* in the Egidian system merely completes a potentiality within the actuality of the essence.

Use of the doctrine of act and potency also entails superficial harmony in connection with the unity of the existent creature. St. Thomas insisted on this unity. Giles too says that, since *esse* and essence are as act and potency, there is no need to ask what makes them one: *non debemus quaerere causam quid faciat unum ex potentia et actu quasi existentia habeant esse diversum.*[10] Yet Giles will not admit with St. Thomas that the existent being is *unum simpliciter;*[11] it is *unum per accidens, unum unitate addita, unum per intentionem additam.*[12] There must be, therefore, under the surface agreement a radical metaphysical divergence, a fundamentally different world in which each applies the Boethian "authorities".

A final point of similarity is the realist interpretation by both Giles and St. Thomas of the Boethian rules. The opposition between *esse* and *quod est* operates independently of the mind. It is a distinction that is not only *ratione* but also *re.* But here again the similarity masks a difference of meaning. The Boethian duality operates, for Giles, in a world of forms in which essence holds the primary position. *Esse* and *quod est* are as two *res*, because the essence is an actuality in its own right and *esse* is but an added actuality. The evidence for this judgment will be given in due course.

St. Thomas and Giles, therefore, agree verbally on the following points: (1) *esse* in Boethius is created *esse*; (2) *esse* is contingent or 'accidental'; (3) *esse* is as act to the potency of essence; (4) *esse* and essence, being act and potency, make a unit; (5) *esse* and essence are distinct independently of the mind. These similarities, however, can express contrary metaphysical positions in accordance with which the "authorities" are to be interpreted. This will be shown, first, by the readiness with which Giles, in other connections, uses Boethius against St. Thomas. Then, by the immediate context of the use of the Boethian rules; this context reveals that Giles is concerned primarily with defending a non-Thomist position. And finally, by the real meaning of the above points of verbal similarity as deducible from the questions preceding the Eighth Distinction. It is only from the context that it is possible to see just why Giles appeals to Boethius and exactly how he intends us to understand Boethius.

A. *Giles' anti-Thomist bias in interpreting Boethius*

A clear instance of the anti-Thomist bias in the interpretation of Boethius can be seen in a question of the Third Distinction in which Giles asks if God's existence is known *per se.*[13] Giles first summarizes St. Thomas' solution, basing his summary partly on what St. Thomas says in the *Commentary on the First Sentences* and partly on what is found in the *Summa Theologiae.*[14] Giles then stigmatizes St. Thomas' position as a poor solution: *sed ista positio non est bona*, and gives reasons. One reason for the rejection of St. Thomas' solution is the interpretation of the Boethian principle on common concepts. Giles claims that the Boethian definition of a proposition known *per se* as one approved as soon as heard supposes that the words used have a meaning and that the hearer knows what the names mean:

---

[8] St. Thomas, *Contra Gent.* II, 54.

[9] Giles, *In I Sent.*, d. 2, pn. 2, q. 2, fol. 19K.

[10] *Ibid.*, d. 8, pt. 2, pn. 1, q. 4, 53L.

[11] Cf. St.Thomas, *In I Sent.*, d. 24, q. 1, a. 1 ed. Mandonnet, I, 575: Quod est simpliciter indivisum dicitur simpliciter unum, quod est unum numero. Cf. also d. 24, q. 1, a. 3; *ed. cit.*, p. 581, and *Sum. Theol.*, I, q. 11, a. 2 ad 1m.

[12] Cf. Giles, *In I Sent.*, d. 2, pn. 2, q. 1, 19D and q. 2, 19K.

[13] Giles, *In I Sent.*, d. 3, pt. 1, pn. 1, q. 2, 21v.

[14] From the opening of the *Solutio* to . . .quaedam participatio divinae veritatis Giles is drawing on St.Thomas, *In I Sent.*, d. 3, q. 1, a. 2. Thence to the end of the summary he is giving St.Thomas, *Sum. Theol.*, I, q. 2, a. 1.

> Tertium quod dicitur de propositione per se nota est quod quilibet eam probat auditam, ut dicit Boethius in lib. *de Hebdomadibus* [PL 64, 1311], quod non est intelligendum nisi praesupposita significatione nominum et quicumque intelligeret quid est quod dicitur per hoc nomen deus, statim istam propositionem probaret auditam, scilicet deum esse.[15]

St. Thomas' mistake, according to Giles, is due to a confusion between *quid rei* and *quid nominis*:

> Et quod ipsi dicant, quod tunc de deo sciremus quid est equivocant in eo quod est quid est, nam non oportet scire de deo quid rei sed quid nominis.[16]

Now, even though this were no more than a *lis verborum*,[17] it is still true that, in the use of Boethius, Giles is ready to turn Boethius against St. Thomas. It will cause no surprise, then, if Giles sees the other rules of the *De Hebdomadibus* as operative in a non-Thomist universe. In the course of our examination of the Eighth Distinction of the *In I Sent.*, which is the immediate context of the use of these rules, we shall see that an explicit contradiction of a fundamental Thomist position governs their application. This principle concerns the relations between simplicity and unity. Giles' position on this point is firmly Neoplatonic because so radically Boethian.

B. *Immediate context of the use of the Boethian rules*

In the Eighth Distinction of the *In I Sent.*, Giles, in three consecutive questions, cites the Boethian opposition of *esse* and *quod est*. These questions concern the simplicity of God, the compositeness of the creature and the compositeness of the human soul.

The proof of God's supreme simplicity[18] consists in showing that in God not one of the three general types of composition which are to be found in creatures is present. The first of these types of composition is that of essence and *esse*. Boethius bears this out when he says in the *De Hebdomadibus* that "in every composite the *esse* and the *quod est* are different":

> Possumus tamen si volumus ex his quae dicta sunt ostendere deum esse simplicissimum. Sunt enim tres generales compositiones quae reperiuntur in omni composito. Una est esse et essentiae. Unde in libro *de Hebdomadibus* [PL 64, 1311: Rule 8] dicitur: *omni composito aliud est esse, aliud ipsum quod est.*[19]

There is no need to point out the equation of the Boethian *quod est* with essence and of *esse* with created *esse*. So far no further light is thrown on the difference between St. Thomas' and Giles' usage. However, a few lines further on, when proving the presence of genus and specific difference in every composite, Giles gives a hint of a radical departure.

To be able to predicate genus and difference of anything, one must be able to find something that is neither pure act nor pure potency. The essence in every composite satisfies this condition since it differs from the *esse*:

---

[15] *Ibid.*, 21N.

[16] *Ibid.*, 21L.

[17] Giles seems neither to accept the Anselmian position nor really to contradict St.Thomas. On *quid nominis* cf. Godfrey of Fontaine, *Quodl.*, VII, q. 11; ed. DeWulf and Pelzer, *Les Philosophes Belges* III (Louvain, 1904), pp. 377 ff. For Godfrey the first knowledge that we have of God looks to the significance of the name, *respicit quid significat nomen.*

[18] Giles, *In I Sent.*, d. 8, pt. 2, pn. 1, q. 4, 53v: Utrum deus sit summe simplex.

[19] *Ibid.*, 53N.

> Rursus, quia in omni composito differunt essentia ab esse, essentia compositi nec est actus purus nec potentia pura, propter quod potest inde sumi ratio generis et differentia.[20]

This is to be interpreted in the light of a previous question, in which it is proved that the composition of genus and difference is not present in God.[21] There it was said that the genus is a *forma media*, i.e. a form half-way between act and potency, which requires as real foundation a nature that is neither pure act nor pure potency. Now, no simple nature can be in a genus; only a nature with a potentiality within it can be in a genus:

> Omne ergo quod proprie est in genere est determinatum ad aliquid, habet naturam compositam, habet quidditatem distantem ab esse, sive in natura eius est potentialitas aliqua.[22]

The point is that Giles thinks of essence, nature, quiddity primarily as an act or perfection, and only secondarily does he consider its potency to *esse*. Giles considers *esse* as an act, but only as adding an actuality. This radical departure from St. Thomas we shall consider more closely. For the moment, it must be borne in mind that our present question gives merely a hint of this, and demands that we seek its explanation in previous questions.

The second question in which Giles uses the Boethian opposition of *esse* and *quod est* asks if creatures are composite.[23] The solution is in two parts. The first establishes the compositeness of created supposits, i.e. of all things which *per se* possess *esse*. The second demonstrates the compositeness even of the parts of a supposit, especially of that part which is *esse*. Now there are two arguments supporting the contention of the first part that "we must concede that in every creature possessing *esse* by itself there is composition of *esse* and *quod est*".[24] The first is from the simple fact that creation means the reception of *esse* from another. Giles understands this literally as the reception of something distinct; it is not, as it could be for William of Auvergne, merely the expression of dependence of the creature on God.[25] To receive *esse* means that the nature was in potency to *esse*, for if it were its own *esse*, it would be pure act without any potentiality. Hence no agent would be needed, and it would not be created, which is not in accord with the facts:

> Respondeo dicendum quod in omni creato quod habet per se esse oportet nos concedere esse compositionem ex quod est et esse. Et est ratio quia si creatum est, ab alio habet esse. Omne, quod ab alio habet esse, est in potentia ad esse et non est ipsum esse, quia, si ipsum esse esset, tunc esset actus purus sine aliqua potentialitate. Non igitur indigeret aliqua essentialiter differente ab eo qui ipsum ad esse produceret. Ponere igitur creatum sic esse est ponere creatum non esse creatum.[26]

This argument, as far as Boethian interpretation is concerned, emphasizes Giles' consistently realistic view. It is also in keeping with the peculiar view of potency and act already noted, for it implies that some potentiality must be found in the actuality which is the nature. But it is the second argument which calls for investigation along a different line of contrast between St. Thomas and Giles.

The second argument is based on the theory that to predicate *esse* of a thing by way of identity is to predicate it abstractly, and hence such predication implies that there is nothing else in the subject but *esse*. Thus, if one were to predicate humanity abstractly of a man, this man would be humanity and nothing else. Giles refers us expressly to a preceding account of this theory:

---

[20] *Loc. cit.*

[21] *In I Sent.*, d. 8, pt. 2, pn. 1, q. 3, 53r.

[22] *Ibid.*, 53E.

[23] *In I Sent.*, d. 8, pt. 2, pn. 2, q. 1: Utrum omnis creatura sit composita.

[24] *Ibid.*, 54A.

[25] Cf. E. Gilson, "La Notion d'existence chez Guillaume d'Auvergne", *AHMA*, XV (1946), 55-91.

[26] Cf. *supra*, note 24.

> Item superius dicebatur: quando aliquid in abstracto de aliquo praedicatur, nihil est in eo quod sit aliud a tali praedicato; ut si natura hominis de homine praedicaretur in abstracto nihil esset in homine quod non pertineret ad humanitatem et e converso. Et quia si nihil esset in homine aliud a natura sua homo esset sua humanitas. Si igitur esset aliquod ens creatum in quo non esset nisi esse, tunc illud ens creatum esset suum esse et maxime haberet esse, etc.[27]

As we shall see, this theory of predication is avowedly Averroistic and held to be in harmony with the Boethian principle that predication is at its truest when the predicate is identical with the subject. The logical consequence of this theory is the real accidentality of *esse* and the accidental unity of the existent supposit.

In this argument there is also latent the theory that a nature, e.g. humanity, is of itself one, and that it can be divided only by something outside that nature, that is by something accidental; in other words, something must be added to the unity of the nature to make it many. This addition, we shall see, is none other than *esse*.

The argument concludes that, if the creature were its own *esse*, it would be creative, since the maximum in any genus is the cause of all in the genus. So Boethius well said in his *De Trinitate* that everything, God excepted, is composed of *quod est* and *esse:*

> Bene igitur dictum est per Boethius [*De Trin.*, I, c. 2; PL 64, 1250] quod omne est citra Primum est compositum ex quod est et esse. Omnia igitur quae per se habent esse composita sunt.[28]

To understand the present use of Boethius it is obvious that we must investigate both the theory of predication, to which Giles himself refers, and the theory of division of natures or essences. But our present task is to continue the analysis of the immediate context.

The second half of the question completes what to Giles is obviously a deficiency in the Boethian system. The opposition of *esse* and *quod est* accounts for the compositeness of existent supposits, but not for the compositeness of every creature. Participated *esse* is itself a creature and yet is not composed of *esse* and *quod est:*

> Sed propter hoc non habemus omnem creaturam esse compositam, quia etiam ipsum esse quod existit in eo quod est vel in participante esse creatura est nec tamen est compositum ex quod est et esse.[29]

To prove this point Giles has recourse to Proclus' theory of totalities.[30] It was not difficult to apply Proclus' three totalities, which were adapted to participation in forms, to the case of participation in *esse*[31] and to conclude that the *esse* in each created supposit is a *totum in parte* and hence itself a part. There were two reasons justifying this conclusion. The first was that the *esse* in any supposit is not all the *esse* that it might be, since the recipient receives *esse* only partially. The second reason was that *esse* is a part of the existent supposit, i.e. of a *totum ex partibus,* and hence dependent on the supposit. *Esse,* therefore, though not containing a *quod est*, nevertheless betrays an element of potentiality and hence of composition.[32]

---

[27] *In I Sent.*, d. 8, pt. 2, pn. 2, q. 1, 54B.

[28] *Loc. cit.*

[29] *Ibid.*, 54C.

[30] Giles, in the present and following questions, cites Propositions 67-69 of Proclus' *Elements of Theology*. These propositions concern the relations betwen participants and that in which they participate. Thus, a form can be considered either in its cause "and to this form pre-existing in the cause we give the name of whole-before-the-parts; or else we contemplate it in the parts which participate the cause, and this after one of two manners. Either we see it in all the parts taken together, and it is then a whole-of-parts . . . or else we see it in each part severally, in the sense that even the part has become a whole by participation of the whole. . . The whole-of-parts is the whole as existence; the whole-before-the-parts is the whole in its cause; the whole-in-the-part is the whole by participation. For this last is still the whole, though in extreme declension, in so far as it imitates the whole-of-parts." (Prop. 67, Eng. trans., by E. R. Dodds, Oxford, 1933). Proposition 68 says that "every whole-in-the-part is a part of a whole-of-parts". It will be noted that in the proof Proclus says it cannot be the only part; for, if it is, it "will again be indistinguishable from the whole, being the one part of a

Now Giles could not thus solve the problem of universal composition among creatures, were he not able to equate the God of Augustine and Boethius with the Proclean One. This he does as immediate premiss to the argument:

> Et ideo notandum quod ista tria, unitas, simplicitas et immutabilitas, se consequuntur. Nam ex eo quod aliquid est magis simplex est magis unum, quia magis indivisibile et minus indigens, quia compositum indiget componentibus, et numerus unius unum et simplex non indigent aliis, ut tradit Proclus 26a propositione [*Elem. Theol.*, melius Prop. 127; ed. Dodds, p. 113]. Item quanto aliquid est magis immutabile tanto magis simplex. Unde Augustinus VIo *De Trin.*, c. 7 [PL 42, 929]: nihil enim simplex mutabile est.[33]

The consequence is that the presence of a part always implies mutability and, consequently, potentiality and compositeness.[34] Important here is the supposition that simplicity and unity are convertible, as well as composition and non-unity. It is important, since Giles is consciously opposing St. Thomas, for in the very

---

pure unity". This is in accord with Prop. 2, which states that "all that participates unity is both one and not-one": this is an idea with which Giles entirely agrees—no participant can be truly one. Proposition 69 reads: "Every whole-of-parts participates the whole-before-the-parts." This gives the third totality, that of the unparticipated term, "but prior to every participated term there exists the unparticipated". This is "Wholeness-itself".

[31] Cf. Giles, *In I Sent.*, d. 8, pt. 2, pn. 2, q. 1, 54C: Ut ergo possumus scire quae sunt composita et quae non, sciendum est quod est triplex totalitas ut narrat Proclus 66a propositione [*Elements of Theology*, ed. Dodds, Prop. 67], *scl.* ex partibus, in parte et ante partes. Haec autem sic distinguuntur, nam quaedam res participant esse; quaedam res est ipsum esse participatum; quaedam res est esse imparticipabile. Res quae participat esse est totum ex partibus, quia constat ex quod est et esse. Esse participatum est totum in parte, quia omne quod recipitur in aliquo recipitur secundum modum rei recipientis. Cum igitur tale esse sit receptum in alio non recipietur secundum sui totalitatem, nec secundum totum suum esse, sed recipietur secundum partem. Unde si totum dicetur non erit totum ut totum sed totum ut pars. Totum ante partes est esse divinum. Nam deus in se totum comprehendit esse, quod esse a partibus non dependet. Propter quod totum ante partes dicitur. Note the Boethian phrases: *constat ex quod est et esse, secundum totum suum esse, a partibus non dependet.*

[32] *Ibid.*, 54D: Totum autem in parte non effugit esse compositum. Nam hoc totum divisibile est, ex eo quod secundum unum modum sive secundum aliquam partem recipitur in uno alio modo et secundum aliam partem in alio, ac per hoc ab unitate declinat. Rursus, quia tale totum dependet ab eo in quo est, aliqua potentialitas in ipso existit. Unde aliquo modo mutationi subicitur. Non igitur debt dici simplex cum in eo non sit omnimoda unitas et immutabilitas quae rationem simplicitatis perficiunt. In *In I Sent.*, d. 24, pn. 1, q. 1, fol. 128vN the compositeness of *esse* is distinguished from that of the supposit by the terms *compositum ex his* and *compositum huic*: Quod est compositum huic non proprie habet esse unum, nam sicut res se habet ad esse, ita et ad unum esse, et quia qua sunt composita aliis non proprie sunt vel non per se sunt, solum sunt ratio quare alia sunt, ita proprie non eis competit quod unum sint, sed alia per ipsa unum esse dicuntur. This passage also contains a clear denial of true unity in the existent supposit: Totum autem ex partibus non est vere unum, eo quod ei competit aliquis divisionis modus. The terms *compositum ex his* and *compositum huic* recur in *In II Sent.*, d. 17, q. 1, a. 1 (Venice, 1581, II, 29): Nulla est enim creatura quae non sit composita vel ex his, ut ex actu et potentia, quae sunt generales differentiae entis, vel huic, sicut actus componitur potentiae, et potentia actui.

[33] *Ibid.*, 54C.

[34] *Loc. cit*: Quia igitur ad rationem simplicis requiritur immutabilitas et unitas, cum omnis pars importet aliquam potentialitatem et per consequens mutabilitatem, quia nihil immistum potest esse omnino immutabile, nulla pars erit abstracta ab omni modo compositionis. The quotation in Note 31 follows on this passage.

next question he explicitly contradicts St. Thomas on this point of simplicity and unity.

The problem of the next question is that of the compositeness of the human soul.[35] The solution begins by denying that the soul could be a "totality" free from every kind of composition; God alone is such a whole, *totalitas ante partes*. The soul, then, is one of the other two kinds, a "whole-in-the-part" or a "whole-consisting-of-parts". Giles then proceeds to contrast these "totalities" in relation to their compositeness.

In a sense, Giles affirms, the *totalitas in parte* is the more composed. That is because impossibility of division and immutability (or actuality) are of the very essence of simplicity, whereas mutability is convertible with potentiality.[36] It follows that the more divided a thing is, the less actual it is and the more potential or composed.[37] This is true in a sense of the human soul, and, what is important for our purpose, of participated *esse*. But, before reaching this conclusion, Giles states as a more immediate corollary the principle that recession from divine simplicity necessarily entails composition, just as recession from divine goodness entails the presence of evil:

> Ex quo apparet quod recedere a divina simplicitate et eius actualitate est accedere ad compositionem, quamvis conversum quidam dicunt. Et recedere a bonitate divina est accedere ad aliquam malitiam, quia accidit omnia participare malum praeter unum, ut dicitur XIVo *Metaph.* [Aristotle, *Metaph.*, XIV, 4, 1091*b*36].[38]

From the identity of phrasing there is no doubt that Giles means the *quidam* to refer to St. Thomas in his *Commentary on the First Sentences.*[39] Giles' principle is a flat denial of St. Thomas' position.

With the aid of this principle Giles proves that, in a sense, participated *esse*, i.e. the *esse* found within the created supposit, is more composed than the supposit itself which is composed of *esse* and essence. This paradoxical conclusion follows logically from the exclusive equation of unity with simplicity and actuality. For among creatures only the existent supposit can be said to be actual. The *esse* is not said to be, because it is not *per se*. Hence the *esse*, though it is called *ipsa actualitas*, is less actual than the supposit and, therefore, is more potential and more composed:

---

[35] *In I Sent.*, d. 8, pt. 2, q. 2: Utrum anima sit composita.

[36] *Ibid.*, 54G: Ideo notandum quod sicut habitum est triplex est totalitas, quarum una est immunis ab omni compositione ut totalitas ante partes quae creaturis non convenit. Aliae duae ut totalitas in parte et ex partibus quae creaturis conveniunt compositionem important. Dimissa prima totalitate quia non est ad propositum, de aliis duabus notandum quod quodammodo maior compositio importatur per totalitatem in parte quam ex partibus. Nam de ratione simplicitatis sunt indivisibilitas et immutabilitas sive actualitas, quia mutabilitas potentialitatem sequitur.

[37] *Loc. cit:* Tanto ergo aliquid est compositum quanto magis divisum et minus est in actu.

[38] Giles, *In I Sent.*, d. 8, pt. 2, pn. 2, q. 2, 54rG. Cf. d. 35, pn. 1, q. 3, 181rH: Tertio in omnibus creaturis invenimus aliquam imperfectionem immistam, aliquam potentialitatem et privationem, propter quod bonum intellectum habere potest quod scribitur XIVo *Metaph.*, [4, 1091b36] quod accidit omnia participare malo praeter unum. Cf. Proclus, *Elements of Theology*, Prop. 13: But again, if unification is in itself good, and all good tends to create unity, then the Good unqualified and the One unqualified merge in a single principle, a principle which makes things one and in doing so makes them good. Hence it is that things which in some fashion have fallen away from their good are at the same stroke deprived of participation in unity; and in like manner things which have lost their portion in unity, being infected with division, are deprived of their good.

[39] St.Thomas, *In I Sent.*, d. 8. q. 5. a. 1; ed. Mandonnet, I, 226: Respondeo dicendum quod omne quod procedit a Deo in diversitate essentiae, deficit a simplicitate eius. Ex hoc autem quod deficit a simplicitate, non oportet quod incidat in compositionem; sicut ex hoc quod deficit a summa bonitate, non oportet quod incidat in ipsum aliqua malitia. . . Unde oportebit devenire ad aliquid quod non est compositum, sed tamen deficit a simplicitate primi; et defectus iste perpenditur a duobus; vel quia est divisibile in potentia vel per accidens, sicut materia prima, et forma, et universale; vel quia est componibile alteri, quod divina simplicitas non patitur.

> Rursum licet totum in parte posset dici ipsum esse vel ipsa actualitas, tamen tale totum non adeo est sicut aliud quia totum ex partibus sive ipsum suppositum est illud cui per se competit esse: ipsum tamen esse participatum non est, sed suppositum per ipsum est.[40]

The influence of Boethius is obvious. Giles admits it, for he follows the above with:

> Unde Boethius in libro *De Hebdomadibus* [PL 64, 1311]: diversum est esse et id quod est, ipsum vero esse nondum est. Nam, sicut homo currit cursum ipse tamen cursus non currit, sic aliquid est per esse, ipsum tamen esse proprie non est. Cum igitur minus sit totum in parte et magis divisum, quam totum ex partibus, concedi quodammodo potest tale totum compositius esse alio.[41]

After applying these principles to the soul, Giles then shows that, simply speaking, the soul is simpler than a purely corporeal form, though more composite than an angelic form.

The important point in these three questions is the determination to establish to the hilt the Boethian principles that God alone is simple and that creatures are to be distinguished from Him by their compositeness. The assertion that a principle of being is not simple but is necessarily "composed", because it can be "composed with" something else, may seem naive, but it reveals a metaphysic of act and potency and of being that is contrary to that of St. Thomas. For Giles the possibility for an essence of being composed with some other element means that essence is an actuality in which there is present a potentiality. It means that essence and *esse* are on the same plane of being and that essence is the first actuality on that level. Essence as such is not in potency to *esse*. Essence could be a simple form from the viewpoint of essential components, but it is not simple from the viewpoint of act and potency; it is an act that contains a potentiality. It is an actuality that needs a complementary actuality, a part that requires integration.

To understand this concept of essence it is necessary to realize that, in the questions leading up to the three just examined, Giles is convinced that the Avicennian attribution of accidentality to *esse* means quite literally that *esse* is really accidental, i.e. that in reality *esse* is superadded to the essence, even as the form of whiteness is distinct from the man to which it is added. Secondly, we must realize that this harmonizes, in Giles' opinion, with the Dionysian-Proclean view that creatures, by participating in unity, contain thereby a measure of non-unity, or, in other words, that the existent supposit, because it is not the One, is not truly one, but at most accidentally one. We shall establish these two points by running through the preceding Distinctions, noting especially Giles' preoccupation with intelligible unity. For Giles, as will be seen, the *unum* which is convertible with *ens* is the unity of definition or form.

C. *Remote context of the use of the Boethian rules*

In the Second Distinction the topic of unity is much to the fore. The first question concerns the uniqueness of God: *utrum sit dare plures deos*.[42] The solution is based on a principle derived from Proclus to the effect that every multitude participates somehow in unity. This same principle is at the basis of the hierarchy of unities laid down by the pseudo-Dionysius:

> Non tamen possibile aliqua esse adeo diversa quod in eis non reperiatur

---

[40] Giles, *In I Sent.*, d. 8, pt. 2, pn. 2, q. 2, 54vI.

[41] *Loc. cit.*

[42] *In I Sent.*, d. 2, pn. 1, q. 1, fol. 16v.

> unitas. Propter hoc scribitur in prima propositione Procli [*Element. Theol.*, Prop. 1; ed. Dodds, p. 2] quod omnis multitudo participat aliqualiter uno, et XIIIo *De Div. Nom.*, [Dion. Areop.; PG 3, 980] scribitur: neque enim est multitudo non participans uno, quia secundum eundem ibidem: quae sunt multa accidentibus sunt unum subiectum; quae sunt multa numero sunt unum specie; quae sunt multa speciebus sunt unum genere; quae sunt multa processionibus sunt unum principio.[43]

If there were many gods, they would have to participate in one of the above unities. The argument then shows the incompatibility of such participation with the divine. For our present purpose it is important to note the second unity mentioned by Dionysius, that of the numerically many in the unity of a species. Though no species actually exists as one, as united, yet, considered in itself, the species is one. It takes a non-specific, non-essential, accidental element to give it that multiple or divided status actually observable in the material world.

This *de se* unity of the intelligible form is so evident to Giles that he devotes a whole question in the Second Distinction to settling what factor accidentally multiplies a given form:

> Natura speciei de se diversitatem non habet . . . Igitur cum habitum sit quod forma de se non dividitur sed per accidens, restat videre quae sit causa quare per accidens multiplicatur.[44]

The *point de départ* is the intelligible unity of a nature and not any supposedly simple unity of the existent being.

Giles finds that the cause of the accidental multiplication of a nature is *esse actuale*, i.e. the *esse* which, being received in a supposit or particular matter, is distinct from the nature. Since *esse actuale* can be said to belong, as it were by definition, to the supposit, it is necessarily diversified or multiplied according to the diversity of the different supposits. But a given nature, acquiring such an *esse*, must, by way of logical consequence, also be diversified or multiplied. To be diversified *ex consequenti* is, for an essence, to be diversified *per accidens*, i.e. by something outside of the essence or quiddity, and not by something *per se*:

> Et secundum hoc possumus dicere quod in supposito creato propter hoc quod in eo differt esse a natura sunt ibi quattuor quae se habent per ordinem. Primo, quia natura non est suum esse, sed esse quod habet natura est esse quod acquirit in supposito. Ex isto primo sequitur secundum, scilicet quia esse est ipsius suppositi, et per quod differunt supposita, sequitur quia ipsum esse plurificetur per se in suppositis eiusdem speciei plurificatis. Ex illo secundo sequitur tertium, ut quia esse in eis plurificatur per quod natura plurificetur ex consequenti.[45]

1. *The individual not* an unum per se.

A final consequence of the distinction between *esse actuale* and the nature, and of the accidental division of the nature, and, consequently, of the accidental constitution of the individual, is that the individual is not a strict unit. The individual is a plurality, a sum:

> Et ex isto tertio sequitur quartum quia ex quo esse et natura non plurifican-

---

[43] *Ibid.* 16vO.

[44] It is exactly the same with created *esse;* it does not exist as one, as united, but is found in parts according to the various existents. Cf. d. 8, pt. 2, pn. 2, q. 2, 54vI: Nam ex hoc esse participatum dicitur totalitas in parte, quia secundum omnem modum non recipitur in participante, sed secundum unam partem est in isto existente et secundum aliam in alio. Quae partes propter diversitatem existentium non habent unionem ad se invicem vel non tantam sicut partes totius ex partibus.

[45] *Ibid.*, 19D.

> tur uniformiter, nec sunt idem, sequitur quod quodlibet suppositum creatum sit unum unitate addita. Nam ut scribitur in IVo *Metaph.*, [IV, 2, 1003*b*33] per idem habet aliquid esse et unum esse. Ergo quot modis competit alicui esse tot modis competit ei quod sit unum. Et quia in quolibet supposito creato esse actuale non est idem quod esse essentiae, sequitur quod unitas quam dat ei esse actuale sit unitas superaddita. Et ideo quodlibet suppositum creatum est unum unitate addita.[46]

The first unity in any creature is that of the nature or *esse essentiae*.[47] Any addition to that nature can add only another unity. Logically (and this entire argument has proceeded in accordance with the formal oppositions operative in logic) the union of nature and *esse actuale* leaves two unities.

This characterization of the individual as somehow not one, but many, is not incidental. It occurs in the next question also. Giles there says that all human supposits are one in so far as they participate in the species of man, but are not one in their actual existence, since in that state their unity results from the addition of an "intention":[48]

> Omnia supposita humana participatione speciei sunt unus homo, non tamen secundum actualem existentiam quia in eis est unitas per intentionem additam.[49]

Giles is not talking merely about a purely mental unity; the addition of an "intention" is not the same as the addition of a *ratio*. Thus a divine supposit, he says, is not one by way of an added "intention", unless the latter were to be equated with an *additio rationis*. The unity of the created supposit results from an addition:

> Ita omnia supposita sunt unum etiam secundum actualem existentiam, quia nullum eorum est unum per aliquam intentionem additam nisi acciperetur additio intentionis pro additione rationis.[50]

This summary unity of the created supposit is expressed in the Fourth Distinction by the term *aggregatum* as synonymous with *individuum*:

> Substantia prima est aggregatum vel individuum in genere substantiae . . . Substantia prima in istis inferioribus est individuum aggregatum. In superioribus autem cum sit ita simplex persona ut essentia, non est ibi aliquid quod sit aggregatum et individuum. Est tamen aliquid ibi habens similitudinem cum huiusmodi aggregato et individuo, quia est ibi aliquid incommunicabile, ut persona et hypostasis . . . Aggregatum vel individuum dicitur magis substantia quam genus et species.[51]

Plurality as the dominant characteristic of the created individual is but the logical result of the Proclean principle enuntiated above. Only the many can participate in unity, for what is truly one is essentially one and cannot participate at all. But to participate in unity is somehow for the participant to be not one. In the Twenty-Fourth Distinction Giles will explicitly cite the second proposition of Proclus in support of his contention that God alone is truly one, and that all else can be said to be not-one or to contain a measure of non-unity:

---

[46] *Ibid.*, 19D, E.

[47] *Esse essentiae* is the *esse* attributed to a thing from the fact that it has a form or a nature; it is synonymous with the possession of a nature.

[48] For Giles there is an 'actuality' corresponding to every 'intention' (first intention). Cf. d. 4, pn. 3, q. 1, 33D. Thus in the proposition "The man is white" there is a plurality *secundum intentionem*, since what the mind 'intends' about man is not the same as what it 'intends' about the white. The reason is that 'man' and 'white' do not imply the same actuality. This will be commented on later.

[49] *In I Sent.*, d. 2, pn. 2, q. 2, 19rH.

[50] *Ibid.*, 19vI.

[51] *In I Sent.*, d. 4, pn. 2, q. unica, 32vM, N.

> Est igitur solus deus maxime unum et omnia entia alia a primo, quia sunt per participationem unum cum hoc quod sunt unum, possunt dici non unum, eo quod non sunt perfecte unum, et est invenire in eis aliquid quod non pertinet ad unitatem, propter quod 2a propositione Procli [*Elem. Theol.*; ed. Dodds, p.2] scribitur: omne quod participat uno unum est et non unum.[52]

It might be objected that all Giles meant is that the creature, though simply one, is, nevertheless, composite. That is not the case, for Giles' theory of predication excludes true unity from the created supposit. The creature, at best, can have only an accidental unity.[53] Giles also does not admit that any creature has *esse* simply; a logical consequence of this is that the creature cannot be one simply. These points are established in the following Distinctions.

From the Second Distinction, therefore, we can see already that Giles gives primacy to a Platonic view of unity. God is the One in which all other unities participate.[54] Even if there were other gods, they would participate in one who was truly God:

> Vel possumus dicere quod si esset ille ordo deorum unus tamen esset verus deus, alii autem per participationem, ut dicitur in Proclo, quod omnis deus participat aliquod praeter unum [*Elem. Theol.*, Prop. 113; ed. Dodds, p. 100].[55]

But to participate in unity is to be other than unity, even as a sum is other than unity. Even a form, which is one in its intelligibility, becomes many only by "addition". The implication is that the nature plus its accidental divider, which must be *praeter rationem quidditatis*, cannot constitute more than an accidental unity. This is made clear in the Twenty-Sixth Distinction.[56]

It is also evident that the divine simplicity is of equal importance with the divine unity for evaluating the relations between God and His creatures. His simplicity, for instance, is the logical reason for identifying His nature and His *esse*:

> . . . supposita divina, licet plura sint . . . non habent esse distans a natura propter eorum summam simplicitatem nec distinguuntur per aliquid quod sit in uno quod non sit in alio, sed solum per ad aliquid.[57]

Supposits are either *simplex ut essentia* (which is true only of God) or *unum unitate addita* (which is true of all created supposits). The Proclean-Dionysian primacy of the One is linked already with the Boethian primacy of the simple. The link is made by what appears to be a substitution of logic for metaphysics. On the one side the following terms have beeen considered synonymous: "one", "simple", *per se;* and on the other: "many", "composed" *per accidens.*

---

[52] *In I Sent.*, d. 24, pn. 1, q. 1, 128vM. Cf. Giles' *Expositio in Lib. de Causis*, Prop. 6; ed. Venice, 1551, fol. 23vL: Item statim cum descendimus a primo invenimus compositionem, sicut statim cum descendimus ab unitate imus in numerum, and Omnis res quae componitur participat esse, quia si esset ipsum esse non esset composita, sed esset omnino simplex. Cf. also Prop. 20, fol. 69rV: Res recedit ab unitate quando est ibi compositio; Prop. 30, fol. 101rG: Omnis autem res creata ab hac unitate et simplicitate deficit; and Prop. 26, fol. 91rK: Impossible est aliquod simplex causatum esse.

[53] Cf. *Theoremata de Esse et Essentia*, Theor. 13; ed. Hocedez, p. 81: Quidquid ergo additur essentiae rei facit cum illa essentia unum per accidens, et per consequens ens per accidens.

[54] God is also *Ipsum Esse*. Avicenna thus provides the necessary connection between the One of Proclus and the *Esse* of Augustine and Boethius. Cf. Giles, *In I Sent.*, d. 2, pn. 1, q. 1, 17A: Genus nec est potentia pura nec est actus purus, sed est actus admixtus potentiae, et potentia admixta actui. Deus autem non est huiusmodi cum sit ipsum esse secundum Avicenna.

[55] *Ibid.*, 17C.

[56] In *In I Sent.*, d. 26, pn. 1, q. 3, Giles rejects the modes of abstraction given by St.Thomas in *Sum. Theol.*, I, q. 40, a. 3, and offers instead a typically Boethian abstraction, which consists in the separate consideration of what are really united. Cf. Boethius, *In Porph.* II; PL 64, 84b-85b. Abstraction, therefore, is divided according to the unity found in reality. Unities are of two kinds, essential and accidental, *per se* and *per accidens*. Belonging to the latter class are those of "quiddity and the conditions of matter, the subject and its passions, and, in general, substance and its accidents". Though Giles does not mention the union of quiddity and *esse*, it is obvious from the previous linking of *esse* with the conditions of matter (cf.d. 4, pn. 3, q. 2, 33L) as 'not pertaining to the nature', and from the characterization of *esse* as accidental (cf. d. 5, pn. 1, q. 2, a. 3, 37M, P) that *esse* can constitute only an *unum per accidens* with the nature.

[57] *In I Sent.*, d. 2, pn. 2, q. 2, 19L.

With regard to *esse actuale*, we have seen that Giles considers it as created. But the important consideration is its dual function of constituting the individual and of accidentally perfecting the nature. That *esse*, the act of a nature,[58] should constitute an accidental unity, because its sole role is to divide a nature that is *de se* one, is certainly not Thomist. Giles is resolute in assigning to *esse actuale* this purely divisive role. Thus in the Fifth Distinction generation is discussed solely in terms of the distinctive function of *esse* and the unitive force of the form:

> Non unitur autem actum agenti sive productum producenti secundum formam consideratam quantum ad esse, quia isto modo semper est ibi distinctio ut dictum est. Sed unitur ei per formam in se acceptam sive secundum rationem quidditatis eius, quia sic est una in omnibus habentibus eam per se loquendo.[59]

Esse actuale, the same *esse* that Giles will find in the Boethian duality, is already non-Thomist in its peculiar power of accidentally multiplying a nature. Even stranger is the fact that Giles seems to feel no conflict between this role and its existential function. We shall see that this can be explained only by the equation of existence with composite individuality.

2. Esse *not said of creatures.*

In the Third Distinction the Dionysian unities mentioned in the Second are used to answer the question of the presence in all things of a vestige of the Creator.[60] Everything, Giles says, is constituted in "number, weight and measure", since each creature participates in *esse* (*commune*), in a genus and in a species. That is to say, in creatures are found the unities of analogy, genus and species. Now to participate in *esse* is to lack the fulness of *esse*; it is to have in a measure only a part of that unity which *esse* says of itself:

> Secundum primum modum competit creaturae ratio mensurae. Nam ex eo quod participat esse non habet infinitum esse sed mensuratum. Est enim participare non plenitudinem habere, sed quasi quamdam partem secundum mensuram et limitationem accipere.[61]

In like fashion the unity of genus is equated with *pondus*, and that of species with *numerus* (understanding number as a multitude of units).[62]

It would seem that this notion of the unity of the *esse* in which all creatures participate, a unity which in fact is non-existent,[63] is operative in Giles' refusal to allow it to be said of any creature that it "is simply" or has *esse* simply.[64]

---

[58] *Ibid.*, 19K: Primum sic patet quia cum esse sit actus essentiae vel naturae, secundum diversas naturas oportet esse diversa esse.

[59] *In I Sent.*, d. 5, pn. 1, q. 1, 36K.

[60] In answering the same question St. Thomas does not use this solution. Cf. St.Thomas, *In I Sent.*, d. 3, q. 2, a. 3; ed. Mandonnet I, 103-5.

[61] Giles, *In I Sent.*, d. 3, pt. 1, pn. 2, q. 3, 23Q.

[62] *Ibid.*, 24A.

[63] Cf. *Supra*, note 44.

[64] There are three meanings to *esse simpliciter* in Giles: 1) *esse commune*, as in the present text, covering both *esse actuale* and *esse essentiae;* 2) *esse essentiae* (cf. d. 5, pn. 1, q. 2, a. 3, fol. 37L: per unam naturam aliquid habet esse simpliciter, cum per idem aliquid habeat esse et unum esse. In this sense *esse simpliciter* cannot be said of the supposit, since the supposit also has *esse actuale*); 3) *esse existentiae* as occurring in *Theoremata*, Theor. 8, whose title reads: Omnes res materiales formam partis et formam totius in se habere dicuntur, et quia a forma causatur esse, videbitur ex hoc duplex esse in rebus materialibus reperiri. Sed illorum unum est esse simpliciter, aliud vero non est esse simpliciter, sed modus essendi poterit nuncupari. *Esse actuale* is here called *esse simpliciter*, because now the *esse* given to matter by the form is considered only as a *modus essendi*

Thus in the Eighth Distinction Giles claims that in the existential world the only thing to which *esse simpliciter* can be applied is God. That is because God's *esse* alone is free from all contraction, not determined to any genus, but "abstracted" from all addition. His *esse* is absolutely pure; in other words, there is no addition of quiddity to His *esse*. There is in God no participation. His *esse* is as one in actuality as it is in logical form:

> Deus autem per se maxime existit et nihil est quod faciat ad eius esse sed seipso est . . . Sed est esse simpliciter et abstractum ab omni contractione, quia est esse purum secundum actualem existentiam et rei veritatem.[65]

But the term *esse simpliciter*, when applied to creatures can be only a mental abstract: *secundum intellectum sicut universalia dicuntur esse abstracta.*[66] Such *esse* is *esse commune.*

The reason why no creature can actually have *esse* simply is that all creatures participate in *esse*. Hence *esse commune* is composed of all the scattered "parts" of *esse*, i.e. of the various acts of the essence found in numerically distinct existents.[67] If the *esse actuale* of any creature were truly one, it would not be a participation in the unity of *esse commune*; it would be one actually and there could be no more creatures. This refusal of the term *esse simpliciter* to creatures is clearly based on the logical unity or identity of any term considered "simply" or in itself; *esse* thus considered is *de se* one. This refusal also fits the general Augustinian tendency to exalt the unique dominion of the Creator at the expense of the autonomy of the creature.[68]

3. *Predication and unity.*

When, therefore, in the case of creatures, *esse* enters into a true affirmative existential proposition, there can be no question of the accidentality either of the proposition or of the creature in its existence as a composite of nature and *esse*. The Fourth Distinction contains two questions that make this clear: one deals with the relation of predicational to real unity; the other has an application of this doctrine to *esse actuale*. The problem of the former is that of affirmative propositions made about God. To maintain that such propositions can be true, Giles appeals in the *In Contrarium* to Averroes, Boethius and St. Augustine, but derives his solution directly from Averroes.[69] Thus, after commending Averroes

---

and not as an *esse* at all. It still remains true, however, that *esse purum* is that which belong to God alone, whereas every other *esse* is a participated *esse* (Cf. Theor. 1). It must be noted that the existent is never *ens simpliciter*, cf. Theor. 13; ed. Hocedez, p. 83: quaelibet res est ens per essentiam suam. . . Existunt ergo res per esse superadditum essentiae vel naturae. Patet itaque quomodo differat ens per se acceptum et existens.

[65] *In I Sent.*, d. 8, pt. 1, pn. 1, q. 1, 46vQ.

[66] *Ibid.*, 46vP.

[67] Cf. *supra*, note 44.

[68] Cf. *In I Sent.*, d. 8, pt. 1, pn. 1, q. 2, 47H: Nam sicut accidentia comparata ad substantiam dicuntur non habere entitatem nisi entitatem substantiae, unde non sunt entia propter entitatem quae sit in eis, sed propter entitatem quae est in substantia, non quod nulla entitas sit in eis, sed quia est entitas secundum quid, ideo non denominat, ita quia nostrum esse ad divinum comparatum dicitur non esse, ut dicit Hieronymus *ad Marcellam* [Epist. 15, *ad Damasum*, 4; PL 22, 357] et habetur in littera, et omnia entia comparata ad primum non dicentur esse propter entitatem quae sit in eis sed propter entitatem quae est in primo, non quod nulla entitas sit in eis, sed quia est deficiens non denominat comparata ad esse primum. Cf. also d. 23, pn. 1, q. 2, fol. 125F: Nam sicut per unum subiectum omnia quae in ipso sunt entia dicuntur, ita quod per esse subiecti accidentia sunt entia et non per esse proprium, ita per unum esse divinum omnia entia sunt entia, ita quod omnia creata ad deum comparantur, quasi quaedam accidentia ad subiectum; non quod alia entia deo insunt, sed quia per ipsum esse suscipiunt et subsistunt. Cf. also d. 32, pn. 2, q. 2, 168G. Giles shares the tendency of the thirteenth century Augustinians for whom "la distinction des natures étant sauve, l'on n'exagérera jamais l'intimité de la présence divine et l'impuissance du créé à se soutenir" (J. de Finance, *Etre et Agir*, p. 21).

[69] *In I Sent.*, d. 4, pn. 3, q. 1, 33r. The *Solutio* begins: Respondeo dicendum quod Commentator in XII *Metaph.*, diligenter pertractat quaestionem istam quomodo aliqua de deo affirmative dici possunt. Averroes' solution may be found in *Aristotelis Stagiritae Metaphysicorum libri XIII cum Averrois Cordubensis in eosdem Com-*

for his assiduous treatment of the problem, and after stating the simple fact that true affirmative propositions contain a subject and a predicate, which must somehow be both one and many (one, else the proposition were not true; many, else there were no proposition), Giles proposes Averroes' division of propositions:

> Et ideo videns dictus Commentator quod in omni propositione affirmativa vera requiritur praedicati ad subiectum unitas et pluralitas, distinxit triplicem unitatem et triplicem pluralitatem praedicati ad subiectum. Dicimus quod aliquando praedicatum et subiectum sunt unum per praedicationem et plura per intentionem; aliquando sunt unum secundum actualitatem et plura secundum potentialitatem; aliquando sunt unum secundum essentiam sive secundum rem et plura secundum similitudinem.[70]

For Giles this means that all propositions are either accidental or essential, the latter concerning either sensible things or "abstracts". He then proceeds to examine each type.

In accidental propositions the unity of subject and predicate is purely predicational; that is, two mutually exclusive formalities or "intentions" are grouped in one proposition:

> Primus modus reperitur in rebus materialibus respectu suorum accidentium cum dicitur homo est iustus vel sapiens et huiusmodi. In talibus autem est unitas praedicationis inquantum intellectus constituit ex talibus propositionem unam per unitatem praedicati ad subiectum.[71]

Corresponding to this plurality of "intentions" there is, in reality, a plurality of "actualities" or forms:[72]

> Tamen pluralitas est ibi secundum intentionem inquantum illud quod intendit intellectus de homine non est idem cum eo quod intendit de albo, ex eo quod homo et albus non dicunt actualitatem unam, secundum quam versatur intentio intellectus.[73]

In essential propositions, on the other hand, the subject and predicate are one, because, in reality, there corresponds a unity of form:

---

mentarius XII, c. 3, com. 39 (Venitiis apud Iuntas, 1574, VIII, 322vH-323D). Averroes thus describes the differences between propositions: In eis autem, quae sunt forma non in materia, dispositio et dispositum reducuntur ad unum in esse, et duo in consideratione. Ista enim essentia, cum fuerit accepta secundum quod est posita, et fuerit disposita in aliqua dispositione, tunc dispositio et dispositum unum erit in praedicatione, et duo in intentione, quia praedicatum differt a subiecto, sed tamen non sicut praedictum differt a subiecto in propositionibus categoricis substantialibus. Dispositio enim idem est et dispositum, sicut in rebus abstractis, sed in potentia duo, quando intellectus diviserit unum ab altero. Intellectus enim natus est est dividere adunata in esse in ea, ex quibus componuntur, quamvis non dividantur in esse, sicut dividit materiam a forma, et formam a composito . . . Haec igitur est dispositio intellectus in rebus compositis ex materia et forma, cum disponit compositum per formam aut cum disposuit compositum habentem formam per formam. Intelligitur enim utraque esse adunata aliquo modo et differentia aliquo modo, v.g. quia, cum disposuit hominem per rationabilitatem, intelligit quod subiectum rationabilitatis et rationabilitas idem sunt in adunatione, et intelligit quod deferens ex eis est aliud a delato. Cum autem fuerit considerata dispositio et dispositum in eis, quae non sunt in materia, tunc reducuntur ad unam intentionem omnibus modis, et nullus modus erit, quo praedicatum distinguantur a subiecto, et dispositio extra intellectum, scilicet in essentia rei. Sed, cum intellectus componit aliquam propositionem ex dispositione et disposito in talibus rebus, tunc non intelligit ex eis nomina synonyma, ita quod propositio sit secundum nomen, non secundum intentionem; sed intelligit ea esse differentia secundum assimulationem, quorum proportio adinvicem alterius ad alterum est sicut proportio praedicati ad subiectum. (*Ibid.*, fol. 322vL-323rB.)

[70] *In I Sent.*, d. 4, pn. 3, q. 1, 33D.

[71] *Loc. cit.*

[72] On the equation of actuality and form, cf. d. 36, pn. 2, q. 3, 187H: Concurrit enim ad rationem ideae actualitas et forma nam ut dictum est si verbum pro verbo transferre volumus ideae formae et species dicuntur.

[73] *In I Sent.*, d. 4, pn. 3, q. 1, 33D.

> Secundus modus reperitur in praedicationibus essentialibus in rebus sensibilibus, cum dicitur homo est animal, homo est rationalis. Nam omnia ista praedicata quae praedicantur de homine essentialiter sunt unum secundum actum, quia in re secundum esse actuale quod habet, non reperitur nisi unitas formae: aliter enim non esset diffinitio una neque res.[74]

In God's case, unity of subject and predicate is at its highest, because in propositions about Him there is not only no intentional plurality, and hence no corresponding plurality of acts accidental to each other, but also not even any potential plurality, as is the case with "animal" and "rational":

> Non enim possumus dicere de propositione formata de deo quod ibi praedicatum et subiectum sint plura secundum intentionem quia tunc in deo esset pluralitas actus, et esset ibi aliquid per accidens, quod est contra Augustinum [*De Trin.*, V, 5; PL 42, 913, 4].[75]

Of prime importance in this mélange of Boethius, Augustine and Averroes is the light thrown on Giles' use of accidental unity.

We can see that the accidental means the formal exclusion of one act by another. It means that one act must be outside the essential definition of the other. The definitional exclusion of predicate from subject is the test of accidental unity in the existent. The importance of this principle is its application to *esse actuale*. Giles himself makes the application both in the following question and again in the Fifth Distinction.

4. *Unity and* esse actuale.

The problem of the following question is that of the abstract predication of the divine nature. The principle of solution is that nature is predicated abstractly only when it implies the entire supposit:

> Respondeo dicendum quod causa quare natura non praedicatur de supposito in abstractione sumpta nisi implicet suppositum est quia natura in abstracto habet rationem partis in rebus creatis et pars de toto non praedicatur.[76]

Hence, where nature is only part of the supposit, abstract predication or predication of the nature by itself and simply is impossible. The reason is that the created supposit, at least the sensible supposit, always implies, in addition to the nature, both *esse actuale* and the conditions of matter. But nature, taken abstractly, positively and formally excludes these 'parts':

> . . . comparatum ad naturam (suppositum) habet rationem totius inclusive quia aliqua includit quae non pertinent ad naturam ut esse et conditiones materiae . . . natura tamen in abstractione sumpta talia non solum non includit sed etiam excludit.[77]

Thus, the abstract nature of man, *humanitas* for example, is that by which man is man and, as such, excludes *esse* and the conditions of matter, because these latter do not make man to be man:

> Nam humanitas quae est natura hominis in abstracto sumpta est illud quo homo est homo. In hoc autem non solum non includitur esse et conditiones materiae sed etiam excluditur, quia per huiusmodi homo non habet quod sit homo.[78]

Esse actuale, therefore, is considered as outside of the definition of the nature, as 'not pertaining' to the nature. For that reason the essential type of praedication cannot apply to the existent supposit.

---

[74] *Ibid.*, 33D, E.
[75] *Ibid.*, 33E.
[76] *In I Sent.*, d. 4, pn. 3, q. 2, 33K.
[77] *Ibid.*, 33L.
[78] *Ibid.*, 33M.

Even in the case of the Intelligences, in whom there is neither matter nor the conditions of matter, essential predication is impossible. Though there is less not pertaining to nature than in sensible things, still the nature of an Intelligence is not identical with the supposit:

> Advertendum quod, licet natura in abstracto de rebus creatis praedicetur improprie, non tamen equaliter reperitur improprietas in omnibus huiusmodi praedicationibus. Et est ratio, quia tota causa quare huiusmodi praedicatio esse non potest est quia aliqua sunt in supposito quae non pertinent ad naturam. Et ideo quanto plura sunt in supposito impertinentia ad naturam tanto praedicatio est magis impropria. Et quia in rebus sensibilibus sunt esse et conditiones materiae, quae ad naturam non pertinent, in rebus intelligibilibus non sunt conditiones materiae, non est adeo impropria 'intelligentia est sua quidditas' sicut est 'homo est sua quidditas'.[79]

Only in God is the supposit identical with the quiddity. And that precisely because in Him there is nothing accidental:

> Cum igitur maxime deus sic sit prima substantia maxime sit in quo nihil est per accidens, potissime est sua quidditas.[80]

Obvious corollaries of this discussion are that in creatures the accidental must be present and that the one accidental element always present is *esse actuale*. This accidentality of *esse* is a direct consequence of the accidental unity demanded by a Platonic theory of predication; true being is that which is identically what it is, and true propositions are those that predicate identities.

Before proceeding to the discussion in the Fifth Distinction of the accidentality of *esse*, it must be noted that Giles is well aware of the Avicennian position on *esse*. In the Second Distinction he appealed to Avicenna for the characterization of God as *Ipsum Esse*.[81] In the present question he brings up the problem of predication of nature in the Intelligences, because he must 'interpret' the Avicennian equation of the Intelligence with its quiddity:

> Et propter hoc Avicenna concessit intelligentiam esse suam quidditatem [*Metaph.*, Tr. IX, c. 4, fol. 104va].[82]

It is not surprising then that, given the above theories of predication, of participation in unity and of the accidental division of natures, Giles can, in Avicennian terms, characterize *esse actuale* as an accident. This he does explicitly in the Fifth Distinction.

5. Esse *as accident.*

In this distinction a further problem of predication in relation to God is considered. It is asked in general terms if, in those cases in which the nature is predicated abstractly, an act could belong to the supposit without, at the same time, belonging to the nature.[83] In the *In Contrarium* it is clearly stated that only in God is the nature predicated abstractly and that every absolute act belongs to both divine nature and divine supposit. Otherwise the contrary holds absolutely.[84]

---

[79] *Loc. cit.*

[80] *Ibid.*, 33 N. Cf. d. 8, pt. 1, pn. 2, q. 3, a. 1, 47 N.

[81] Cf. *supra*, note 54.

[82] *In I Sent.*, d. 4, pn. 3, q. 2, 33N.

[83] *In I Sent.*, d. 5, pn. 1, q. 2, a. 3, 37v: Utrum in his in quibus natura praedicatur in abstracto de supposito possit aliquis actus competere supposito qui non competat naturae.

[84] *Ibid.*, 37L.

The solution opens with the statement that, when the accidental is present, a diversity of natures is also present, since the nature of an accident differs from that of a substance:

> Respondeo dicendum quod in omni supposito in quo reperitur aliquid per accidens, oportet quod ibi sit diversitas naturarum, cum natura accidentis sit alia a natura substantiae.[85]

The converse is also true; diversity of natures entails the presence of the accidental. The reason for this reveals Giles' formalistic approach to what is primarily an existential problem.

The reason why diversity of natures entails the accidental is that the first *esse* attributable to any thing is that which comes from one nature (or form) only. Giles calls this the *esse simpliciter*. But it is clear from the subsequent discussion of this term in the Eighth Distinction that here *esse essentiae* is meant. Any other nature must add another *esse* in accordance with the much used principle that *per idem aliquid habet esse et unum esse*:

> Ubique reperitur diversitas naturarum reperitur ibi aliquid per accidens, quia per unam naturam aliquid habet esse simpliciter, cum per idem aliquid habeat esse et unum esse.[86]

This is true not only of cases in which the diversity of natures makes an aggregate, e.g. the natures of white and of body combining to make a white body, but even of those in which the natures unite to form a third nature, e.g. the natures of soul and body constituting humanity:

> Et hoc intelligendum est sive ex illis duabus naturis confletur natura tertia, ut ex natura animae et corporis conflatur humanitas, sive non, ut ex natura albi et corporis existit aggregatum absque conflatione naturae tertiae.[87]

In the case of the 'aggregate', the presence of the accidental is evident: the nature of the white is an accident. In the other the *per accidens* is to be found, because "consequent on such a union are things that border on the nature of an accident, namely *esse* and the conditions of matter".[88] *Esse* is plainly termed an accident in the replies to the objections.[89] In later works Giles will deny that *esse* is a true accident, though he will still see it as bordering (*vergit*) on the same.[90]

---

[85] *Loc. cit.*

[86] *Loc. cit.*

[87] *Loc. cit.*

[88] *Loc. cit.*: In omnibus autem talibus ratione diversitatis naturarum reperitur aliquid per accidens, sed aliter et aliter, quia quantum ad primum modum reperitur per accidens, eo quod ex tali conflatione sequuntur aliqua quae vergunt in naturam accidentis ut esse et conditiones materiae.

[89] *Ibid.*, 37P: Ad 4m dicendum quod si suppositum debet esse idem cum sua quidditate debet esse per se, non solum quod non sit in alio, sed quod in eo non sit aliquid per accidens, quem intellectum innuit Philosophus in eodem VIIo *Metaph.* [11, 1037b, 1-7]. Et hoc non est in substantiis creatis, in quibus reperitur aliquid per accidens, ut saltem esse.

[90] *In II Sent.*, d. 1, pt. 2, Dub. VII ed. Venice, 1581, I, 102: Alio modo dicitur aliquid esse ens, qua est existens, quod non potest ei competere nisi per esse superadditum suae essentiae. Et sic accipiendo large accidens, prout omne, quod est superadditum essentiae habet quemdam modum accidentalem, sic quaestio de ente pertinet ad quaestionem de accidente, non quod esse sit proprie accidens, sed quia habet quemdam modum accidentalem. Cf. also *In II Sent.*, d. 26, q. 1, a. 2; *ed. cit.*, II, 318: Quicquid ergo advenit rei post primum actum vel est accidens vel vergit ad modum accidentis. . . Ipsum ergo esse creaturae, etsi non est accidens, vergit ad modum accidentis, cum adveniat rei post primum actum, i.e. post formam, sive sit forma materialis, sive immaterialis. Ex duobus enim in actu non fit aliquid unum simpliciter, sed ex forma et materia potest dici fieri unum simpliciter, quia materia est pura potentia. Est ergo esse actus primus et actus secundus. Est enim actus primus respectu operari sed est actus secundus respectu formae. . . Ipsum esse habet quemdam modum accidentis, cum adveniat rei in actu.

Giles gets into difficulties with regard to the exact nature of this accidentality of *esse*. He will say that it is in the genus of substance reductively, and yet will always, explicitly or implicitly, reaffirm its real accidentality.[91] He will not admit that *esse* is a predicamental accident, and yet he gives it as much real accidentality as the predicaments. The solution will be in his concept of existence as the status of composite totality; the possession of many parts entails the formal accidentality of one part to the other.

At the moment, it is clear that *esse* is treated as an accident, because of the primacy of essence. If unity follows form,[92] then it is not hard to see why the presence of the accidental, be it predicamental or of that unique type to which *esse* belongs, should give rise to a sum and not to true unity, *unum unitate addita*. This for Giles does not upset the convertibility of the transcendentals, for the *ens* with which *unum* is convertible is not the existent but the essence.[93] The adoption of the Avicennian accidentality of *esse*, far from making Giles' doctrine Thomistic, only confirms its fundamentally Platonic inspiration. The real and actual accidentality of created *esse* is a necessary consequence of the Averroistic and Boethian theories of the unity of the proposition and of the Dionysian-Proclean primacy of the One.

6. Esse *and individuation.*

In the Seventh Distinction, as in the Fifth, *esse actuale* plays a purely divisive role in the process of created generation. Generation is considered solely as a problem of the multiplication of supposits within the unity of a single nature; it is a problem of individuation. Giles expressly compares generation to the multiplication of species within the genus:

> Propter primum notandum quod plurificatio suppositorum in eadem natura habet similitudinem cum plurificatione specierum in eodem genere. Nam sicut in plurificatione specierum invenimus unam naturam generis communem prout generi competit habere naturam et pluralitatem differentiarum, et prout genus unitur alii et alii differentiae, resultat inde alia et alia species, sic cum plurificantur supposita in eadem specie est una natura specifica in omnibus illis.[94]

---

[91] Cf. *Theoremata de Esse*, Th. 22, p. 157: Dicemus ergo quod esse est in praedicamento substantiae, non quia sit substantia sed quia est actus substantiae; and *Quaest. Disp. de Esse*, q. 9, fol. 18va-b: Sed poterit sic declarari quid sit esse et in quo genere habeat esse. Propter quod sciendum quod esse non est in genere per se, et tamen est in genere substantiae. . . Si ergo quaeras in quo genere est esse est in genere substantiae. Sed si quaeras quomodo habet esse in tali genere, diceretur quod non est in tali genere per se, nec est in genere substantiae tamquam substantia, sed est in genere tanquam actus substantiae vel tanquam actus essentiae, sicut punctus est in genere quantitatis non per se nec est in tali genere tanquam quantitas sed tanquam terminus. Res ergo ipsa quae est esse est in genere substantiae: habet tamen ipsum esse quemdam modum accidentalem actualem inquantum est superadditum substantiae. Paulus remarks: "Ici la logique semble être plutôt du côté d'Henri ("Les Disputes", 331).

[92] Cf. *In I Sent.*, d. 3, pt. 2, pn. 3, q. 1, a. 1, 27N: Respondeo dicendum quod esse unam animam in nobis essentialiter duplici via probari potest. Primo ex eo quod dat esse. . . Primo quia si non esset una, homini non esset vere unum <esse>. Nam unitas diffinitionis est ex unitate rei, et unitas rei ex unitate substantialis formae. Et ideo si forma substantialis non esset una, res non esset una, quod est contra Philosophum IVo *Metaph.* [IV, 2, 1003b31].

[93] Compare *In I Sent.*, d. 26, pn. 1, q. 2, 139P: Respondeo dicendum quod omnis res per idem habet esse et unum esse. Per id per quod constituitur in esse tali, quod pertinet ad rei entitatem, distinguitur ab omni non tali quod pertinet ad eius unitatem. Quia, si hoc non esset, tunc unum et ens non converterentur ad invicem. Cuilibet ergo unitati respondet sua entitas, et cuilibet distinctioni sua constitutio et e converso; and d. 3, pt. 2, pn. 3, q. 1, a. 3, 28 K: Essentia autem sive entitas per se et primo reperitur in substantia. In *Theoremata de Esse*, Th. 13, p. 83, Giles admits that *ens* can be used for *existens*, but prefers to have it signify the predicaments, wherein "ens per se dicit unum per se et non includit esse".

[94] *In I Sent.*, d. 7, pn. 1, q. 2, 43G.

Hence, *esse* plays the same role for one that the specific difference does for the other:

> Et est diversitas quantum ad esse, et prout natura speciei est cum alio et alio esse, est aliud et aliud suppositum in illa specie, ita quod sicut se habet differentia in plurificatione specierum sic se habet esse in plurificatione suppositorum. Non enim secundum differentias proprias plurificantur individua, quia eorum non est diffinitio.[95]

The only divergence between the two cases is that *esse* is not a true difference, since the individual cannot be defined.

The point here is that Giles consistently treats existential problems as though they were problems in logic.[96] In such a framework, *esse* is logically accidental to the single logical form or nature. According to the nature, things are united (e.g. A1, A2, A3, though different actualizations of A, are all one with regard to A); according to the *esse*, that is *qua* united with numerically distinct acts of the essence, they are distinct (e.g. A1 as a sum is distinct from A2, given that the integers represent diverse acts). Giles does not start with the unity of an existent supposit and then ask if, for the metaphysician, this unity betrays a duality of principles. His *point de départ* is the intelligible logical unity of a form. His conclusion must be that the composite, resulting from the addition of a non-essential element to an essence, is not a unity. The loss of unity for the individual is nothing, provided that the distinction of creatures from each other and from the Creator, and the dominion of the latter are adequately safeguarded and explained.[97]

7. *Distinction of creatures from God.*

We have already referred to some of the first questions in the Eighth Distinction, especially those concerning the difference between the *esse simpliciter* of God and that which is *esse commune*, and the manner in which the *esse* of God can be predicated formally of all things. The dominant idea in these questions is that of the supremacy of God. Creatures, properly speaking, are not; they are said to be only by reference to the *Esse* of God, just as accidents are called beings by reference to the substance. So, when Giles proceeds to ask if there is composition of *esse* and essence in God, he clearly shows his anti-Thomist and non-Thomist bias.[98]

First of all, after tendentiously summarizing and missing the point of the argument which St. Thomas gives in the *De Potentia* for denying any composition of divine *esse* and essence,[99] Giles not only criticizes St. Thomas for the inadequacy of the argument thus mutilated, but also has the temerity to say that St. Thomas misunderstands his citation from the *Liber de Causis*. The proposition cited is: *prima rerum creatarum est esse*.[100] Giles blames St. Thomas for not realizing that the *Liber de Causis* came from Proclus' *Elementatio Theologica*:

---

[95] *Loc. cit.*

[96] Paulus in *Henri de Gand*, p. 33, n. 3, says that Porphyry, Boethius and Avicenna, when speaking of individuating characters, often talk as logicians. From that point of view such characters appear as accidental to the specific essence. He concludes: Mais il est dangereux de transporter cette remarque sur le plan ontologique et de chercher, dans les accidents postérieurs à la substance, le principe individualisant cette dernière.

[97] Cf. *Theoremata de Esse*, Th. 19, p. 129: . . . tota causa quare nos investigamus quod esse sit res differens ab essentia ex hoc sumitur ut possimus salvare res creatas esse compositas et posse creari et posse esse et non esse.

[98] *In I Sent.*, d. 8, pt. 2, pn. 1, q. 2, 52v: Utrum in deo sit compositio esse et essentiae.

[99] Cf. St.Thomas, *De Potentia*, q. 7, a. 2. The point missed is St. Thomas' major premiss, namely that an effect is produced according to the likeness of the cause's nature. Giles substitutes a premiss saying that the first effect is proper to the first cause.

[100] Cf. *Liber de Causis*, Prop. 4; ed. Bardenhewer, 1882, p. 166, line 19.

> Nam illa propositio super quam se appodiant sic dicentes, licet posset trahi ad dictum intellectum, considerando tamen illius propositionis principium originale non est pro eis quod dicitur, sed contra eos. Nam *Liber de Causis* ubi illa propositio scribitur extractus fuit ex libro Procli qui fuit discipulus Platonis.[101]

This criticism is hardly fair, for, when St. Thomas wrote the *De Potentia*, he had not yet seen William of Moerbeke's translation of the *Elementatio*;[102] and when he did, he was the first correctly to trace the origin of the work to Proclus. The criticism, however, is valuable in revealing both Giles' readiness to attack St. Thomas and his own preoccupation with Proclus.[103]

Giles then replaces St. Thomas' argument with one drawn from previous statements on the differences between God's *Esse* and that of creatures. The absence of the accidental, the non-acquisition of His *Esse*, and the freedom from any potentiality are proofs of the identity of the divine *Esse* and the divine quiddity:

> Primo quia divinum esse est quid subsistens, quia in deo nihil est per accidens. Secundo quia eius esse non est ab alio acquisitum, cum sit prima causa a nullo suscipiens esse. Tertio esse divinum non differt a quidditate quia est actus purus cui non admiscetur aliquid de potentia. Propter haec tria esse in deo non facit compositionem cum substantia sive cum essentia.[104]

It is absolutely fundamental to Giles' conception of the universe that the creature necessarily contain the accidental, the accidental being present whenever there is inherence of one thing in another, e.g. of *esse* in the essence. This is clear from the proof of the identity of *esse* and essence in God. Because God's *Esse* subsists *per se*, it does not inhere in the substance or essence and, therefore, must be the essence:

> Nam ex quo est per se subsistens, non inerit ipsi substantiae vel essentiae, sed erit ipsa substantia vel essentia.[105]

Inherence and hence accidentality is characteristic of created *esse*. The composition of quiddity and *esse* is primarily the composition of essence and non-essence, of subject and that which accidentally inheres in the subject.

8. *Priority of logic.*

A last question, before the three in which Giles explicitly cites the Boethian expression of the disjunction of *esse* and *quod est*, asks if there is composition of genus and difference in God. In the solution it is affirmed that there are three essentials for membership in a genus. These requisites are based on the logical analysis of the genus, first as a form that is half-way betweeen act and potency, secondly as a whole containing the species as in their universal, and thirdly as implying a potentiality (since difference *can* be added):

> Genus autem ad speciem tripliciter comparatur. Primo quia respectu eius habet rationem totius ex eo quod de specie praedicatur . . . Secundo habet rationem potentialitatis ex eo quod est diffinitivum speciei . . . ita in ipsa

---

[101] *In I Sent.*, d. 8, pt. 2, pn. 1, q. 2, 52vO.

[102] St.Thomas wrote the *De Potentia*, q. 7 perhaps as early as 1261-2 (Mandonnet) or possibly as late as 1267-8 (Glorieux). William of Moerbeke's translation of the *Elementatio Theologica* of Proclus appeared May 18, 1268. St.Thomas saw at once this to be the source of the *Liber de causis*; cf. his own commentary in 1270. Hence, it is unlikely that *De Potentia*. q. 7 was written later.

[103] Cf. Giles' judgment of Proclus in *Quaestiones de Esse*, q. 9, fol. 19ra: . . . Proclus, qui plus se intromisit de modis participandi. . .

[104] *In I Sent.*, d. 8, pt. 2, pn. 1, q. 2, 52P.

[105] *Loc. cit.*

> diffinitione genus tenet locum potentiae, et differentia locum actus. Tertio habet rationem continentiae, non cuiuslibet, sed continet sicut forma media inter potentiam et actum, quod habet ex eo quod uniuntur multae species in uno genere, tamquam in suo universali. Nam secundum Commentatorem, *In II Metaph.* [*In I Met.*; ed. apud Iuntas, 1574, com. 17, fol. 14vK] differentia est inter genus et materiam, quia materia dicit potentiam puram, genus vero dicit formam mediam inter potentiam et actum.[106]

Thus, from the viewpoint of genus as *forma media*, anything that is simply infinite cannot be in a genus, for it is all act.[107] Neither can anything with a simple nature, i.e. whose nature lacks real parts, be in a genus; real parts alone are adequate foundation for the logical composition of genus and difference.[108] Finally pure act, having no potentiality, cannot be in a genus; there must be at least a distinction of *esse* and quiddity to justify the necessary element of potentiality.[109]

This last point means that the created nature is conceived as being an act that is not pure act, an act in which a potentiality is present, the potentiality of being complemented by an accidental act. Several times in the present text Giles repeats the phrase *potentialitas in natura* as an equivalent for *quidditas distans ab esse.*[110] The nature must be an actuality, considered in itself, in order to afford adequate foundation for the genus, which, though 'potential', is as much a form as any other part of the definition.[111] A Platonic theory of predication has again determined the constitution of creatures. The created nature is logically a form that can be determined by another form, just as genus can be determined by specific difference. So the nature with regard to *esse* is an actuality in the same order.[112] There is no suggestion of essence being in act in its own order and also in potency to an act of a different order. This view of the act-potency relationship between essence and *esse* is definitely non-Thomist. And it is with this conception in mind that Giles in the very next question introduces the Boethian "authorities" on the composition of creatures.

---

[106] *In I Sent.*, d. 8, pt. 2, pn. 1, q. 3, 53D.

[107] *Ibid.*, 53E: Nam eo quod dicit genus quid medium inter potentiam et actum, cum actus receptus in potentia contrahatur ad aliquam determinatam perfectionem, sequitur quod nihil sit in genere, cui competit omnis perfectio. Ideo nullum simpliciter infinitum est in genere.

[108] *Loc. cit.*: Ex eo autem quod dicit totum quae totalitas licet sit secundum rationem, tamen quia istis partibus rationis respondent partes rei, nec proprie tales partes sumerentur, nisi natura, qua sumuntur genus et differentia, etiam realiter partes haberet, sequitur quod nihil habens naturam simplicem sit in genere. Despite the fact that the Intelligences have a simple nature (53F), yet they too are in a genus: Intelligentia autem quia non habent naturam compositam sunt tamen quid terminatum et habent potentialitatem in natura, si sunt secundum rectam lineam (i.e. in genere) non tamen per omnem modum (53G).

[109] *Loc. cit.*: Tertio ratione potentialitatis omne existens in genere habet quidditatem distantem ab esse, quia si esset actus purus non posset ex eo sumi aliquid quod rationem potentialitatis haberet.

[110] *Ibid.*, 53E: Omne ergo quod proprie est in genere . . . habet quidditatem distantem ab esse sive in natura eius est potentialitas aliqua; and 53H: . . .propter quod habetur quod in eo non est quidditas distans ab esse vel potentialitas in natura.

[111] *Loc. cit.*: Sic etiam tres comparationes habet (genus) ad differentiam, quia dicit totum respectu differentiae. . . Habet rationem potentialitatis. . . Habet rationem continentiae, quia dicit quid universalius quam differentia. Haec autem continentia non est per modum potentialitatis simpliciter, cum omnes partes positae in diffinitione sint formae; sed est quid medium inter actum et potentiam.

[112] In *Theoremata de Esse* essence is conceived as not having enough actuality of itself for existence, though of itself having a measure of actuality. Cf. Th. 6, p. 29: Ergo cum essentia de se dicat actualitatem aliquam praeter esse, ex essentia et esse una natura tertia conflari non potest. Dicebatur enim supra quod ipsa essentia aliquam actualitatem importat, licet illa actualitas non sit tanta quod sine esse possit existere. Cf. also Th. 7, p. 37; Th. 10, p. 58; Th. 19, p. 130. This possession of a potentiality justifies generic predication: Erit huiusmodi essentia forma media inter potentiam et actum. Et quia hoc est de ratione generis, quod sit huiusmodi forma media, ideo essentia quae talem formam nominat per se est in genere. (Th. 21, p. 45.) Cf. also Th. 3, p. 12; p. 14; and Th. 12, p. 72. Both the *admixtio potentiae* and the insufficiency of essence's actuality recur in the *In lib. de Causis*, Prop. 21. fol. 72M: Actus non dividitur nec multiplicatur nisi per potentiam, non ergo poterunt esse plures actus nisi saltem in aliquo illorum sit admixtio potentiae, and Prop. 26, fol. 89vL: Nulla enim essentia causata est tantae causalitatis, quod possit per se existere in rerum natura, sed superadditur sibi actualitas quaedam, quae dicitur esse. Cf. *In II Sent.*, d. 26, q. 1, a. 2; ed. Venice, 1581, II, 318: Ipsum ergo esse creaturae, etsi non est accidens, vergit ad modum accidentis cum adveniat rei post primum actum, i.e. post formam. . . Ipsum

We have, now, a fairly rounded-out picture of the universe for the confirmation of which Giles appeals to Boethius' rules from the *De Hebdomadibus*. It is a world in which the creature is necessarily not one but many, many at least with the composition of essence and that non-essential, accidental, contingent element by participation in which essence is said to be. It is a contingent world in which *esse* is not only predicably but also really and actually, though not predicamentally, accidental. It is an Augustinian and Boethian world in which Proclus has been baptized; the God of this universe is *Ipsum Esse*, so uniquely one and simple, that nothing else is truly one or simply being. Giles adduces the Boethian rules, therefore, as the expression of a diversity that signifies a real non-unity, the real diversity of elements one of which is formally other than the *res* which is essence.

D. *Application of the Context to the Eighth Distinction*

We are now in a better position to evaluate the exact meaning which Giles in the *In I Sent.* gives to the Boethian rules, for we know from the previous questions that 1) *esse actuale*, as act of the essence, is but the second act of an actuality in the same order; 2) *esse actuale* is really accidental in this same sense of second, non-essential act; 3) the unity of *esse* and essence is not *per se* but *per accidens* and, in reality, constitutes a plurality (*res et res*), though the theory of act and potency is considered as saving the unity of the composite; 4) the distinction of *esse* and essence is maintained solely as the explanation of two facts, a) the distinction of creatures from Creator as of the composite or many from the simple and the one, and b) the reception by creatures of *esse*, their participation in *esse* and their potentiality to *esse*.

With these principles we can interpret as follows the rules which Giles cites in the Eighth Distinction: *Diversum est esse et id quod est,* i.e. in every creature there are two really distinct elements, namely the essence and the act of the essence by which the essence participates in *esse* and is said to be. The diversity follows on the fact that the *esse* is as really accidental to essence as any predicamental accident, though it is not strictly an accident since it is not a formal determination of the substance. *Esse* is diverse because it is as much a *res* as the essence; the diversity is as great in reality as the mutual logical exclusiveness of the terms. The difference is so great that the two cannot form an *unum per se,* though they can be said to be as much one as any composition of act and potency. The potency, however, to *esse* is not that of the essence as such, but a deficiency within the actuality of the essence.—*Ipsum esse nondum est*: i.e. the *esse* is that by which the supposit is said to exist, although the *esse* itself cannot properly be said to be.—*Omni composito aliud est esse, aliud ipsum est*: i.e. in every creature there must be at least two *res*, the essence and that which non-essentially, contingently, accidentally makes the essence participate in *esse commune*. This second factor is *esse actuale*. Composition is essential to the notion of creature. No simple creature can exist. A simple form such as the Intelligence exists by an *esse* that is not that form; hence, the existent Intelligence is not simple. Existence for a creature is to be less than unity; it is to participate in unity, to be a plurality of parts.

---

esse habet quemdam modum accidentis, cum adveniat rei in actu.

III. DIFFICULTIES IN GILES' INTERPRETATION OF BOETHIUS

This interpretation of Boethius, the only one possible in an Avicennian-Proclean-Boethian universe, raises serious difficulties both with regard to the interpretation of Boethius' teaching in other treatises and also in relation to the general metaphysical status of the existent supposit. Thus, it may be asked what relation *esse* has to the Boethian dictum in the *De Trinitate* [PL 64, 1249]: *numero differentiam accidentium varietas facit*, which Giles cites in the Thirty-fourth Distinction.[1] If *esse* is interpreted as the one accident, whose diversity always constitutes numerically different individuals, it is imperative to ask how this can be squared with the statement of the *De Duabus Naturis* [PL 64, 1344]: *individua non indigent accidentibus ut sint*. This statement, as we shall see, is conspicuously absent from Giles' citation of its context. In general, the problem that confronts one is this: what is existence if the individual is but an aggregate? Has not Giles destroyed the basis of metaphysical speculation by refusing true unity to the existent supposit?

Individuals diversified by accidents

With regard to the Boethian distinction of creatures by accidents, Giles has, in fact, neatly appointed *esse* to be the chief distinguishing element; *esse* in his system is the first accident on whose *per se* diversity the diversity of a nature follows. The function of *esse* in relation to the individual is well expressed in the Thirty-fourth Distinction:

> Nam quodlibet individuum creatum supra suam naturam addit aliquid quod ad naturam non pertinet. Unde Boethius in libro *De Trinitate* [PL 64, 1249], ubi distinguit triplex unum, scilicet genere, specie et numero, addit quod differentiam in numero accidentium varietas facit. Et tres homines neque genere neque specie sed suis accidentibus distant. Oportet ergo cum in aliqua natura sunt plura individua quolibet illorum aliquid per accidens supra naturam addere.[2]

It is obvious from the discussion in the Second and Fifth Distinctions about the function of *esse* as accidental diversifier of natures that what 'adds' to the nature and constitutes the individual is *esse actuale*.[3] Boethius, of course, never made this equation between *esse* and the accident whose distinct realizations distinguish individuals. He could not have made this equation, since *esse* in his system is the intelligible essence or definition.[4] But, despite this difference, Giles with his Avicennian understanding of *esse* has, thus far, consistently interpreted Boethius.

Accidents needed for existence

Difficulties arise, however, when it comes to explaining the *De Duabus Naturis*. When Giles, in the Twenty-third Distinction, asks if the term "substance" can be applied to God, he has recourse to Boethius' definition. After saying that Boethius derives the word "substance" from *substare*, i.e. "to stand under" accidents as their subject, he then cites Boethius as follows:

> Unde 'genera et species', ut ipse ait, 'subsistunt tantum. Individua vero non tantum subsistunt verum etiam et substant'.[5]

---

[1] *In I Sent.*, d. 34, pn. 1, q. 1, 176D.

[2] *Loc. cit.*

[3] Cf. *In I Sent.*, d. 25, pn. 1, q. 3, 136C: Unitas quamdam indivisionem importat. Et sic esse per se unum non competit secundis substantiis, ut generibus et speciebus, quia talia per se non sunt individua vel incommunicabilia, sed si competit eis esse quid individuum vel incommunicabile, hoc non est per se, sed secundum esse quod habet in suis particularibus.

[4] Cf. Boethius, *In II Porph.*, IV, c. 14; PL 64, 129d: Quid est autem esse rei nihil aliud nisi diffinitio.

[5] *In I Sent.*, d. 23, pn. 1, q. 2, 125E.

It is significant that Giles omits two statements of whose contents, understood according to his own characterization of *esse* as an accident, he asserts the exact contrary a little further on. The full Boethian text, with the phrases omitted by Giles italicized, reads thus:

> Itaque genera vel species subsistunt tantum; *neque enim accidentia generibus speciebusve contingunt.* Individua vero non modo subsistunt verum etiam substant, *nam neque ipsa indigent accidentibus ut sint.*[6]

Giles cannot agree that "accidents do not happen to species and genera", nor that "individuals do not need accidents in order to be", and he will say as much.

In discussing the three possible types of substances (one spiritual and two sensible, namely the universal and the particular), Giles affirms that each somehow needs an accident for its existence:

> Quaelibet autem istarum substantiarum indiget aliquo modo accidente ad sui esse.[7]

The difficult part of the proof of this statement is in showing it to be true even of spiritual substances in which there is no signate matter. The solution lies precisely in the presence of that accident common to all creatures, *esse actuale*:

> Substantiae autem intellectuales . . . sine aliquo accidente esse non possunt quia tunc possent esse sine esse, cum ipsum esse in eis et in omnibus creaturis vergat aliquo modo ad naturam accidentis.[8]

It is clear that Giles understands the *ut sint* in the Boethian passage just cited, not in the sense of "in order that they might be natures" but as meaning "in order that they might exist". Since he cannot square Boethius' statement with an existential interpretation, he simply suppresses it.

He has done the same with the statement that accidents do not happen to genus and species. For it is essential to prove that even second substances or universals need accidents. He admits that the accidental is not of their very definition, but it is a fact that they cannot exist without their particular realizations, which necessarily imply the accidental (e.g. signate matter):

> Universalia autem aliquo modo indigent accidentibus non quod de intellectu eorum sit aliquod accidens, eo quod nihil non pertinens ad quidditatem diffinitionem eorum ingreditur tamen esse non possunt actualiter sine his de quorum intellectu est aliquid per accidens. Nam universalia sine particularibus actualiter esse non possunt.[9]

Giles has thus indirectly corrected Boethius and brought him into line with the fundamental Augustinian notion that "God alone is the one Who in no way needs the accidental for His being, because in Him, according to Augustine, there is nothing *per accidens*".[10] It is implied that Boethius should have seen the discrepancy, for Giles concludes this section by saying that "Boethius in his *De Natura et Persona*, when he transfers these names to God, says that God is subsistent, because He subsists as needing nothing".[11] So Boethius knew this trait of God but did not take it sufficiently into account.

Unity and existence

As for the obvious difficulty about the unity of the existent supposit, Giles did not think it obvious. Though he made this unity merely accidental, and for all practical purposes only a sum of parts, yet there is no hint that he is aware of having destroyed the very intelligibility of the existing being. Two considerations seem to have contributed to his lack of awareness. The first is that the Aristotelian theory of act and potency seems to account adequately for the unity of the existent supposit. Thus, it is asserted that the angelic quiddity and angelic *esse* constitute a unit:

---

[6] Boethius, *De Duabus Naturis*, c. 2; PL 64, 1344C.

[7] *In I Sent.*, d. 23, pn. 1, q. 2, 125K.

[8] *Ibid.*, 125L.

[9] *Ibid.*, 125K.

[10] *Ibid.*, 125L.

[11] *Loc. cit.*

> Angelus autem vel intelligentia quae dicitur forma vel substantia abstracta et non unita materiae est totum ex partibus inquantum compositum est ex quod est et esse. . . . Ex qua unione secundum esse ex ipsa et angelo fiat unum.[12]

It is also claimed that it is pointless to ask why act and potency are one:

> Non debemus quaerere causam quid faciat unum ex potentia et actu quasi existentia habeant esse diversum, quia non requiritur ibi aliquod uniens ea, ut ligamentum vel aliquid huiusmodi.[13]

Implicit here is the unity of the existent composite of *esse* and essence, a unity that is assured precisely because it arises from the conjunction of potency and act. But Giles never thinks to ask how an existent *qua* existent can be one only accidentally. He does not think to ask it, because for him existence is a problem of logical determination, a problem of the logical distinction 1) of material creatures of the same nature from each other, and 2) of all creatures from the Creator. Existence is a problem of individuation. To be, for a creature, is to be not-simple; it is to be not-one; it is to be a *totalitas ex partibus.* This is the only explanation that makes sense out of what is otherwise an intolerable opposition between the accidentality of *esse* and its existential role. It is an explanation that is eminently Boethian.

Existence as individuality

In the *De Trinitate* Boethius speaks of each thing having its *esse* made up out of those parts of which it consists: *unumquodque enim habet esse suum ex his ex quibus est, id est ex partibus suis, et est hoc atque hoc.*[14] Each thing is not what it is, but is its parts joined together. Boethius then exemplifies this by saying that man consists (*constat ex*) of soul and body, but of neither separately. Man is not that which he is, *non est id quod est.* God alone is truly what He is, depending on nothing else. He alone is truly one, since there is nothing in Him except His form alone. His form or essence (form in Boethius being convertible with definition) is single and solitary; all other forms are subject to accidents with the result that the concrete subject (*id quod est*) is more than the form. The element that makes forms subject to accidents is matter.[15] In Giles, existence is explained entirely in terms of these dominant Boethian traits: the distinction of creatures from God by their consisting of parts (*constare ex partibus*) and the characterization of these parts as matter and form.

The first point to be noted about Giles' treatment of existence is that, technically speaking, it is said only of the supposit as a whole. It is not said of the nature alone or, even, of the *esse actuale* itself. It is to the supposit as such that *esse*, in the sense of existence, belongs:

---

[12] *In I Sent.*, d. 8, pt. 2, pn. 2, q. 2, 54L.

[13] *In I Sent.*, d. 8, pt. 2, pn. 1, q. 4, 53M.

[14] Boethius, *De Trinitate*, c. 1; PL 64, 1250.

[15] *Loc. cit.*: Ut cum homo terrenus constet ex anima corporeque, corpus et anima est, non vel corpus vel anima in partem; igitur non est id quod est. Quod vero non est ex hoc atque hoc, sed tantum est hoc, illud vere est id quod est; et est pulcherrimum fortissimumque quia nullo nititur. Quocirca hoc vere unum in quo nullus numerus, nullum in eo praeterquam id quod est. Neque enim subiectum fieri potest; forma enim est, formae vero subiectae esse non possunt. Nam quod ceterae formae subiectae accidentibus sunt ut humanitas, non ita accidentia suscipit eo quod ipsa est, sed eo quod materia ei subiecta est. . .

> . . .totum ex partibus sive ipsum suppositum est illud cui per se competit esse: ipsum tamen esse participatum non est, sed suppositum per ipsum est.[16]
>
> Nam ex hoc aliquid est totum ex partibus quia per se habet esse.[17]
>
> Quanto aliquid est magis pars, tanto minus ei competit per se existere.[18]

From these quotations we can see the equivalence of *existere* with the *esse* that belongs *per se* to the supposit. It has been noted that Giles interprets the Boethian *ipsum esse nondum est* in this sense.

The second point is that the verb *existere*, when said of the supposit as such, occurs only in conjunction with the formulae *constare ex partibus* and *totalitas ex partibus*, the first of which is Boethian and the second Proclean. Thus, when applying the Proclean triple totality to participation in *esse*, Giles quite naturally uses a Boethian formula:

> Res quae participat esse est totum ex partibus, quia constat ex quod est et esse.[19]

And we have just seen that it is the *totum ex partibus* and not any of the parts separately to which *esse* in the sense of *existere* properly belongs. In later works the formula *constare ex* is used as an obvious equivalent of *existere*. Thus we find in the *Commentary on the Liber de Causis*:

> Sed illud quod participat perfectionem sive illud quod est compositum ex duobus, scilicet ex potentia participante, et ex actu sive ex perfectione participata, tale dicitur esse totum secundum existentiam sive totum ex partibus. Existit enim et constat ex multis partibus.[20]

It is as though *existere* were derived from *stare ex*.

The *Commentary on the Second Book of Sentences* derives *constare* from *stare cum*, so that, when it is said that the creature is constituted in *esse* from two things, it must mean that each of the constituents is an *aliquid* since the nature is to "stand with" something that is not the nature, namely its act. This explanation occurs in a passage in which it is asked if the divine persons are composite. The answer is negative, since the two elements of a divine person are not *aliquid* and *aliquid*, but *aliquid* and *ad aliquid*. It is surely not difficult here to detect the Boethian *hoc atque hoc*:

> Nec dicemus eas (personas divinas) esse compositas, quia etsi sunt ex duobus, non tamen sunt ex duobus aliquibus, nec sunt constitutae in esse per aliquid et aliquid, sed per aliquid et ad aliquid . . . Dicemus itaque omne quod producitur ex aliquo constituitur in esse ex duobus, et quia hoc est commune tam in creaturis quam in personis divinis, quod producantur de aliquo, ergo hoc erit commune tam in illis quam in istis, quod constituitur in esse ex duobus . . . Creaturae ergo quia producuntur de aliquo oportet quod cum illo aliquo sit aliquid aliud, quod constituat in esse creaturas. Non est enim intelligible saltem in creaturis, quod sint productae de aliquo et non habeant aliquid aliud praeter illud ex quo sunt productae. Necesse est ergo omnem creaturam esse ex aliquibus et constitui in esse per duo, quorum quodlibet est aliquid, et ista duo sunt potentia et actus . . . Sed

---

[16] *In I Sent.*, d. 8, pt. 2, pn. 2, q. 2, 54vI.

[17] *Ibid.*, 54K.

[18] *Loc. cit.*

[19] *In I Sent.*, d. 8, pt. 2, pn. 2, q. 1, 54C.

[20] *In lib de Causis*, Prop. 22, fol. 74rH.

> quaeres utrum hoc possit adaptari ad divinam essentiam ut dicatur constitui in esse. Ad quod dici potest quod constare est idem quod cum alio stare. Nam semper ad constare concurrunt duo, quia non stat cum alio, ubi non sunt duo. Personae ergo possunt dici constare, vel constitui in esse, quia in eis essentia stat cum alio, i.e. cum relatione.[21]

That existence means only the status of being a sum composed of parts, one of which is *esse actuale*, is clear not only from the above significant verbal conjunction, but also from the purpose in characterizing creatures as consisting of parts. This is the third point.

Thirdly, therefore, Giles uses these formulae quite consciously in accord with the Boethian concern to distinguish God from creatures on the plane of the opposition of the simple to the composite and the one to the many. When Giles first introduces the Proclean formulae it is, as we have seen, immediately after equating Proclean unity with Boethian and Augustinian simplicity.[22] Then Giles applies the term *totum ante partes* to the *Esse* of God and justifies it by an implicit appeal to Boethius' *De Trinitate*. The proof that God comprises in Himself all *esse* is that His *Esse* does not depend on parts:

> Nam deus in se totum comprehendit esse quod esse a partibus non dependet. Propter quod totum ante partes dicitur.[23]

Then Giles immediately proceeds to compare the three totalities from the viewpoint of their simplicity. The *totum ante partes* is both immutable and supremely one and, hence, supremely simple. The *totum in parte* falls off in some way from true unity, and also depends on the subject in which it is received; hence it is not simple. The *totum ex partibus* is clearly not simple for it has parts of which it consists: *ratione partium ex quibus constat.*[24]

This justification of the adoption of the Proclean totalities, though partly in terms of the Augustinian immutability and simplicity of God, is more in accord with Boethius in his *De Trinitate*. Proclus actually completes Boethius by showing that even created *esse* itself is not simple, because it too falls off from unity. What Giles wishes to establish is that the creature is neither one nor simple.[25] He must take into consideration the fact that it exists. But for a creature existence is to have *esse*, to participate in *esse*, to receive *esse* from another; it is to be neither *esse* alone nor essence alone, but the sum of the two.

The fourth point to note about Giles' treatment of created existence is that it looks only to distinction or individuation. By thus restricting his viewpoint,

---

[21] *In II Sent.*, d. 17, q. 1, a. 3, Dub. IV; vol. II, p. 41.

[22] Cf. pp. 68-69.

[23] *In I Sent.*, d. 8, pt. 2, pn. 2, q. 1, 54D.

[24] *Loc. cit.*: . . .esse divinum quod est totum ante partes . . . est etiam hoc esse maxime unum, quia omne esse ibi modo unico existit, ac per hoc est summe simplex,quia maxime immutabile et unum, quae de ratione simplicitatis sunt. Totum autem in parte non effugit esse compositum. Nam hoc totum divisibile est, ex eo quod secundum unum modum sive secundum aliquam partem recipitur in uno alio modo et secundum aliam partem in alio, ac per hoc ab unitate declinat. . . Tertium vero totum ut totum ex partibus simplex dici non debet ratione partium ex quibus constat.

[25] Cf. J. de Finance, *Etre et Agir*, p. 53: Ainsi la pureté, la simplicité de l'être divin conditionnent, pour la pensée chrétienne, son infinité. Car cette pensée en même temps qu'elle identifie l'infini et le parfait, accueille l'équation platonicienne de l'unité et de la perfection. Mais dès lors, il faut voir, dans le fini comme tel, une multiplicité, une composition. Par là s'explique, en partie du moins, l'hésitation des penseurs chrétiens à reconnaître de purs êtres spirituels dans les anges de l'Ecriture. En tous cas, c'est bien cette raison, qui, une fois ce progrès accompli, conduira les Augustiniens du XIIIe siècle à poser chez les purs esprits eux-mêmes, une 'matière', c'est-à-dire un principe de mutabilité, ou du moins à reconnaître en eux, comme en toute chose créée, une synthèse de *quo est* et de *quod est*, d'*esse* et d'*essence*, de sujet et d'accident. Peu importe, au fond, la manière dont on conçoit cette composition radicale: ce qu'il faut éviter à tout prix, comme un sacrilège, c'est d'attribuer à la créature une simplicité qui n'appartient qu'à Dieu.

Giles can satisfactorily "interpret" the Boethian claim that the creature is subject to accidents because of matter. Two points need discussion here: one, Giles' equation of the problem of existence with that of individuation; the other, his discovery of a material and formal element in all things despite the assertion that there is no matter in angels.

Giles defines the individual as that which is *indivisum a se et divisum ab aliis*. In this sense even God is an individual. He is undivided in Himself and divided off from all others by His *Esse*. Everything else is rendered individual by a material element. This we find in the *Expositio in Librum de Causis*:

> Notandum autem quod id quod facit *Iliachim* in aliis quantum ad individuationem, facit in causa prima esse suum infinitum, et sua bonitas pura, nam, sicut omnia alia a primo individuantur per suum *Iliachim*, sic ipsum primum habet esse individuum, i.e. indivisum a se et divisum ab aliis per suam infinitatem et per suam bonitatem puram. Nam hoc est esse indivisum, i.e. incommunicabile.[26]

Giles then proceeds to show that there is a material element even in the Intelligences, which, being forms not fitted for reception in matter, are individuated by themselves:

> Nam eo ipso quod forma non est apta nata recipi in materia seipsa est hoc aliquid. Ergo in intelligentis forma individuatur per se.[27]

Yet even here there is a material individuating element. The *esse* of the Intelligence is contracted, rendered particular and incommunicable by its reception in the form. So, in the Intelligences, form is to *esse* what signate matter is to form in material things:

> . . . in substantiis separatis ipsa forma eo quod non est apta nata recipi in alio, seipsa est hoc aliquid sed esse ibi individuatur et particulatur per formam in qua recipitur.[28]

The question is: why must Giles account for the individuation by a material element of that which does not need individuating?

The most adequate explanation is that Giles is thinking entirely within a Boethian framework. The creature must be composed of *hoc atque hoc*, or, as he himself says, of *aliquid et aliquid*. One element must individuate the other, even as matter individuates the form. This is verified even in the Intelligences, since their *esse* is individuated by the form. There is no creature, therefore, that is not composed of *hoc atque hoc*.

Hence Giles' position does not differ much from the "philosophers'" interpretation of Boethius, nor from the doctrine of the universal hylemorphists, for like them he is thinking in an essentialist universe. The creature must, by very definition, be composed. Even the Intelligence as existent cannot be simple; it must be *aliquid et aliquid*. It does not matter to him what these elements are called:

> Est ergo omne causatum compositum ex potentia et actu realiter differentibus, sive huiusmodi potentiam et actum appellemus essentiam et esse, sive materiam et formam, sive formam et esse, sive essentiam et actum eius, sive quocumque alio nomine ea nominemus.[29]

The point is that, like the hylemorphists, Giles' act and potency differ exactly as do matter and form, i.e. in the essential order. *Esse* is not an essence but only because it is not an intelligible, definitional addition. But it has all the other characteristics of a form. The essence in which it is received is treated exactly as any material subject. And both *esse* and essence are considered as on the same plane of reality; each is equally an *aliquid*, a *res*.

---

[26] *In lib. de Causis*, Prop. 9, fol. 35vY.

[27] *Ibid.*, fol. 35vZ.

[28] *Loc. cit.*

[29] *Ibid.*, Prop. 26, fol. 91rY.

Giles will not forsake the Boethian viewpoint that God is a simple essence and the creature composite. He vindicates Boethius despite the newer position that there is no matter in the Intelligences.[30] In this vindication he uses the Avicennian accidentality of *esse*; as an accident *esse* is *aliquid, res,* and as accidental perfection it makes the creature less than the unique unity and simplicity of God, while at the same time accounting for its contingence and its creation.

This Boethian bias remained with Giles all his life. In the *In II Sent.*, we find him again asserting that the divine essence alone excludes all composition and is truly one, while no creature is not composite:

> Septimo Deus comparatur ad alia sicut simplex ad composita. Nulla est enim creatura, quae non sit composita vel ex his, ut ex actu et potentia, quae sunt generales differentiae entis, vel huic sicut actus componitur potentiae, et potentia actui. Solum ergo divina essentia omnem compositionem repellit, ut secundum Boethium. Ipsa divina essentia sit vere unum, ubi nullus est numerus, loquendo de numero compositionem faciente, quia numerus personarum nullam compositionem facit; cum ita sit simplex persona sicut essentia. Si ergo de divina essentia posset fieri aliquod et potissime aliquid creaturae, quod de necessitate est quid compositum, non esset natura simplex, quia saltem esset componibilis huic, quod stare non potest.[31]

Giles never repudiated his initial disagreement with St. Thomas on the subject of simplicity and unity, a disagreement that betrays his fundamentally Boethian inspiration.

It can be said, therefore, that Giles' interpretation of Boethius' *diversum est esse et id quod est* is Thomist only in that it affirms that the *esse* concerned is created *esse*. It is Avicennian so far as *esse* is considered to be accidental. It is eminently Boethian in that existence is a total individuality of parts. Giles interprets the Boethian dichotomy within a Boethian world, an interpretation only confirmed by his acquaintance with Proclus.

---

[30] For this reason it would seem to be more than mere policy (cf. Hocedez, *Theoremata*, p. 129, note 1: . . .sans doute pour se concilier des patrons. . .) that Giles can say that the universal hylemorphists "solum ergo in verbis videntur discordare a nobis" (*Quodl.*, I, q. 18, p. 18). Cf. *Theoremata*, Th. 19, p. 129: Et quia ista omnia (*scl.* res creatas esse compositas, etc.) salvare possumus si diceremus omnia esse composita ex materia et forma, ideo hoc posito forte difficile esset ostendere quare oporteret quod esse esset res realiter ab essentia differens et superaddita illi.

[31] *In II Sent.*, d. 17, q. 1, a. 1; ed. Venice, 1581, II, 29.

Mediaeval Pilgrim Routes from Scandinavia to Rome*

OTTO SPRINGER

> Diverse pathes leden diverse folk the righte way to Rome. Chaucer, *Astrolabe* (Prologus).

STUDENTS of mediaeval Germanic literature and civilization have been wont to credit the Scandinavian north and Iceland in particular with preserving old Germanic traditions in greater abundance and purity than any other section of Europe. Indeed, Iceland has often been called a museum, if not a mausoleum, of old Germanic life and thought. During the period of the Great Migrations, from the second to the sixth century, it has been contended, the Scandinavians had been in close contact and intimate exchange with the other Germanic peoples who afterwards settled in the heart of Europe and on the British Isles. During the centuries that followed, however, the Norsemen, especially those on the outer northwestern fringe, the Icelanders, were said to have withdrawn to their distant abodes, breaking off all relations with the south and staunchly resisting the lure of non-Germanic, non-pagan civilization to which the other Teutonic tribes on the Continent and in England were gradually forced to submit. As Karl Müllenhoff put it almost a century ago: "The year 600 must be accepted as the approximate deadline when relations with the north came to an end and were completely cut off."[1]

Following Müllenhoff, generations of scholars continued to insist that the two outstanding products of Old Norse literature, the Eddas and the Family Sagas, were much more ancient than the relatively late dates of their accidental commitment to parchment suggested. The prototypes of most of the Eddic lays went back to the time of the Germanic migrations; the Sagas, thanks to an uninterrupted oral tradition of two or three centuries, reflected almost without change events and conditions of the "Saga-Age" from 930 to 1030. That is to say, both Eddas and Sagas were cherished as documents of early Old Norse, if not common old Germanic civilization from the days before the latter had been "contaminated" by the message of Christian missionaries, or "undermined" by the sophistications of a courtly way of life.[2] Any passages that smacked of Christian sentiments or institutions were very conveniently blamed on the "scribe"; any verses that seemed to echo Continental poetry of a less primitive age were ingeniously discounted as not belonging to the "original version".

Although there is, of course, a modicum of truth in this one-sided and wishful view, we have gradually come to see the relations of the extreme Scandinavian north to the rest of Europe in a broader, more realistic and impartial perspective. The first to object to Müllenhoff's categorical dictum was Konrad von Maurer who, although not a Germanist, probably knew the law, history, folklore, and literature of Norway and Iceland better than any "outsider" before and after his day. In a bold and at the same time well-documented sketch of the continued lively exchange between Iceland-Norway and the south from the ninth through the thirteenth century,[3] Maurer minimized the possible effect of the vaguely known contacts between the North and South Germanic peoples before and during the Migration Period. Instead, he outlined three later periods during which he found in very concrete terms all the conditions present for a great deal of cultural intercourse. First, he pointed out, there was the period of the Viking raids (800-1000) which took Norwegian and Icelandic seafarers to England, France, Sicily, Italy and eastwards as far as Russia and Constantinople. Then, during a second period (1000-1250) characterized by the introduction of Christianity, an end was gradually put to plunder and piracy, and instead a rapidly growing peaceful exchange of goods with other Christian lands developed; in ever increasing numbers Norsemen joined the entourage of foreign potentates; and, last but not least, a continuous stream of travelers from the far-north began their pilgrimages to Rome, many of them educated men of broad interests, holding prominent positions both worldly and ecclesiastic. And finally, from the beginning of the thirteenth century to the close of the Middle Ages, there came a third period, the days when Norwegians under Haakon the Old (1217-63) and Haakon Magnusson (1343-80) and Icelanders under such men as Bishop Jón Halldórsson (1322-39) or the "Lawman" Hauk Erlendsson (died 1334) made deliberate efforts to become members of the international courtly world of Europe, sharing its literature and adopting its way of life.

---

* For many valuable suggestions I am indebted to Stefán Einarsson of Johns Hopkins University, F. P. Magoun, Jr. of Harvard University, and M. S. Kirch of the University of Pennsylvania.

[1] *ZDA*, X (1856) 177.

[2] Cf. the recent comment by P. Lehmann, *Sitz. ber. d. Bayer. Akad. d. Wiss., Philos.-hist. Abt.*, 1937, Heft, 7, p. 3: Denn durch die Edda und die alten Sögur ist namentlich Island in unserer Vorstellung zum Inbegriff des Germanischen geworden. No doubt, this is the ultimate motive also for Heusler's development of the so-called "Free-Prose Theory," which contrasts so strangely with Heusler's refutation of the oral transmission of extensive epic tales in his own reconstruction of the history of the MHG *Nibelungenlied.*

This last-mentioned phase has in more recent years been explored by H. G. Leach in his *Angevin Britain and Scandinavia* (Cambridge, 1921), especially Chapters 6-10, and by Margaret Schlauch in her *Romance in Iceland* (New York, 1934), after considerable preparatory work had been done by such scholars as Eugen Kölbing, Gustaf Cederschiöld, C. R. Unger, Rudolf Meissner, and others.[4] All of these studies opened up new vistas, revealing the Norsemen's eagerness to broaden their knowledge of the outside world, to learn more about other civilizations and to bring home with them a new tale, be it of King Arthur or of Troy, of Alexander the Great or of the oriental lands of wonders and fairy tales. The effects on the language of this new acquaintance with non-Scandinavian, non-Germanic affairs and subject-matters, especially the effect on the vocabulary of Old Norse, has been shown in such studies as Frank Fischer's *Lehnwörter des Altwestnordischen.*[5] The growing familiarity of Norwegians and Icelanders with Classical literature and early mediaeval writings, as well as their own contributions in Latin to the fields of mediaeval theology, science, and religious verse, have been the subject of two more recent papers by Fredrik Paasche: "Über Rom und das Nachleben der Antike im norwegischen und isländischen Schrifttum des Hochmittelalters," and by Paul Lehmann: "Skandinaviens Anteil an der lateinischen Literatur und Wissenschaft des Mittelalters," in addition to some earlier discussions of special problems by Jón Þorkelsson, Halldór Hermansson, Anne Holtsmark, and others.[6] One is amazed at the wealth of references and reminiscences that testify to a knowledge, direct or indirect, of Cato, Priscian, Sallust, Lucan, Macrobius, Ovid and of the ecclesiastical writers such as Isidore of Seville, St. Augustine, Gregory the Great, St. Jerome, Geoffrey of Monmouth, William of Malmesbury, Thomas Becket, Hugh of St. Victor, Matthew of Vendome, Vincent of Beauvais, Honorius of Autun and many others. There is evidence of a lively interest in Roman history and of an appreciation of Rome itself as the ancient capital of the Roman Empire and as the time-honored seat of the head of mediaeval Christendom. All this, at the same time, goes to show the vast influence of Christianity on the intellectual and literary life of the Scandinavian north. However, in addition to the Norsemen's occupation with Christian writings, the story of the conversion of the two countries was treated chiefly from the socio-political point of view in Konrad von Maurer's great work *Die Bekehrung des norwegischen Stammes zum Christentum* i, ii (Munich, 1855-6). From the intellectual and religious point of view it has been discussed in the various contributions by Fredrik Paasche: "Kristendommen in Norrøn Poesi" (*Festskrift til W. Nygaard*, 1913) and *Kristendom og Kvad* (Kristiania, 1914). The impact of Classical literature and Christian thought on the language was described, though inadequately, in 1890 by B. Kahle in his monograph *Die altnordische Sprache im Dienste des Christentums.* A more recent study along similar lines is the penetrating analysis by Rudolf Meissner of the style of the *Rómveriasaga* (Berlin, 1910), pp. 148-287.

---

[3] "Islands und Norwegens Verkehr mit dem Süden vom IX. bis XIII. Jahrhundert," *ZDP*, II (1870), 440-68.

[4] Cf. E. Kölbing, *Beiträge z. vgl. Gesch. d. romantischen Poesie u. Prosa des Mittelalters* (Breslau, 1876), and his editions of *Elis saga ok Rósamundu*, *Flóres saga ok Blankiflúr*, *Ívens saga*, *Pamphilus saga ok Galathea*, *Parcevals saga*, and *Tristams saga ok Ísondar.*—G. Cederschiöld, *Fornsögur Suðrlanda* (Lund, 1884), with detailed introduction, and his editions of *Bevers saga*, *Erex saga*, *Flóvents saga*, *Mágus saga.*—C. R. Unger edited *Alexanders saga*, *Karlamagnús saga ok kappa hans*, and, together with R. Keyser, *Barlaams ok Jósaphats saga.*—R. Meissner edited *Strengleikar* with an important introduction.

[5] (*Palaestra*, LXXXV; Berlin, 1909). With the traditional zeal to clear the sagas of as much non-Norse material as possible, F. Jónsson used to rule out as *afskriverændringer* such words as *stolts*, *prófa* in *Eyrbyggja saga* (*Litt. historie* II, 439), *buklari*, *fustan* in *Egils saga* (ibid., II, 422), *plokka*, *musteri* in *Laxdœla saga* (ibid., II, 450), or *kumpánn*, *reyfari*, *máti*, *mátuligr* in *Vatnsdœla saga* (ibid., II, 477).

[6] F. Paasche in *Symbolae Osloenses*, XIII (1934), 114-145, and P. Lehmann in *Sitz. ber. d. Bayer. Akad. d. Wiss., Philos.-hist. Abt.*, 1937, Heft 7, pp. 1-122 (this is the second

There were many channels through which Christian, Classical and courtly influences found their way into the more remote parts of the Scandinavian north. We may think of the Vikings themselves whose raids took them to all the corners of the mediaeval world.[7] We may think of foreign missionaries and bishops from England, Ireland, Germany and Armenia, who for a while were so numerous, particularly in Iceland, that Archbishop Adalbert of Bremen had to warn the people against them. Or we may think of the many young Icelanders and skalds who visited foreign courts—Egil has been credited with introducing end-rhyme into Old Norse poetry from Old English examples which he happened to hear in York.[8] There were also the merchants, especially those of the Hanseatic League, who traveled and traded between Bergen, Trondhjem, Bremen, Münster, Soest, Cologne, Hamburg, Lübeck and Gotland—we remember the references to them as story-tellers in the Thídreks saga.[9] And there were the manuscripts that were constantly circulating among lay and ecclesiastical dignitaries in all parts of Europe.[10]

We are told at the beginning of *Blómstrvalla saga* that Bishop Bjarni of Nidaros, who had accompanied King Haakon's daughter to Spain, heard the story read at table in German during the festivities at the Spanish court and how he promptly took it back with him to Norway as a welcome gift for his romance-loving king.[11] Or we read in the first chapter of *Clári saga* that Jón Halldórsson, who was to become Bishop at Skálholt in 1322, came upon the story written in Latin verse

---

instalment of a paper the first part of which was published *ibid.*, 1936, Heft 2, dealing with Denmark and Sweden.) Cf. also J. Þorkelsson, *Om Digtningen paa Island* (Copenhagen, 1888), ch. 1; H. Hermannsson, *Sæmund Sigfusson and the Oddaverjar* (*Islandica*, XXII; Ithaca, 1932); A. Holtsmark, *En islandsk scholasticus fra det 12. århundre* (*Skrifter ugitt av det Norske Videnskaps-Akademi*, Oslo, 1936).

[7] At any rate they must be considered for oral transmission, even if they appear to have taken a very doubtful interest in the libraries of the monasteries which they plundered. Cf. J. W. Thompson, *The Medieval Library* (Chicago, 1939), p. 651.

[8] Cf. my review of L. M. Hollander's *The Skalds* (1945) in *JEGP*, XLVIII (1949), 388, and the literature quoted there.

[9] Ed. H. Bertelsen (Copenhagen, 1905-11), I, 2; II, 327.

[10] Cf. J. W. Thompson, *op. cit.*, ch. XXI "The Wanderings of Manuscripts," pp. 647-61.

[11] Cf. *Blómstrvalla saga*, ed. Th. Möbius (Leipzig, 1855), p. 2: En at þessari veizlu (i Spanialandi) fyrir borði heyrði herra Bjarni lesit i þýzku máli þetta æfintyri ok færði siðan konungi í Noregi ok byrjar þat svá. . . See also H. G. Leach, *op. cit.*, p. 165 f., and M. Schlauch, *Romance in Ireland* (New York, 1934), p. 150, note 1.

while a student in Paris. As has been surmised by the editor of the saga and by others, it was very probably Jón Halldórsson himself who translated the story from Latin into Old Icelandic (about 1290).[12]

II

Nevertheless, our knowledge of the actual routes by which manuscripts, themes, stories, ideas—people, in other words—traveled in the Middle Ages is and probably will always be extremely sporadic and vague, especially when it comes to such remote parts of the world as Norway and Iceland. It is, therefore, all the more important to bring together indications that we have in Old Norse literature of specifically defined routes of travel from the Scandinavian north to central and southern Europe. The Old Icelandic sagas contain much information, some of which has not gone altogether unnoticed by scholars in the past. As far as I know, the first to gather some of the data was a young Icelander of the middle of the eighteenth century, Jón Eiríksson (1728-87), in his *Disquisitiones de Veterum Septentrionalium Peregrinationibus* (Leipzig and Copenhagen, 1755), a treatise exciting enough at the time to be translated into German by A. L. Schlözer and to be incorporated in his well-known *Fortsetzung der algemeinen Welthistorie* (Halle, 1771) under the heading "Von den Reisen der Skandier nach Constantinopel und in andre Länder, seit dem 9ten Säculo", (2) "Reisen der Isländer insonderheit, von J. Erichsen," 556-571. This was followed by E. C. Werlauff's *Symbolae ad Geographiam Medii Aevi, ex Monumentis Islandicis* (Copenhagen, 1821), "contributions" in which the pilgrim-diary of Abbot Nikulás of Munkaþverá was published for the first time with a parallel Latin translation (pp. 9-32) and followed by a long list of 178 notes with observations on mediaeval Scandinavian traveling routes in general (pp. 32-54). The third and most comprehensive presentation of the Norsemen's geographical knowledge and of the routes that connected them with the rest of the world was undertaken by N. M. Petersen in his *Haandbog i den gammel-nordiske Geografi,* Første Del (Copenhagen, 1834); the second part never appeared.

As we turn to the information contained in Old Norse literature, especially in the sagas, regarding the Norsemen's travels and travel routes to the south, we find that most of the references occur in connection with pilgrimages to Rome. As both Paasche and Lehmann in their recent studies have emphasized, it was the relations of the northern bishoprics to the Holy See that caused more Norwegians and Icelanders than ever before to venture on the long and hazardous journey from their northern homes to southern Europe and beyond, journeys which at the same time greatly stimulated the literary and cultural exchange between the north and Germany, France, Spain, Italy and the more distant shores of the Mediterranean Sea. To be sure, the Church established in Norway at the end of the tenth century under Olaf Tryggvason (995-1000) and St. Olaf (1015-30), as well as the Church developing in Iceland during the eleventh and early twelfth centuries under Bishop Ísleifr (1056-80) and especially Bishop Gizur (1082-1118), were relatively independent of Rome. Nevertheless, Norwegian bishops, abbots and other clerics seem to have had many reasons for going to Rome and seeking the advice or the support of the Pope. As to Iceland, the earlier bishops when elected were all asked "to go abroad" (*En höfðingjar báðu Guthorm prest til útanferðar, Hungrvaka* v, 7) in order to be consecrated. Thus Ísleifr (between 1053 and 1056) journeyed to Rome only to be told that he would be consecrated by Archbishop Adalbert of Bremen. His successor Gizur did the same in 1082 and was referred to Archbishop Hartwig of Magdeburg, since at the time Liemar of Bremen happened to have been temporarily suspended from office. In later years, after the establishment of an archbishopric at Lund in 1103 and at Nidaros in 1152, the bishop elect would proceed directly to the Danish or Norwegian See; but even then many a bishop while in office had cause to take a trip to the Holy City, and so did the abbots and the lower ranks of the clergy.

---

[12] Cf. *Clári saga,* ed. G. Cederschiöd (*ANSB,* XII; Halle, 1907), ch. I, 1: þar byrjum vér upp þessa frásǫgn, sem sagði virðuligr herra Jón byskup Halldórsson, ágætrar áminningar—en hann fann hana skrifaða med látínu í Frannz í þat form, er þeir kalla 'rithmos,' en vér kǫllum hendingum—ok byrjar svá. . . See also Introduction, pp. XXIX ff.

There were also, however, year after year, hosts of laymen, powerful chieftains and humble farmers who made the pilgrimage to the Holy City as penance for the final settlement of embittered feuds and in the hope of obtaining personal absolution of their sins. There were even skalds who, like Sigvat Thórdarson, made pilgrimages to Rome supposedly for the salvation of their souls, though occasionally they were suspected of being political emissaries of their patron-kings. And there were still others who, like Sigurðr Jórsalafari, had Viking blood still stirring in their veins. To them the visit at the Holy See was but another incident in their adventurous and wilful roaming over land and sea.

As the following passages from the sagas will show, an entire new vocabulary was coined in Old Norse to cover the activities of Scandinavian pilgrims journeying southward to Rome and to the Pope. The journey was called *suðrferð*, *suðrför*, *suðrganga*, *suðrreið* or more specifically, *Rómferð* (*Rúmferð*), *Rómför*, *Rúmavegr*, *Rómsvegr*, or was expressed in such terms as *fara*, *ganga*, *ríða suðr* (*útan*), *vera á suðrvegi*, or even *renna til Róms*; the pilgrim was referred to as *Rómferill* or *suðrgöngumaðr* and his meeting with the Pope *páfafundr*.[13]

As early as 1023 (?) during the reign of St. Olaf, Jarl Eric, who had been placed in charge of Northumberland by King Canute according to *Heimskringla* II, 33, intended to make a pilgrimage to Rome, but before he set out he died in England of a hemorrhage.

However, his master Canute went to Rome himself in 1027 to attend the coronation of Emperor Conrad II. From the letter which he sent to England before his departure from the city, we gather that the great king was very much disturbed over the dangers and tolls to which his northern pilgrims were exposed on their way to Rome:

> I notify you that I have lately been to Rome to pray for the forgiveness of my sins, for the safety of my dominions and of the people under my government . . . Moreover, I spoke with the emperor himself and the sovereign Pope and the nobles who were there, concerning the wants of all my people, English as well as Danes, observing that there ought to be granted to them more equitable regulations and greater security on their passage to Rome, that they should not be impeded by so many barriers on the road nor harassed with unjust exactions. The emperor assented to my request, as did Rodolph the King, who has the chief dominion over those barriers; and all the princes confirmed by an edict that my subjects, traders, as well as those who went on a religious account, should peaceably go and return from Rome without any molestation from warders of barriers, or tax-gatherers.[14]

I have quoted somewhat extensively from this letter because of the light it sheds on the difficulties encountered by persons traveling from the distant north to Italy in the early eleventh century. Moreover, it has been suggested that Canute's visit to Rome, during which he obviously wished to consolidate his relations with the Pope and with the Emperor, may have caused St. Olaf, Canute's opponent in Norway, to send his favorite skald and adviser, Sigvat Thórdarson, to Rome to plead with the Pope for his, that is, Olaf's cause.[15] Be that as it may, when in 1030 King Olaf drew up his men in battle order near Stiklestad, he gathered his skalds, Thormod (who was to recite the *Bjarkamál* at this occasion), Gizur and Thorfin in a shield rampart in order that they, at least, might survive and tell the world of the fighting. However, the king's favorite, Sigvat, we are told, was missing because he had gone on a journey to Rome.[16] As the other skalds expressed themselves sarcastically about his absence and the king sided with Sigvat whose prayers, he said, he was much in need of, Thormod replied: "It may be, sire, that you now require prayers most; but it would be thin around the banner-staff if all your court-men were now on the way to Rome."[17] In fact, we have Sigvat's own verses in which the skald proudly speaks of his trip to Rome and of the hazards of his mission.[18] We also have the stanza in which he tells of passing on his way home a farmer who mourns his dead wife and thus reminds him of his own infinitely greater loss, the death of his beloved king:

---

[13] Cf. Cleasby-Vigfusson, 502; 603, Blöndal, 619. See also *Fornmannasögur*, III, 19; 31. VI, 35; 302. X, 60; 90. XI, 202.

[14] William of Malmesbury, *Chronicle of the Kings of England*, transl. by Giles (London, 1847), pp. 199 f.: Ut homines mei tam mercatores quam alii orandi gratia viatores absque omni angaria clausurarum et theloneorum cum firma pace eant et redeant.

"His dear wife dying, he would
die too, vowed in sadness
a peasant: too high a price that
to pay for love departed;
but bloody tears will weep—I ween that
worse by far our loss is—
unfleeing men when fallen they
find their king in battle."[19]

As already indicated, the first Icelandic bishops all went to Rome to be consecrated after they had been elected by the Allthing. There are, moreover, other very interesting details about their southward journeys as described in the Old Norse sagas. To start with Ísleifr, the first bishop of Iceland, who had received his earlier training at Herford, Germany:

> When Ísleifr was fifty years old and Iceland had been christianized nearly that long, he was asked to make a trip abroad and was elected bishop by the entire people of Iceland. Afterward he went abroad and traveled south to Germany and visited Emperor Henry [Henry III, 1039-56], son of Conrad, and presented him with a polar bear that had come from Greenland, and that animal was a real treasure. The emperor gave Ísleifr a letter of safe conduct with his seal valid for his whole realm. Thereupon, he paid a visit to Pope Leo [Leo IX, 1048-54], but the Pope sent a letter to Archbishop Adalbert of Bremen [1045-72] asking him to consecrate Ísleifr bishop on Whitsunday.[20]

---

[15] Cf. F. Paasche, *loc. cit.*, p. 116: Aber vielleicht war die Reise des Skalden keine gewöhnliche Pilgerfahrt. Olav, sein Herr, hatte vor der Macht Knuts weichen müssen und war nach Russland gezogen, dort plante er den Wiedergewinn Norwegens. Und vielleicht hat er Sigvat, seinem treuen Diener, der ihn nicht ins Exil begleitete, sondern nach Rom ging, einen politischen Auftrag gegeben—schon früher war der Skalde königlicher Botschafter im Ausland gewesen. . . Und die Romfahrt des Skalden Sigvat kann ein Gegenzug von seiten König Olavs gewesen sein. Selbst sagt Sigvat, er sei 'mit Gefahr' nach Rom gezogen, keineswegs habe er daran gedacht, von Olav zu scheiden.

[16] *Magnús saga Góða*, ch. 7, *Heimskringla* III, 15: Sigvatr skáld hafði farit til Rúms, þá er orrosta var á Stiklarstǫðum.

[17] *Olafs saga Helga*, ch. 206, *Heimskringla* II, 469: Vera má þat, konungr, at þú sé nú bœna mest þǫrf; en þunt myndi vera um merkistǫgina ef allir hirðmenn þínir væri nú á Rúmavegi.

[18] War-weary I left the gold-wound battle-rod, which the king gave me, and set out from home on a blessed journey to Rome. . . I laid down the silver-hilted weapons and took up the consecrated staff. I have overflowing witness of other men (I hide naught) I was in Rome in jeopardy. G. Vigfusson and F. Y. Powell, *Corpus Poeticum Boreale* II (Oxford, 1883), 143.

[19] L. M. Hollander, *The Skalds* (Princeton-New York, 1945), p. 165.

[20] Enn er Ísleifr var fimmtugr at aldri, ok Ísland hafði eigi fjarri því at lengð verit kristit, þá var hann beðinn til útanferðar, ok valinn til biskups af allri alþýðu á Íslandi. Siðan fór hann útan ok suðr til Saxlands, ok sótti heim Heinrek keisara Konraðsson, ok gaf honom hvíta bjǫrn er kominn var of Grœnlandi, ok var þat dýr en mesta gersemi; en keisarinn fekk Ísleifi bréf sitt með innsigli um allt veldi sitt. Síðan fór hann til fundar við Leonem páfa. En páfinn sendi bréf sitt Aðalberto erkibiskupi í Bremen, at hann skyldi gefa Ísleifi biskupsvígslu á hvítdrottinsdag. . . *Hungrvaka*, ed. B. Kahle (*ANSB*, XI; Halle, 1905), ch. II, 9-11.

Ísleifr's son and successor at the bishop's see in Skálholt, Gizur Ísleifsson, who likewise had studied in Germany and who had spent part of his earlier years in Norway, had paid a visit to Rome together with his wife before he went back to Iceland.[21] When he was elected bishop, he went again in 1082:

> Then he went abroad that same summer, but when he came to Germany, Archbishop Liemar had been suspended from office. Then he went to see Pope Gregory [Gregory VII, 1073-85] and told him the whole upshot of his journey, also the various difficulties which he had encountered. And the Pope then sent Gizur to Archbishop Hartwig of Magdeburg [1079-1102] in Germany and asked the latter to consecrate him bishop.[22]

Jon Ögmundarson, the first bishop to occupy the see in Hólar in northern Iceland, also visited the Pope, Paschal II (1099-1118). He, too, was consecrated by Archbishop Össur of Lund (1103-38), newly established archbishopric in Skåne (1103).[23]

By the middle of the twelfth century, the northern pilgrims seem to have become quite a well-known group among the many visitors of the Holy City, so that it was said of Pope Hadrian IV (1154-59) that he never had business sufficiently urgent to keep him from talking to the Norsemen first if they wished to see him.[24] However, the reputation of "the most highly respected" of all Icelanders who visited Rome goes to learned Gizur Hallsson who served as *lögsögumaðr* from 1181-1200:

> He was also the best scholar of all that are here in Iceland. He was frequently out of the country and was more highly esteemed in Rome than any other Icelander had been before him because of his culture and competence. He had a wide knowledge of the lands to the south, and as a result he wrote that book which is called *Flos Peregrinationis*.[25]

In addition to these men who all held official positions in the Church or were important political figures in Norway and Iceland, and who all therefore went to Rome on official business,[26] there was the evergrowing number of private citizens, of farmers and their wives, who journeyed to Rome for the absolution of their sins. We know from the *Family Sagas* that the final settlement of embittered feuds often entailed the stipulation that the leading men of the two fighting parties did penance by "going south"; sometimes the hero in old age decided to conclude his turbulent life with a pilgrimage of this sort; sometimes such a journey is vowed in a moment of utter danger or distress. There is old Gellir in the *Laxdœla saga:*

---

[21] Til Róms fóru þau bæði hión, áðr þau fœri til Íslands. *Hungrvaka*, ch. V, 6.

[22] Síðan fór hann útan þat sama sumar. En er hann kom til Saxlands, þá var allt embætti tekit af Liemaro erkibiskupi. Fór hann þá á fund Gregorii páfa ok sagði honum allan málavǫxt sinnar ferðar, ok svá vandræði þau, sem um var at vera á marga vega. En páfinn sendi þá Gizur til handa Harðvig erkibiskupi í Magaðaborg á Saxlandi, ok bauð at hann skyldi gefa honum biskupsvígslu. . . *Hungravaka*, ch. V, 10.

[23] Cf. *Hungrvaka*, ch. VI, 5, and *Jóns saga hin Elzta*, ch. IX (*Biskupa sögur*, I; Copenhagen, 1858), 161.

[24] Svá segja þeir menn, er um hans daga kómu til Rúmaborgar, at ældri átti hann svá skylt ørendi við andra menn, at eigi mælti hann við Norðmenn fyrst ofvalt, er þeir vildu hafa mál hans. *Inga konungs saga*, ch. 23, *Heimskringla* III, 38.

[25] Hann var ok inn bezti klerkr, þeirra er hér á landi hefir verit. Opt fór hann af landi í brott; ok var betr metinn í Róma, en nökkurr annarr Íslenzkr maðr hafði verit fyrir hann, af ment sínni ok framkvæmð. Hónum varð víða kunnigt um Suðrlöndin. Ok þar af görði hann bók þá, er heitir *Flos Peregrinationis*. *Sturlunga saga* (ed. G. Vigfusson; Oxford, 1878) I, 206.

[26] For additional references, see *Páls saga*, ch. 9, *Biskupa sögur* I, 135; *Kristni saga*, ch. XIV (Copenhagen, 1773), p. 122; *Inga konungs saga*, ch. XXIII, *Heimskringla* III, 381; *Guðmundar saga*, ch. L, *Biskupasögur* II, 99; *Arna biskups saga*, ch. LIV, *Biskupasögur* I, 752; *Jóns saga*, ch. VII, *Biskupa sögur* I, 220; *Rafns saga*, ch. V, *Biskupa sögur* I, 645. Most spectacular, perhaps, is the account of the pilgrimage of Sturla Sigvatsson who in the company of the Bishop of Hamar went to Rome and who in penance for his and his father's sins had himself chastized in front of all the major churches of the city, with people watching him and shedding tears over the humiliation of such a courageous and handsome man, *Sturlunga saga*, VII, 97, ed. G. Vigfusson (Oxford, 1878), I, 318.

> And when Gellir was somewhat advanced in age, he got ready for his journey from Iceland. He came to Norway and did not stay there long, leaves the country directly, and goes on a pilgrimage to Rome and seeks out St. Peter the Apostle. He was gone on that journey quite a long time. Afterward he returned north and came into Denmark. Then he contracted an illness and was long bed-ridden and received the viaticum and extreme unction. He subsequently died and is buried at Roskilde.[27]

Or there is the old couple of Þorsteinn and Spes in the *Grettis saga*:

> For to another king have we much more to pay, and we need to turn our minds to that; for now we are both growing old and no longer young, and far more have we lived according to worldly desires than to Christian teachings or reason and righteousness . . . Now they journeyed the whole way till they came to Rome. When they came into the presence of him who was appointed to hear the confessions of men, then they told him truly everything just as it had happened, and with what pagan hocus-pocus they had joined in wedlock. They humbly surrendered to such penance for the amending of their lives as he wished to impose on them; but because they voluntarily had turned their minds to the atoning of their faults without any urging or anger from the rulers of the Church, they were eased of all burdens as much as might be . . .[28]

Somewhat out of the ordinary was the confession of Gunnhildr, mother of a Norwegian king, one of the few women whose holy pilgrimage is reported in Icelandic literature. As the story runs in the saga of her son, Sverri:

> A strange thing now happened: Gunnhildr, the mother of Sverri, left the country and went south to Rome. And when she was in the presence of the man who heard her confession, she said that her son had a different father than the one she had said and that a king was his father, though it had been concealed from him, and when this confession was laid before the Pope [Alexander III], she was commanded in her penance to inform her son of his parentage as soon as she met him.[29]

Norwegian historians have doubted the authenticity of this account, arguing that no Pope had any interest in thus straining the friendly relations between the Norwegian throne and the Holy See.[30]

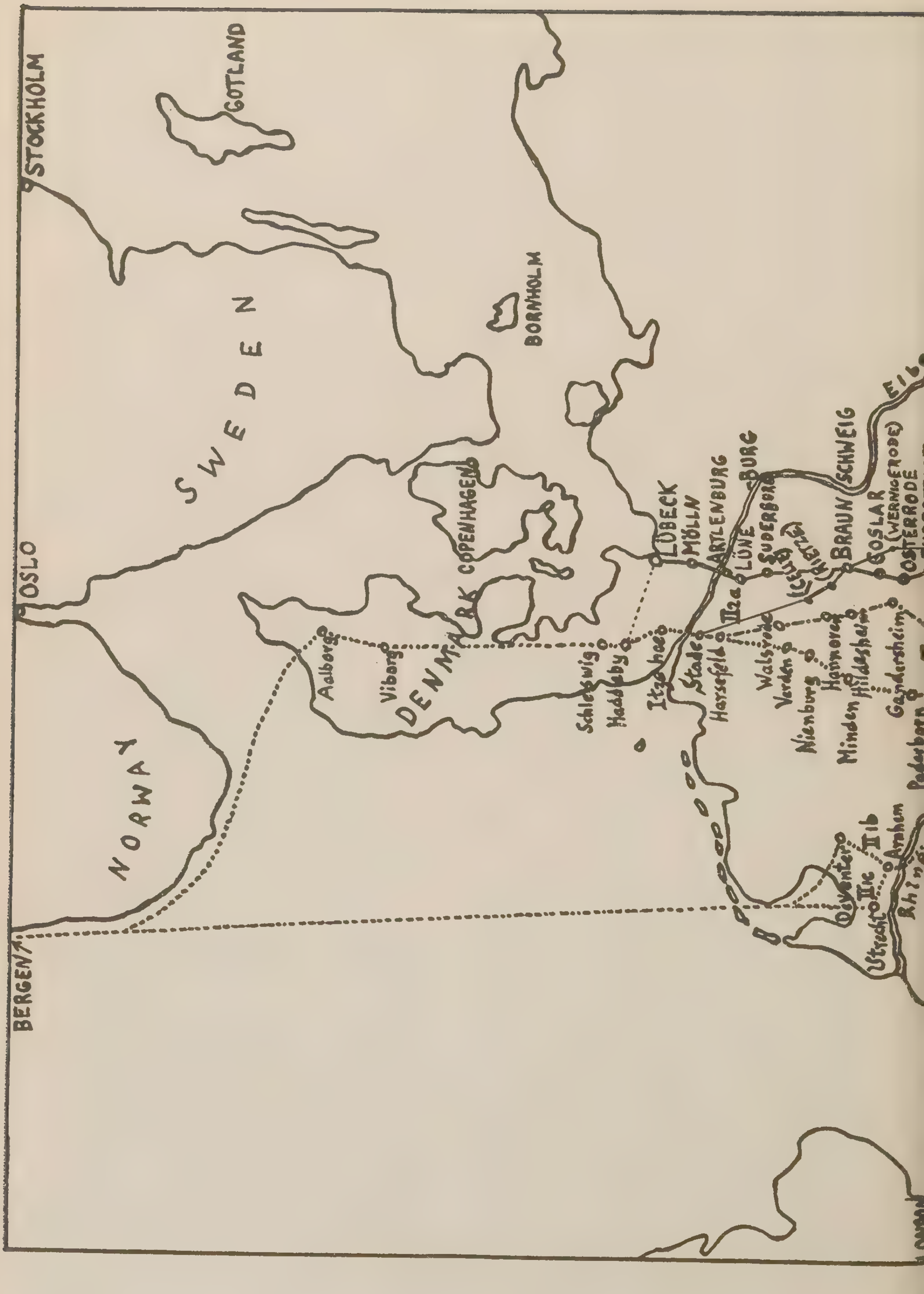
---

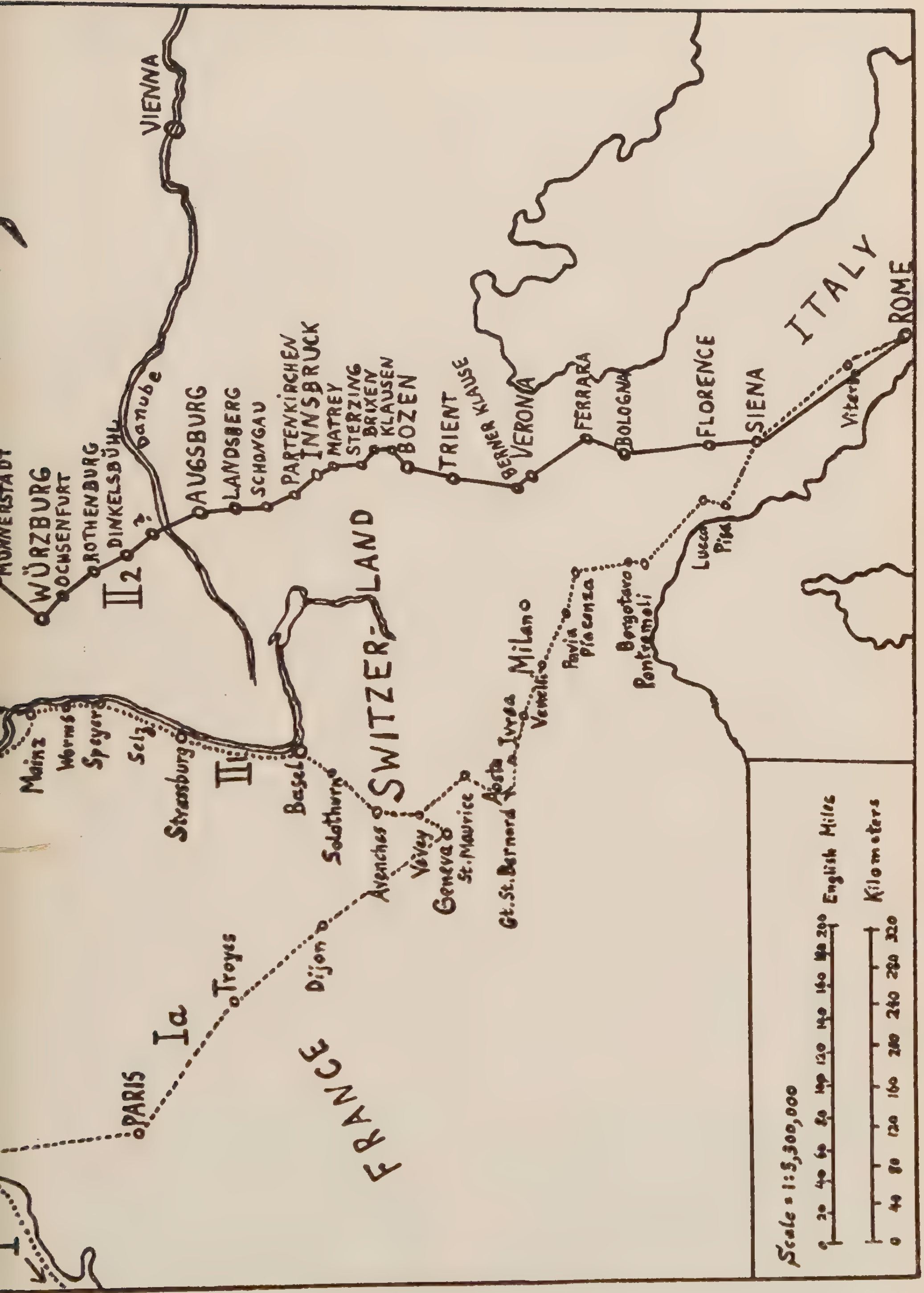
[27] Ok er Gellir var nǫkkut hniginn á enn efra aldr, þá býr hann ferð sína af Íslandi. Hann kom til Nóregs ok dvalðiz þar eigi lengi, ferr þegar af landi á brott ok gengr suðr til Róms, sœkir heim enn helga Pétr postola. Hann dvelz í þeiri ferð miǫk lengi, ferr síðan sunnan ok kemr í Danmǫrk; þa tekr hann sótt ok lá mjǫk lengi ok fekk alla þjónostu. Siðan andaðiz hann ok hvílir í Róiskeldu. *Laxdœla saga*, ed. Kr. Kålund (*ANSB*, IV: Halle, 1896) ch. LXXVIII, 20-1.

[28] Þvíat vit eigum ǫðrum konungi meira vangoldit, ok þarf fyrir því at hugsa. En vit gerumz nú gǫmul bæði ok af œskuskeiði; en okkr hefir gengit meir eptir ástundun en kristiligum kenningum eða røksemðum réttenda. . . Fóru þau nú allan veg, þar til þau kómu til Rómaborgar. Svá sem þau kómu fram fyrir þann, er til þess var skipaðr, at heyra skriptamál manna, þá sǫ́gðu þau sannliga allt, hversu farit hafði, ok með hverjum klókskǫpum þau hǫfðu sinn hjúskap bundit. Þau gáfu sik auðmjúkliga undir þvílikar skriptir sér til yfirbótar, sem hann vildi á þau leggja. En fyrir þann skuld, at þau hǫfðu sjálf orkaz hugar á, at bœta sina meinbugi án allri þrøngvan ok hatri af kirkjunnar formǫ́nnum, þá var þeim létt um allar álǫgur, svá sem fremst mátti vera. . . *Grettis saga*, ed. R. C. Boer (*ANSB*, VIII; Halle, 1900), ch. XCI f.

[29] Þat varð til nylundo at Gunhilldr moðir Sverris gerði ferð sina or landi brot oc suðr til Ruma-borgar. En er hon var fyri þeim manne er henne veitti scriptir þa sagðe hon at son hennar var sa er annat faðerni var æn hon hafðe sagt. oc var konungr faþir hans. æn hann var sialfr þvi leyndr. En þetta mal var borit fyrir pavan. Var henne þat boðit i script sina at hon scylldi lata vita son sinn faðerni sitt þegar er hon fyndi hann. *Sverris saga*, ed. G. Indrebø (Kristiania, 1920), ch. IV. pp. 3 f.

[30] F. Paasche, *loc. cit.*, p. 117.


STOCKHOLM
GOTLAND
OSLO
SWEDEN
BORNHOLM
NORWAY
DENMARK
COPENHAGEN
BERGEN
Aalborg
Viborg
Schleswig
Haddeby
Itzehoe
Stade
Harsefeld
LÜBECK
MÖLLN
ARTLENBURG
LÜNEBURG
SUDERBURG
BRAUNSCHWEIG
GOSLAR
(WERNIGERODE)
OSTERRODE
IIa
Walsrode
Verden
Nienburg
Hannover
Minden
Hildesheim
Gandersheim
Paderborn
IIb
Deventer
Arnhem
IIc
Utrecht
Rhine



VIENNA
Danube
WÜRZBURG
OCHSENFURT
ROTHENBURG
DINKELSBÜHL
II2
AUGSBURG
LANDSBERG
SCHONGAU
PARTENKIRCHEN
INNSBRUCK
MATREY
STERZING
BRIXEN
KLAUSEN
BOZEN
TRIENT
BERNER KLAUSE
VERONA
FERRARA
BOLOGNA
FLORENCE
SIENA
ITALY
ROME
Viterbo
Lucca
Pisa
Borgotaro
Pontremoli
Piacenza
Pavia
Milano
Vercelli
Ivrea
Aosta
Gt. St. Bernard
St. Maurice
Geneva
Vevey
Avenches
Solothurn
Basel
SWITZER-LAND
II1
Strassburg
Selz
Speyer
Worms
Mainz
Ia
Troyes
Dijon
PARIS
FRANCE
Scale = 1:5,300,000
0 20 40 60 80 100 120 140 160 180 200 English Miles
0 40 80 120 160 200 240 280 320 Kilometers

However, the most illustrious case of concluding a long grim story of slaying and burning with pilgrimages to Rome by the surviving representatives of the two parties is found at the end of the *Njáls saga*, to which we shall presently return.

III

In the passages quoted thus far there was no indication, direct or implied, of the particular route followed by those journeying to Rome. Yet the Norsemen had the choice of several widely divergent roads. In fact, as we know from the *Njáls saga*, they themselves distinguished between two main routes: the "western" and the "eastern" one, *in vestri leið* and *in eystri leið*.[31] However, upon closer scrutiny each of these routes allowed for several variations, at least for part of the way. (See Map).

Taking the "western route" meant going largely or all the way by sea, either (I) by sailing to England and thence with short stops along the coast of Flanders and France through the Straits of Gibraltar to Rome, or (I*a*) by sailing to France and from there by traveling overland through France and Switzerland into Italy. The former was the route which according to tradition was first explored by Skopti Ögmundarson. Skopti, a powerful chieftain at Giskö in Norway, had fallen out with King Magnus Barefoot over the disposal of an inheritance. Adventurous and determined not to yield, he decided to leave Norway, probably in 1102. Accompanied by his three sons he embarked on the daring expedition from which none of them was to return:

> The following spring Skopti Ögmundarson made preparations for his trip abroad; he had five warships and all well outfitted; on that journey his sons Ögmundr, Finnr, and Thórðr sailed with him. They left rather late and sailed in the autumn to Flanders and stayed there during the winter. Early in the spring they sailed west to France and in the summer out through the Straits of Gibraltar and in autumn got to Rome. There Skopti died. All of them, father and sons, died on that trip. Thórðr lived longest of them, he died in Sicily. People say that Skopti was the first Norseman to sail through the Straits of Gibraltar, and that journey became very famous.[32]

The other way, along the "western route" (I*a*), was taken by Kári and by Flósi at the end of the *Njáls saga*. Kári, who after his vengeance on Gunnar Lambason had escaped to Caithness in northern Scotland, set out on his pilgrimage by the western route. He sailed to Normandy and from there went all the rest of the way to Rome on foot. Having obtained absolution of his sins he returned by the same route, reached Normandy by land, crossed the English Channel to Dover, skirted Wales and passing the Scottish firths he stopped at Caithness where he spent the winter. The following summer Kári was back in Iceland and joined Flósi.[33] Flósi, who had previously agreed with Hall on fine and pilgrimage and had left southwards before Kári, likewise used the "western route" on his way to Rome, that is, he went by sea to France and from there on foot through Switzerland and Italy without any delay: "There (in Rome) he received the very great honor of obtaining absolution from the Pope himself, and for that he gave a great sum of money."[34]

---

[31] *Njáls saga*, ed. F. Jónsson (*ANSB* XIII; Halle, 1908), ch. 159, 1 and 158, 13.

[32] Skopti Ǫgmundarson byrjar ferð sína um várit eptir af landi í brot; hann hafði v langskip ok ǫll vel búin; til ferðar réðusk með hónum synir hans, Ǫgmundr ok Finnr ok Þórðr. Urðu þeir heldr siðbunir; siglðu um haustit til Flæmingjalandz ok váru þar um vetrinn. Snimma um várit siglðu þeir vestr til Vallandz ok um sumarit siglðu þeir út um Nǫrvasund ok um haustit til Rúmaborgar; þar andaðisk Skopti; allir ǫnduðusk þeir feðgar í þeiri ferð. Þórðr lifði lengst þeira feðga; hann andaðisk í Sikiley. Þat er sǫgn manna, at Skopti hafi fyrst siglt Nǫrvasund Norðmanna, ok varð sú ferð in frægsta. *Magnús saga berfœtts*, ch. 20, *Heimskringla* III, 258 f.

[33] Nú er at segja frá Kára, at um sumarit eptir fór hann til skips síns ok siglði suðr um sæ ok hóf upp suðrgǫngu sína í Norðmandí ok gekk suðr ok þá lausn ok fór aptr ena vestri leið ok tók skip sitt í Norðmandi ok siglði norðr um sjá til Dofra á Englandi. Þaðan siglði hann vestr um Bretland ok svá norðr fyrir Skotlandsfjǫrðu ok léttu eigi fyrr ferð sinni en hann kom norðr í Þrasvik á Katanes til Skeggja bónda. . . *Njáls saga*, CLIX, 1 ff.

On his way back, however, as is expressly stated in the saga, Flósi took the "eastern route," perhaps because he wanted to pass through Norway and visit Jarl Eric there:

> He then went back by the *east route*, and stayed in towns for quite some time, and went into the presence of important men, and received from them great honor. He was in Norway the next winter, and received from Jarl Eric ships for the journey to Iceland, and the jarl gave him a lot of meal, and many other men did handsomely by him. Now he sailed out to Iceland, and ran into Hornfjörðr, and thence journeyed home to Svínafell. He had then fulfilled all the terms of his atonement, both in foreign travel and fines.[35]

From the explicit statement of the saga and from the fact that at the end of his "eastern route" Flosi finds himself in Norway, we may gather that his return route was considerably further east than the one he had taken on his way to Rome. However, if there was a choice of several "eastern" routes to take, the question remains which one was followed by Flosi on his way home.

There was one, apparently the most popular of the "eastern routes", which we know in great detail from the pilgrim-diary of Abbot Nikulás of Munkaþverá and which in recent years has been analyzed and identified in several illuminating studies by F. P. Magoun, Jr.[36] (labelled II, 1). It followed a line of march, to summarize it here briefly, from Aalborg (Denmark), Viborg, Haddeby, Schleswig, Itzehoe, Stade, Verden (on the Aller), Nienburg, Minden, Paderborn, Mainz, Worms, Speyer, Strassburg, Basel, Vevey, Lake of Geneva, Great St. Bernard, Aosta, Vercelli, Pavia, Piacenza, Pontremoli, Lucca, Siena, Pisa, Viterbo, Sutri, Rome. While the Bishop himself travelled this route, he mentions an alternate road (II, 1*a*)[37] from Stade to Mainz running through Harsefeld, Walrode, Hannover, Hildesheim, Gandersheim, Fritzlar, and Arnsburg. In addition he sketches briefly two more routes which likewise join the others at Mainz. One of them (II, 1*b*) starts from Deventer,[38] the other (II, 1*c*) from Utrecht,[39] but both of them continue by way of Arnhem and Cologne along the Rhine.[40]

There is, however, in addition to this one "eastern route" (II, 1) with its three alternates (II, 1*a*. 1*b*. 1*c*), another "eastern route", some 150 miles further east, running through the heart of Germany and on the whole following a straight line from Lübeck to Verona (II, 2). Of this easternmost alternate of the "eastern route" there exists a very detailed description embedded in the Old Icelandic

---

[34] Flósi fór þaðan suðr um sjá ok hóf upp suðrgọngu sína ok gekk suðr ok létti ekki fyrr en hann kom til Rómaborgar. Þar fekk hann svá mikla sœmð, at hann tók lausn af sjálfum páfanum, ok gaf hann þar til mikit fé. *Ibid.*, ch. 158, 11-12.

[35] Hann [Flósi] fór þá aptr ena eystra leið ok dvalðiz víða í borgum ok gekk fyrir ríka menn ok þá af þeim mikla sœmð. Hann var í Nóregi um vetrinn eptir ok þá skip af Eiríki jarli til útferðar, ok hann fekk honum mjọl mikit, ok margir menn aðrir gerðu sœmiliga til hans. Siglði hann nú út til Íslands ok kom í Hornafjorð; fór hann þá heim til Svínafells. Hafði hann þá af hendi int alla sætt sína bæði í útanferðum ok fégjoldum. *Ibid.*, ch. 158, 13-15.

[36] "The Rome of Two Northern Pilgrims: Archbishop Sigeric of Canterbury and Abbot Nikolás of Munkathverá," *The Harvard Theol. Review*, XXXIII (1940), esp. pp. 277-89; "Nikulás Bergsson of Munkaþverá and Germanic Heroic Legend," *JEGP*, XLII (1943), 210-8; and especially "The Pilgrim Diary of Nikulas of Munkathvera: The Road to Rome," *Mediaeval Studies*, VI (1944), 314-54.

[37] F. P. Magoun Jr., *Mediaeval Studies*, VI (1944), 324-6.

[38] Cf. Werlauff, p. 17: til Deventar eðr Trectar ok taka menn þar staf ok vigslu til Romferðar.

[39] Cf. *Hungrvaka*, ch. XVI, 4: Hallr andaðiz í Trekt, þá þeir fóru aptr.

[40] Another route referred to as *Iliansvegr* in Old Norse literature has been the matter of much debate, cf. Werlauff p. 53 f.; Magoun, *Mediaeval Studies*, 336 f.; W. Wiget, *Ark. f. nord. Filol.*, *XXXIV* (1922), 343-6; and J. E. Tyler, *The Alpine Passes—The Middle Ages* (962-1250) (Oxford, 1930), pp. 9-12.

Hauksbók. The passage in question has not been preserved in any of the older manuscripts of the Hauksbok which date from the early fourteenth century but only in a later copy by Sigurður Jónsson (1663-76), Copenhagen, *Ms AM* 281 and undoubtedly going back to a much older manuscript. Since the text has only once been printed in diplomatic form in the edition of the Hauksbok by E. and F. Jónsson (Copenhagen, 1892-96), pp. 502,[41] it seems desirable to reproduce it here in full:

"Wegur til Róms."

> Af Libiku til Mylnu 4. mylur, til Tertinborgar 5. mylur, til Lyneborgar 2. mylur, til Súdborgar, 5. mylur, til Brunsvykur xi. mylur, til Gozler 6. mylur, til Austur ródu 4. mylur, til Dudurstad 3. mylur, til Mioluhús 5. mylur, til Ismak 3. mylur, til Breiding 3. mylur, til Meining ii. mylur, til Mióle stad 2. mylur, til Hyiastad 2. mylur, til Meningstad myla, til Virzinborgar 8. mylur, til Oxenport 3. mylur, til Rotinnborgar 5. mylur, til þeingilsby 5 mylur, til Nyiasstad 5. mylur, til Austborgar 6. mylur, til Blankabergs 6. mylur, til Svanga 4. mylur, og taka þa til Trentu Daler, til Bardar kyrkiu 6. mylur, til Isinbriggiu 8. mylur, til Matran iii. mylur, til Sterting 1. myla, til Brigdz 4. mylur, til Kluz 2. mylur, til Boz 4. mylur, til Trentar 2. mylur valskar og 30, til Bernar klutz 2. mylur fátt j 40, til Bernar 12. mylur, til Fera 2. mylur fátt j 50., til Bolonia 30 mylur, til Florens umm Munca ferla 6. mylur og 50, til Sena 8. mylur og 20, til Roma Borgar 40. mylur, vt vm sialfa Róm og Latran 4. mylur, til S: Páls kirkiu 4 mylur.

As to the orthography of this passage, it may be noted that final *-r* is rendered as *-ur* as in Modern Icelandic, the acute is used quite irregularly and arbitrarily, *ð* and *d* are not always kept apart, and *z* always stands for the affricate, not for the spirant; cf. also *Introduction* to Hauksbok, pp. XXXIV. XXXVII. XL ff. LIII ff.

What makes this eastern route, as described in the Icelandic Hauksbok manuscript, particularly interesting is the fact that it is a very close parallel of an itinerary in the Annals of Albert of Stade which has been praised as "the best of all guide-books" in the Middle Ages.[42] Albert, who had become abbot of the monastery of St. Mary in Stade in 1232 and who died shortly after 1264, compiled this chronicle which extends to the year 1256 and treats somewhat more fully the years from 1021 to 1256. His sources, as discussed by J. M. Lappenberg in the introduction of the Annals,[43] were in the first place Bede's *Libellus de sex aetatibus mundi*, Ekkehard's *Chronicon universale* and Adam of Bremen's *Historia ecclesiastica*. Following the entry for the year 1152 Albert interrupts his chronicle with a long dialogue between two young friends called Tirri and Firri. After they have passed some time with arithmetic problems of the kind that we find in Bede's *Propositiones arithmeticae*, Firri asks his friend to outline for him the way from Stade to Rome through eastern France and northwestern Italy. For the way back Tirri offers a choice between *per vallem Tarentinam*, or *per Elvelinum*, or *per montem Jovis* or even *per Pusterdal*.

Tirri then proceeds to tell his friend the main stations (*mansiones*) along the first-mentioned route, *per vallem Tarentinam*, through the valley of Trient along the Etsch river, a list which, though in reverse order, strikingly confirms the Icelandic itinerary of the Hauksbok. Of course, we have to make allowance for some minor deviations along the way and especially for tendencies, on either part, of spelling the place-names in Low German or in Old Norse adaptations respectively. There is no trace of any written source for Albert's itinerary. Therefore, Lappenberg and others assume that here the Abbot recorded the itinerary which he followed on his own visit to Rome. As Albert himself points out under the entry for 1240, he went to Rome in 1236 in order to obtain the official sanction of the Pope for his plan to reform the monastery, a plan which he shelved later on in the face of the open revolt of his friends.

---

[41] P. F. Suhm, *Historie af Denmark* V (Copenhagen, 1792), 44-5, note *a* [Suhm]; N. M. Petersen, *Haandbog i den gammelnordiske Geografi* I (Copenhagen, 1834), 96-8 [Petersen]; K. Weinhold, *Altnordisches Leben* (Berlin, 1856), p. 362 [Weinhold]; P. Riant, *Expéditions et Pélerinages des Scandinaves en Terre Sainte au Temps des Croisades* (Paris, 1865), p. 86 and note 1 [Riant].

[42] J. E. Tyler, *The Alpine Passes. The Middle Ages* (962-1250) (Oxford, 1930), p. 4.

[43] *Annales Stadenses*, ed. J. M. Lappenberg, in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, SS. XVI (Hannover, 1859), 271 ff.

For the southern stretch between Augsburg and Rome we have two more checks, one in the form of a travelling expense account kept by Wolfger, Bishop of Passau and Patriarch of Aquileja,[44] during the years 1191-1218 when he repeatedly crossed the Alps by way of the Brenner, and another, though nearly three centuries later, in the voluminous diary of Friar Felix Faber entitled *Evagatorium, in Terrae Sanctae, Arabiae et Egypti Peregrinationem*, which is full of amusing comments on the stations and hospices along the route from Augsburg across the Brenner to Verona.[45]

In the following table the names of the towns and cities along the easternmost of the "eastern routes" and also the distances between them are given according to the Hauksbok itinerary in column 1, according to Albert von Stade in column 2, and according to the modern form in column 3:

Af Libiku		....	Lübeck
til Mylnu 4 mylur		....	Mölln
til Tertinborgar	5 m.	....	Artlenburg
til Lyneborgar	2 m.	....	Lüneburg
til Súdborgar	5 m.	....	Suderburg
til Brunsvykur	xi. m.	Brunswich	Braunschweig
til Gozler	6 m.	....	Goslar
til Austur ródu	4 m.	....	Osterrode
til Dudurstad	3 m.	....	Duderstadt
til Mioluhús	5 m.	....	Mühlhausen
til Ismak	3 m.	....	Eisenach
til Breiding	3 m.	....	Breitungen
til Meining	2 m.	Meininge	Meiningen
til Mióle stad	2 m.	(Werra fluvius)	Mellrichstadt
til Hyiastad	2 m.	Niestad	Neustadt
til Meningstad	1 m.	Murestad	Münnerstadt
til Virzinborgar	8 m.	Herbipolis	Würzburg
til Oxenport	3 m.	Osenvorde (Ouwe)	Ochsenfurt
til Rotinnborgar	5 m.	Rodenborch	Rotenburg
til Þeingilsby	5 m.	*Dinkepole	Dinkelsbühl
til Nyiasstad	5 m.	(Offinge, Vorthen,	?
til Austborgar	6 m.	Danubius) Augusta	Augsburg
til Blankabergs	6 m.	(Ingelinge)	Landsberg
til Svanga	4 m.	Schange	Schongau
(ok taka þa til Trentu Daler)		(Amergo)	
til Bardar kyrkiu	6 m.	Bardenkerke (Mede-	Partenkirchen
til Isinbriggi	8 m.	wald Cirle) Ensbruc	Innsbruck
til Matran	iii m.	Materel	Matrey
til Sterting	1 m.	Stercinge	Sterzing

---

[44] I. V. Zingerle, *Reiserechnungen Wolfgers von Ellenbrechtskirchen, Bischofs von Passau, Patriarchen von Aquileja* (Heilbronn, 1877).

[45] Ed. C. D. Hassler (*Bibliothek d. Litt. Vereins*, Stuttgart, 1843-49), esp. vol. I, 68-78, and vol. III, 441-62. Selections from this work have recently been published in English translation by H. F. M. Prescott, *Friar Felix at Large; A Fifteenth Century Pilgrimage to the Holy Land* (Yale Univ. Press, 1950).

til Bridgz	4 m.	Brixa	Brixen
til Kluz	2 m.	Clusa	Klausen
til Boz	4 m.	Boz	Bozen
til Trentar	32 m.	("Welsh") Tarentum	Trient
til Bernar klutz	38 m.	....	Berner Klause
til Bernar	12 m.	....	Bern
til Fera	48 m.	Ferraria	Ferrara
til Bolonia	30 m.	....	Bologna
til Florens	56 m.	....	Florence
til Sena	28 m.	....	Siena
til Roma Borgar	40 m.	Roma	Rome
vt vm sialfa Róm og Latran	4 m.		
til S: Páls kirkiu	4 m.		

IV

(1)[46] *Af Libiku*, nom. *Libika*. The name of the city of Lübeck, which is declined here like an -*ōn*-stem in Old Norse, Noreen §406 ff., is spelled in accordance with the older recorded forms, *Liubice*, *Lubice*, *Leubice* eleventh cent., Adam of Bremen, Förstemann II, 141 and 1565, Oesterley 411. The writing of the first syllable with *i* instead of *y* for Low German *iu*, pronounced [ü], is comparable to the frequent substitution of *i* (*í*) for *y* (*ý*) in the ON spelling of such foreign names as *Kipr*, *Ciphur* for *Cyprus*, *Heimskringla*, ed. F. Jónsson, III, 278. 281, Metzenthin 57, or *Epirus/Epyrus*, *Licia/Lycia*, *Lidia/Lydia*, *Diflin/Dyflin*, Metzenthin 18, 64 ff., 106. In *Hákon Hákons saga*, ch. 256, 275, the spelling is *Lýbika* and *Lýbikumenn*, *Fornmannasögur* X, 22 f., 48 f., and so it is in Mod. Icel., *Lýbika*, Blöndal 491.—Mediaeval German *Liubice* goes back to Slavic *Ljubice* "Family of Ljub". The later forms in -*bekke*, -*bek*, Mod. German -*beck*, resulted from analogy to names in Low German -*beck* (= High German -*bach*) such as *Wandsbeck*, *Hagenbeck*. This wrong association was suggested by the fact that place-names in -*beke*, -*beki* through the Low German zetacism of the eleventh century had temporarily been changed to -*beze*, -*bezi*, -*bize*, like *Smeribezi*, *Wihtinbizi*, *Ibizi* and *Horchenbici*. Later on, when -*beke* was restored in these names, resulting in *Schmarbeck*, *Wichtenbeck*, *Niebeck* and *Hornbeck*, the form *Liubice* was likewise, though erroneously, "restored" to *Liubekke* (*Lybekke*, Adam of Bremen, Oesterley 411), Mod. German *Lübeck*. Slav. -*ju*- like older Gmc. -*iu*- became *ü* in MLG, Lasch §46 and 187, iii. Cf. W. Ohnesorge, *Zs. d. Ver. f. Lüb. Gesch. u. Altertumskde*, X (1908), 55 ff. and in his monograph *Deutung des Namens Lübeck* (Lübeck, 1910); C. Borchling, "Zum ältesten Namen von Lübeck", *Korr. blatt d. Ver. f. nd. Sprache*, XXXI (1910), 62-4; A. Brückner, *Gött. Gel. Anz.*, 1910, No. 4, p. 302 ff.; J. Koblischke, *Dt. Erde*, 1913, p. 169; K. Fedde, *Dt. Gesch. blätter*, XV (1914), 239-41.

---

[46] Reference works quoted more frequently in these explanations will be abbreviated as follows: Förstemann = E. Förstemann, *Altdeutsches Namenbuch* II, 1.2. *Ortsnamen* (3rd ed. Bonn, 1913-16). Oesterley = H. Oesterley, *Hist. geogr. Wörterbuch d. deutschen Mittelalters* (Gotha, 1883). Egli = J. J. Egli, *Nomina geographica* (2nd ed., Leipzig, 1893). *ZONF* = *Zeitschrift f. Ortsnamenforschung* I-XIII (München, 1925-38). *ZNF* = *Zeitschrift f. Namenforschung* (continuation of the last-mentioned), XIV ff. (München, 1938 ff.) Metzenthin = E. Metzenthin, *Die Länder- und Völkernamen im altisländischen Schrifttum* (Bryn Mawr, 1941). *Stednavne* = M. Olsen (ed.) and others, *Stednavne* (*Nordisk Kultur* V; Stockholm, 1939). F. Jónsson, "Kort Oversigt over islandske Gårdnavne", *Oversigt over Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskabs Forhandlinger*, 1911, No. 4, pp. 245-62. Noreen = A. Noreen, *Altisländische und altnorwegische Grammatik* (4th ed., Halle, 1923). Gallee = J. H. Gallee, *Altsächsische Grammatik* (2d ed., Halle, 1910). Lasch = A. Lasch, *Mittelniederdeutsche Grammatik* (Halle, 1914). Blöndal = S. Blöndal, *Islandsk-dansk ordbog* (Reykjavík, 1920-4). Cleasby-Vigfusson, = R. Cleasby and G. Vigfusson, *Icelandic-English Dictionary* (Oxford, 1874). Fritzner = J. Fritzner, *Ordbog over det gamle norske Sprog* I-III (Kristiania, 1886-96).

The importance of Lübeck in mediaeval times as a commercial center and as the natural port of entry for merchants and travellers from the north need hardly be emphasized. According to the old chronicler Helmold, Henry the Lion sent messengers to all parts of the north, Denmark, Sweden, Norway and Russia, offering them peace and free entry to his city of *Lubice*. This offer was reaffirmed by Frederick I in 1188 in a decree addressed to *Rutheni, Gothi, Normanni et cetere gentes orientales, Hans. Urkundenbuch* I (Halle, 1876), 9, 19 f. By the middle of the thirteenth century, Lübeck was the most important trade center in the Baltic and, next to Cologne, the leading city of northern Germany.

(2) *til Mylnu*, Nom. *Mylna*, the name of Till Eulenspiegel's city of Mölln, which is treated like an -*ōn*-stem in Old Norse, Noreen §406 ff. It is derived from the old mill, the beginning of the settlement, OLG *mūlin* (<Lat. *molīna*, Gallee §308 Anm. 3), dat. *mülne*, recorded as *stagnum Mulne* 1188 and 1194, Förstemann II, 341, and rendered as *Mylna* "mill" in Old Norse, Cleasby-Vigfusson 440, Blöndal 546, Fritzner II, 758 f. For the change from OLG *mülne, möln, Mölln,* cf. Lasch §150 and 155 (*cumin*>*kömen*, *kuning*>*köning*, etc.) and the documentary forms *Molne* 1202, *Mollne* 1287, Oesterley 452.

(3) *til Tertinborgar.* This name, which is declined like the ON simplex *borg*, Noreen §391, must refer to the town of Artlenburg in the district of Lüneburg. *Tertinborg* undoubtedly is the correct reading, according to Petersen, Weinhold and the editors of the *Hauksbók* who suggest "Feil for Artlenborg?" whereas Suhm had read *Fertiaborg* but, nevertheless, guessed at "Artaleborg Sønden for Elven, hvor Færgen er over denne Flod". Forms of the name recorded in the twelfth century are *Ertheneburg* 1131, *Erteneburg* 1137, 1142, 1162, *Herteneborch* 1169, *Erteneborg* 1181, *Ertineborch* 1188 according to Förstemann I, 827, and *Ertelenborg* 1125, *Artenborg*, *Artelenborch* 1181, *Ertneborch* 1204 according to Oesterley 29, the name meaning "borough on the Erthene river" nearby. The initial *T*- of the ON rendering of the name must be the MLG form of the preposition *t*(*e*) (MHG *ze*) which was taken to be part of the name and which in other cases found its way even into the official codification of place-names, as in *Tangermünde* (<*T'Angermünde*) on Low German and in *Zuffenhausen* (<*Z'Uffenhausen*) on Upper German soil, O. Behaghel, *Gesch. d. dt. Sprache*^{5} (Berlin and Leipzig, 1928), §358. The -*l*- in the second syllable represents a case of fairly recent dissimilation comparable to the many placenames with -*el*- <-*enen*- (<-*īnen*-), like *Eichel-*, *Büchel-*, *Birkel-*, *Hägelberg*, and *Hirlenbach* <**hürwīnen-bach*, cf. O. Springer, "NHG -*el*- in Nominal Compounds", *Language*, XXV (1949), 410-5. The modern spelling *Artlenburg*, instead of the older forms with *E*-, reflects the dialectal change of -*er*- before consonants to -*ar*- in MLG recorded for 1300 in the Hamburg region, for the fourteenth century in the area of Lüneburg: *Bartold/Bertold*, Lasch §76. As the recorded forms indicate, the writing of the second part of the name changed to -*borg* during the twelfth century in accordance with the general phonological development of -*u*- before *r* + consonant in MLG, Lasch §61 and 152. As a result, the form coincided with ON -*borg* which meant "fortified place, borough", in Iceland specifically "circular elevation or rock", and is found frequently in place-names especially on Danish and Icelandic soil, cf. *Stednavne*, pp. 81, 98 f., 111, 165: *Aalborg*, *Viborg*, and also *Cantaraborg* for Canterbury, *Fornmannasögur* I, 134; IV, 52.

It was at Artlenburg where on October 18, 1163 Henry the Lion convened with German and Gotlandish representatives to restore peace between the Gotlanders and the Hanseatic League, to free them from duties in all his towns, and to guarantee them safe conduct through his lands, *Hanseatisches Urkundenbuch* I (Halle, 1876), 9 f. Twenty-five years later, Frederick I granted free trade throughout all of Saxony except for a small fee at crossing the Elbe near *Ertheneburg*. Two months later, the citizens of Goslar were relieved also of this fee at *Ertineburch* (*Ertinburch*), *ibid.*, p. 19 f.[47]

(4) *til Lyneborgar.* In mediaeval German documents the name of the city of Lüneburg is recorded as *Liuniburg* 753, *Hliuni* 795, *in monte Luneborch* 906, *Liuniburch* 965, *Luneborch* 1124, *Liuniburc* 1172, Förstemann I, 1381, Oesterley 412. In this instance, *-iu-* is rendered as *-y-* in Old Norse. The name of Lüneburg has of late been very convincingly derived from a Gmc. word **hliuni*, which is present in OE *hléonað* "dwelling" (related to *hléo* "shelter"), so that the meaning of Lüneburg would be "Fluchtburg, Schutzort", cf. L. Bückmann, "*Hliuni* und einige andere Namen des Lüneburger Landes," *ZONF*, X (1934), 157-72, and previously in *Was bedeutet der Name Lüneburg?* (*Jahresber. d. Johanneums zu Lüneburg,* 1909); J. Schnetz, "Grammatische Bemerkungen zu Hliuni," *ZONF*, X (1934), 171 f. See also, *ibid.*, V (1929), 58-61, and XIII (1938), 69.

After nearby Bardowick had been destroyed by Henry the Lion in 1189, Lüneburg developed into one of the most flourishing towns of the Hanseatic League by the middle of the fourteenth century. It was the capital of the Duchy of Brunswick-Lüneburg from 1235 to 1369.

(5) *til Súdborgar. Súdborg* undoubtedly refers to the town of Suderburg near Ülzen, recorded in mediaeval times as *Sutherburg* 1004, *Suotherburg* 1052, *Sutherburg* 1146, Förstemann II, 939, Egli 887. It was called the "southern borough" because of its location in the southern part of the Bardengau, according to L. Bückmann, *ZONF*, X (1934), 166, and XIII (1937), 90. We may wonder why the name was not rendered as *Suðr-* with *-r-* and short *-u-* in Old Norse, since this is the usual form of the adjective "southern" in ON compounds like *Suðr-búr, -land, -ríki, -ey,* etc., Cleasby-Vigfusson 603, Blöndal 817 (where the form *suð-* without *-r-* is listed in the compounds *suðaustan* and *suðvestan*). Probably the difference between the long *-u-* in LG *Suther-* and the short *-u-* in ON *Suðr-* was such that the identification with the etymologically related *Suðr-* was more objectionable than the association with ON *súð* f. (with long *-ú-*) meaning "sewing, suture, the clinching of a ship's boards, the outer boarding of a house", Cleasby-Vigfusson 605, "panel" Blöndal 817, Fritzner III, 595 f., cf. the Icelandic compounds *súðhella* "stone for plugging cracks in a wall", *súðhús* "house with unplaned boards", etc. The most striking parallel, however, is ON *Súðvirki*, *Olafs saga helga* ch. 12 f., *Heimskringla*, ed. F. Jónsson, II, 16-19, rendering OE *Súþgeweorc* "Southwark" in London, Blöndal 819, with the inevitable omission of *-ge-* in Old Norse.[48] There is one more possible parallel of *Súðborg*: *Sutherborg*, namely *Súðaþorp* west of Abenrå in Denmark, *Haraldz saga harðráða* ch. 28, *Heimskringla* III, 116 (with a manuscript variant *Suddaþorp* E), present-day Suderup. Cf. *Index Chronologicus et Regesta Geographica, Scripta Historica Islandorum* XII (Copenhagen, 1846), p. 590 f.

(6) *til Brunsvykur.* The name of the city of Brunswick, Mod. German Braunschweig, in its mediaeval form *Bruneswic* 848, *Bruneswich* 1115, Förstemann, I, 593, *Brunszwyg* 1137, *Brunswihk* 1247, Oesterley 86, fitted so well into the pattern of ON place-names that it was subject to very little change. The second part, *-wik/vík*, although designating "bay" in Old Norse rather than "hamlet" as in German, is one of the most frequent elements in Scandinavian place-names, Swed. *Bengtsvik*, Dan. *Slesvig*, Norw. *Útvík* and *Innvík*, and Icel. *Reykjavík*, *Grindavík*, etc., even *Jórvík* for English *York* (OE *Eoferwic*<

---

[47] Cf. H. Schmidt in *Zs. d. Hist. Ver. f. Niedersachsen,* 1896, p. 489 note: Friedrichs I. Befreiung vom Durchgangszoll in Artlenburg a.d.Elbe ist wichtig für die Handelsbeziehungen nach Norden.

[48] By mistake the name is listed as *Suðr-virki* with short *-u-* and with *-r-* in Cleasby-Vigfusson 603. Professor Stefán Einarsson informs me that there is also a place-name *Súða-vík* in Iceland though not recorded in the sagas.

Eburacum), cf. *Stednavne* pp. 31, 65, 81, 115, 157 f. Also the declension of *Brunsvyk* follows that of ON *vík* (consonantal stem), gen. sing. *víkr*, later *víkur*, Noreen §417 and S. Einarsson, *Icelandic* (Baltimore, 1945), pp. 40 and 486, and *Breiðdœla* (Reykjavik, 1948), pp. 37-9. On the other hand, it is difficult to say whether the first part, *Bruns-*, was associated in Old Norse with the genitive of *brunnr* "spring" (but with double *n* as in *brunnsmunni* Fritzner I, 200), or with *brún* "edge", the regular genitive of which is *brúnar* as in *brúnarbein* Fritzner I, 198. Cf. F. Jónsson, *Oversigt*, pp. 252 and 254. Elsewhere the name appears with *-ú-* as in *Heimskringla* III, 46 *Brúnsvík*, corresponding to the long *-ū-* in the mediaeval German form of the name whose first part is derived from a personal name *Brūn(o)* "Braun." Cf. *Zs. d. Harzvereins*, XXV (1892), 102, and *ZONF*, I (1925), 54.

Brunswick, made a city and the capital of his realm by Henry the Lion, flourished especially during the thirteenth century when it ranked among the first cities of the Hanseatic League. A ford over the Ocker facilitated the crossing of the river at Brunswick.

(7) *til Gozler*. The ON form renders very faithfully the name of Goslar, popular mediaeval residence of the German kings in the Harz mountains. The first part of the compound contains the name of a small river, called *Gose*, 1185 *Gosa*. The second part, *-ler*, older *-lari*, *-lar*, *Goslari* 1031, 1047, *Goslare* 1059, 1071, *Gozlare* 1049, 1050, 1066, *Gosleri* 1041, *Goslere* 1150, Förstemann I, 1082 f., *Gosseler* 1205, Oesterley 223, has been a matter of much dispute. E. Schröder derived it from the collective ending *-ari* with coalescent *-l-*, *ZDA*, LXV (1928), 131-8, whereas J. Schnetz has argued in favor of a derivation from an older *hlari* "pasture-land," in *ZONF*, VII (1931), 123-38 and *ZONF*, XIII (1937), 110-21. As the recorded German forms show, and in accordance with regular phonetic development in unstressed syllables, *-lari* became *-lar/ler* in the course of the twelfth century and it thus appears in Old Norse. The only problem is the spelling with *-z-*. To be sure, in spite of the derivation from *Gose* with *-s-* (shifted *-z-* from *-t-* is out of the question, anyway, for the Goslar region), occasionally a wrong spelling with *-z-* has crept into the mediaeval German records. However, explaining the ON spelling on this basis would presuppose a literal copying from written German sources, an assumption which is not borne out by the spelling of most of the other names of the *Hauksbók* itinerary. Nor were there many words or forms in Old Norse with which it might have been wrongly associated, except *goz-kr*, from **gotn(e)skr*, Fritzner I, 626, whereas there was OIcel. *gos* meaning "eruption" and used frequently in topographical compounds, Blöndal 265. A possible explanation, therefore, is that, owing to the loss (about 1200) of *-t-* before anteconsonantal *-s-* in words like *bǫsto* for *bǫzto/bǫtsto*, *þrióska* for *þriózka/þriótska*, etc., Noreen §303, 2, *s* and *z* were for a time interchangeable before a consonant, hence *Gozler* for German *Gosler*, and, a rather close parallel, *Vizmarhöfn* for German *Wismar*, *Fornmannasögur* XI, 351, or *Gazkóníá* besides *Gaskóníá* for Gascony, *Flóres saga* (Halle, 1927), ch. XXI, 2 and 12. Or the *-z-* is due to the association with the frequent ON compounds in *-zla*, like *gœzla*, *veizla*, *greizla*, *afneizla*.

Goslar, under the Saxon emperors a political center and a thriving commercial town, continued under the Hohenstaufen emperors to enjoy many economic privileges which testify to its importance as a commercial link between Germany and the north. By a special decree of Frederick I the citizens of Goslar were exempted from the toll levied for crossing the Elbe at Artlenburg (see above, p. 107). And King Philipp in 1200 tried further to attract merchants to Goslar by promising them special protection "even if they should be enemies of the Reich".[49]

---

[49] Ut, quicumque negociatores, etiam si sint hostes imperii, ad illam (Goslar) sive

(8) *til Austur róðu.* The name of Osterrode in the Harz Mountains, which as early as 1136 is recorded as *Osterode*, Förstemann II, 284, 1152 *Osterroth*, Oesterley 507, must have been understood by the Norseman in its first part, *Oster-*, since it was correctly translated by *Austur-* "eastern", in analogy to the many topographical compounds in Old Norse formed with *Austr-*, see Cleasby-Vigfusson 35, and Blöndal 54. However, the second part of the name, *-rode*, which in German means "clearing," was taken over literally, perhaps because the Norseman identified it with ON *róða* in the sense of "holyrood, crucifix" (<OE *ród*), cf. Cleasby-Vigfusson 502, Blöndal 567, and especially the place-name *Marieróða* quoted by Fritzner III, 123. The word for "clearing" in Old Icelandic, *rjóðr*, never occurs in place-names, whereas in Denmark, Sweden and especially Norway names in *-röd*, *-rød*, and *-rud* respectively are extremely popular, *Stednavne* pp. 16, 81, 104 ff., 150.

(9) *til Dudurstad.* Even P. F. Suhm who misread the name in the manuscript as *Sudrstad* had no doubt that it referred to present-day *Duderstadt*, which in mediaeval German records appears as *Tutersteti* 929, *Dudersteti* 974, etc., according to Förstemann I, 758 and J. Jäger, *Urkundenbuch d. Stadt Duderstadt* (Hildesheim, 1885-6). Most probably the first part of the name contains the personal name of the founder, cf. E. Schröder, *Korresp. blatt d. Ges. ver. d. dt. Gesch. u. Altertumsver.*, LXI (1913), 361 ff. and *ZONF*, XII (1936), 147. The second element, *-stad*, was easily identified with ON *staðr*, occurring in large numbers in all of the Scandinavian countries, *Stednavne*, pp. 17, 65, 80, 128, 137.

(10) *til Mioluhús.* This must be identical with Mühlhausen a. d. Unstrut, although it is difficult to say why the *ü* of the German name, older *Mulnihusin*, *Mulinhusun* 1013, *Mulehuson* 1135, *Molenhusen*, *Mollenhusen Mulenhausen* 1200, Oesterley 460, was rendered by *io* and not by *-y-* as in *Mylna* above (2). Whether the name was associated with ON *miöl* "flour", used in compounds like *miölhús* "shed in which flour is kept," and even in a place-name, *Miölhús* in Mariúkirkjusokn in Eikundasund, according to Fritzner II, 724? To be sure, there is also the name *Miölnuhús* in Norway. Although the forms *húsar*, *-húsir* occur, the form *-hús* as in *Aarhus* is far more frequent on Scandinavian soil, *Stednave* 14 f., 65 f., 81 ff.

(11) *til Ismak.* If, as the editors of the *Hauksbók* insist, *Ismak* is the actual writing of the name of Eisenach in the manuscript, the *m* for *in* is either a scribal error, or, perhaps, a deliberate distortion of the meaningless, un-Germanic place-name. *Ís-mak* might have been understood to denote something like an "ice-shed" in Old Norse, cf. ON *mak* (from MHG *ge-mach*) "klefi, kofi" Fritzner II, 620, indeed a far cry from the probable meaning of the name, older *Isenack* 941 (Saxon Chronicle!), *Ysenache* 1085, Oesterley 153, *Isinacha* 1129, Förstemann I, 1594, which has been derived from Celtic **Isinacum* by R. Much in Hoops' *Reallexikon* III (1915/16), 26, and, more recently, from a Ligurian form by Classen, *Wörter u. Sachen*, XIV (1932), 151. For a summary of research, see F. Mentz in *ZONF*, IX (1933), 249.

(12) *til Breiding.* This name must be identified with one of the three Breitungen on the Werra River, e.g., Herren-, Frauen-, and Burg-Breitungen. Interesting in this case is the *-i-* of the ending of the ON form because it reflects correctly the older mediaeval form of the name, which in Förstemann I, 552 is listed 10 times as ending in *-ingen*, twice in *-inge*, and only once, in 933 (?) as *Breitungen*. As E. Schröder pointed out in a paper on "Ausgleichung deutscher Ortsnamen," *Namn och Bygd*, XI (1923), 50, of the five present-day *-ungen*-names in the

---

se sive sua transtulerint, tam tempore bellorum quam pacis, ab omni violentiae importunitate securi a nullo prorsus molestarentur. *Urkundenbuch d. Stadt Goslar*, ed. G. Bode (Halle, 1893), 380 f. Cf. also *Zs.d.Hist.Ver.f.Niedersachsen*, 1896, p. 491.

Thuringian district of Sangershausen, only three are recorded as old *-ungen*-formations, whereas the umlaut of the stem syllable in *Bennungen* betrays an original form **Benningen* (<*Ban-*), and for *Breitungen* the older historical records indicate *Breitingen*, and so does the ON rendering *Breiding* in the *Hauksbók* itinerary. The unshifted *-d-* is closer to ON *breið-* "broad," the dropping of the ending *-en*, which in Old Norse does not occur after *-ing*, makes the name look like one of the very frequent ON nouns in *-ing*, such as ON *breyting*, *hending*, *blekking*, etc. Cf. *ZONF*, IX (1933), 178 and, for Scandinavian place-names in *-ing(e)*, *Stednave*, pp. 80-9 (Danish), 128-37 (Swedish).

As the ending *-ingen* of the mediaeval German name suggests, *Breitingen/Breitungen* was one of the earliest settlements in that part of Thuringia, situated in easily accessible terrain on the Werra and at a point favorable for crossing the river.

(13) *til Meining*. Again, the final *-en* was dropped in the ON rendering of the name Meiningen, which during the Middle Ages was recorded both as *Meinunga* 982 and as *Meininga* 1008, Förstemann II, 169 and 1566; 1108 *Meningen* Oesterley 437. As E. Schröder says in the paper already referred to, the popular form current today is *Meinungen*, in spite of the official spelling *Meiningen*, which, as he suspects, may owe its official adoption to a naive attempt on the part of chanceries to differentiate the name of the town from the plural form of the NHG word *Meinung*. Incidentally there is an Old Icelandic word *meining*, which is derived from *mein*, *meina*, and denotes "harm, injury." The ending *-en* may have been dropped because it was identified in Icelandic with the ending of the dat. pl. *-un*.

Beginning with Meiningen our route to Rome is joined by the one described in the dialogue of Tirri and Firri in Albert's *Annales Stadenses*. However, since the route which corresponds to the *Hauksbók* itinerary is recommended by Firri for the homeward journey from Rome to Stade, we shall have to reverse the order of the *mansiones*, i.e., "stops", listed in the dialogue. Between Stade and Meiningen the route (II 2*a*) ran through *Tesle* (Celle), *Rithusen* (Rietze), *Brunswich* (Braunschweig), where it crossed our path for the first time, *Horneborch* (Hornburg), *Werningerode* (Wernigerode), *Haslevelde* (Hasselfelde), *Northusen* (Nordhausen), *Salca* (Langensalza), *Gota* (Gotha), *Smalekalte* (Schmalkalden), *Werra fluvius*, and *Meininge* (Meiningen).

(14) *til Mióle stad*. The form of the first part of the name so similar to that of *Mioluhús* discussed under (10), suggests an older German **Mülstat* (**Mulistat*), of which, however, there is no trace in that region at a distance of two miles from Meiningen as indicated in the itinerary. The only place which fits the distance given perfectly, and whose name at the same time has any resemblance at all, is Mellrichstadt. Its oldest recorded form is *Madalrichesstat* (without date), Förstemann II, 246, later *Medelrichstat* 1078, and *Melerstat* 1397, Oesterley 439. Undoubtedly, the mediaeval German form was no longer *Madal-* or *Medel-* at the time when the Icelandic itinerary was compiled, because it certainly would have suggested ON *meðal-* which frequently occurs as the first element of ON topographical names, Cleasby-Vigfusson 420, and *Stednavne* 18, 28, 84, 142. The reason why a possible *Melerstat* was not associated by the Norseman with *melr* "wild oats", or "sandbank overgrown with such", (*Melahverfi*, *-sveit*, *-teigr*, Cleasby-Vigfusson 423 f.) but with *mjóla*, (?), cf. *Mjóla*, *Fornmannasögur* III, 73; VI, 379; VIII, 370, 390, an island in Helgeland (ON *Hálgoland*), Norway, probably Melö, or, perhaps, with *miöl* "meal, flour, powdered snow", was probably the closed quality of the umlaut-*e* in German *Meler-*. And, of course, there was also the confusion with *Miolu-* in *Mioluhús* discussed under (10). It may be noted that Albert of Stade does not refer to Mellrichstadt at all, but jumps from Meiningen directly to what he calls *Niestad*.

(15) *til Hyiastad.* P. F. Suhm read *Thyjarstad* and, therefore, failed to identify this station anywhere on the map of Germany, even though he suspected a place "i det Würzburgiske". Petersen, p. 97, note, insisted that the manuscript had *Nyiastad,* which Weinhold and Riant accepted, whereas the diplomatic edition of 1892/96, p. 502, prints *Hyiastad* with a note suggesting emendation to *Nyia-*, p. CXXXIV. There is no doubt that the name refers to the town of Neustadt on the Saale, *Newstadt* 1397, Oesterley 480, cf. ON *Nýjaland* "Newland" in America, Cleasby-Vigfusson 459, *Nýjakirkja* (in Sweden), *Fornmannasögur* IX, 357, and *Nýjamóða, Heimskringla* II, 21 f., probably the same as OE Nīwamūda, ME *Newemouth, ANF, LVII,* 87 ff. The form *Nie-stad* of the Annals of Stade is a Low German variant of Upper and Standard German *Neu-*, cf. the various *Nienstedt* on Low German soil and also Gallee §107 *Niehem Nîenthorpe, Nîenkirken, Nîenstiden,* and *Nîenburgensis.*

(16) *til Meningstad.* Although the formal resemblance of this name with that of the town of Münnerstadt, older *Munirichesstat*, Förstemann II, 344, Oesterley 462, is almost as faint as that of *Miólestad* with Mellrichstadt, there is no question that the Norseman had Münnerstadt in mind. It is difficult to say exactly what the form and local pronunciation of the name was at the time when the *Hauksbók* itinerary was first drawn up. There is also the question whether the spelling *Meningstad* was not influenced by confusion with the name of Meiningen listed shortly before, just as *Miólestad* most probably suffered from association with *Mioluhús.* In addition, there was the ON word *menning* "breeding, education" and there were enough Scandinavian place-names in *-ingstad* to suggest the form *Meningstad* to the ON compiler. As a matter of fact, Albert of Stade was hardly more successful in recording this particular name: his *Murestad* seems to reflect a pronunciation **Mu(n)re-* and is no doubt a popular etymology associating the name with Old German *mûr* "wall", whereas *Münner-*: *Munirîches-* derives from the genitive case of a personal name, Old German **Munirîch-* or **Mund-rîch* also present in *Munderkingen<Mundrichinga* and in the Old German district designation *Muntariheshuntari*, cf. ZNF, XIII (1938), 85.

(17) *til Virzinborgar.* The name of present-day Würzburg is written with *-i-* in most of our mediaeval records, *Wirziburg, Wirzeburg,* etc., Förstemann II, 1391 f., Oesterley 787, Egli 1012, and is therefore correctly rendered in the ON spelling. The *-in-* of *Virzin-* may be an attempt to express the reduced vowel of the unaccented syllable in analogy to ON compounds beginning with *aldin-*, *arin-*, etc. In mediaeval German records we find considerable variation, most frequently *-i-*, later on *-e-*, in two instances *-en-*, *Werzenburg* 1146, *Wirczenburg* 1216, and twice *-in-*, *Wirsinburg* eleventh cent., *Wircinburgensis* 1016. Abbot Albert uses the learned translation *Herbipolis*, which, incidentally, may come closer to the true meaning of the name than any of the countless etymologies proposed. J. Schnetz in his monograph, *Herkunft des Namens Würzburg* (Programm Lohr, Würzburg, 1916) and *ZONF*, X (1934), 90, favors derivation of the name from OHG *wirz* (<Gmc. **wertja*), an ablaut variation of *würz-* (<**wurtja*), with the collective meaning of "kräuterreicher, grasreicher Platz."

However, Albert's itinerary contains one more *mansio* between Münnerstadt and Würzburg, namely *Swinvorde*, that is Schweinfurt, the second part in typical Low German spelling. According to the *Hauksbók* itinerary the distance between Münnerstadt and Würzburg is 8 miles, according to Albert the distance from Münnerstadt to Schweinfurt is 3, from Schweinfurt to Würzburg is 5, or likewise a total of 8 miles.

(18) *til Oxenport.* This is the point where the Main river was usually forded, German Ochsenfurt, older *Ohsnofurt*, *Ohsonefurt*, *Ohsenfurt*, Förstemann II,

434,[50] Oesterley 493, Egli 662. In fact, Albert of Stade mentions *Moyn fluvius* between Würzburg and Ochsenfurt. Since there is no word in Old Norse that resembles High German *-furt* more closely, the Norseman changed it to *-port*, which in his language meant either "gate" (Lat. *porta*) or "farm" and was used in compounds, cf. Cleasby-Vigfusson 478, Blöndal 626, Fritzner II, 945, and *Helsingja-port*, that is, Hastings in England, *Heimskringla* III, 215. He did so, perhaps, also in the vague notion that German *f* often corresponded to Scandinavian *p*, as German *z* corresponded to Scandinavian *t*; see under *Sterting* (29). With regard to the first part of the compound, we may assume that *Ohsno-* had already become *Ohsen-* (cf. above); otherwise we might expect an ON rendering *Öxna-* as in *Öxna-furða* Oxford, *Fornmannasögur* IV, 64, in analogy to such Scandinavian place-names as *Öxnabrekkur*, *-dalr*, *-lækr*, *-skarð*, Cleasby-Vigfusson 658, F. Jónsson, *Oversigt* 258. The Annals of Stade in this instance again present a perfect Low German translation of Upper German *Ochsenfurt*, with *-hs-* assimilated to (*s*)*s*, Gallee §264, Lasch §350, *-ur->-or* before consonants, and *d* instead of *t*: *Osenvorde* (*Ossenvorde* according to another manuscript).[51]

(19) *til Rotinnborgar*. The identification of this name with the well-known city of Rothenburg on the Tauber is obvious, even though the double *n* in the ON spelling is difficult to account for.[52] Maybe it is due to thoughtless association of the mediaeval form *Rotinborg* 1038, besides *Rotenburg* and others, Oesterley 580, Förstemann II, 546, with ON *rotinn* "rotten", which of course makes little sense and moreover would be wrong for the adjective in composition with *-borg* f., or, for that matter, with any second element. However, among the many *-borg* names on Scandinavian soil, there actually is a derogatory *Rottenborg* in Denmark, *Stednavne* 99. The doubling of *n* in the ON rendering of foreign names is not infrequent, as shown by *Ragann* for *Aragonia*, *Fornmannasögur* X, 85 ff., *Frannz* for *France*, *Clárisaga* I, 1, or *Equítannía*, *Fornmannasögur* I, 108; XI, 407. Albert of Stade, on the other hand, writes in Low German fashion *Rodenborch*. He also lists again an additional *mansio*, this time *Ouwe*, that is *Aub*, between Ochsenfurt and Rothenburg, again with correct indication of distances: Ochsenfurt—Aub 2 miles, Aub—Rothenburg 3 miles, a total of 5 miles or the same as given for the distance between Ochsenfurt and Rothenburg in the *Hauksbók* itinerary.

(20) *til Þeingilsby*. This rendering of the name Dinkelsbühl offers an amusing case of popular etymology. The name is recorded as *Tinkelspuhel* 1188, Förstemann II, 1030, Oesterley 126, *Dinkelsbuehel* 1262, *Dinkelsbühl* 1319, *ZNF*, XV (1939), 27. It is a compound of *-bühl* "hill" and, perhaps, *Dinkel* "spelt" or, much more probably, a personal name like *Dingolt*, *Dingolf* as actually recorded for Dingelsdorf near Constance, *Thingoltesdorf* 946, Förstemann II, 1029. Cf. *ZONF*, IV (1928), 110-5, XIII (1938), 225-40, and especially O. Puchner, *ZNF*, XV (1939), 13-37. The ON word most similar in sound to the first part of the German place-name, though completely unrelated etymologically, was *þengill* which denoted "prince, ruler" in poetical language (Cleasby-Vigfusson 734), but was also used as a proper name, e.g., in *Þengilsstaðir*, present-day Tingelstad

---

[50] Incidentally, Förstemann records *Oxenport* (erroneously spelled with *-f-*) as taken from "Itin. des isländ. Abts Nicolaus bei Werlauff, 12. Jh." Evidently, there is a confusion here of the Itinerary of Nikolás of Munkathverá with the *Hauksbók* itinerary, the latter being quoted according to Suhm. *Ochsenfurt* is not mentioned by Nikolás.

[51] Förstemann II, 434 lists another Low German spelling of the name, recorded in *Annales Yburgenses*, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, *SS* XVI, 437, *Osinvuort* (although with *-uo-* and final *-t*!). Cf. also Ossenbeck, Ossenberg, Ossendrecht, and Ossendorp, all on Low German soil.

[52] Both Suhm and Weinhold write *Rotinborg*, whereas Petersen and Riant have *Rotinn-* like the diplomatic edition. To make things worse, Förstemann II, 546 quotes *Rotinnuborg*.

in Norway, *Stednave* 25. The second part of the name, MHG *-büh(e)l*, quite naturally suggested the most popular Scandinavian word for a settlement, *býr* "town, village", the form usually found on Danish, Swedish and East Norwegian soil, while *bœr* "farm" is used in western Norway and Iceland. *-by* occurs as second element in countless place-names such as Tägneby (<older *Thœghn-*), Gammelsby in Sweden, Karlby, Kirkeby in Denmark and Þegnabýr, Benediktsbýr in eastern Norway, *Stednave*, 15 ff., 25, 48, 80 ff., 128, 140 ff. and even in Scandinavian colonies on British soil, such as Whitby, Grimsby; Cleasby-Vigfusson 92. In Albert's Annals we find two textual variants, both much less correct renderings than the Old Norse, *Cinkepole* and *Einkepole,* which the editor rightly emendated to *Dinkepole.*

(21) *til Nyiasstad.* This name is difficult to identify. The most direct route from Dinkelsbühl to Augsburg crosses the Danube near present-day Donauwörth, 1054 *Weride*, 1140 *Werde*, and that is what the route of Albert of Stade confirms by the next *mansio* beyond Dinkelsbühl, namely *Vorthen*, or according to another manuscript, *Werthen.* As a matter of fact, in the Annals of Stade the exact route of travel is indicated even more definitely by the listing between Dinkelsbühl and Donauwörth of a place called *Offinge*, i.e. present-day Offingen just north of Nördlingen.

However, the question remains: what is meant by *Nyiasstad* in the *Hauksbók* itinerary? Suhm saw in *Nyaiastad*, as he read, a distortion for "Hvitsted ved Donau", and so did Petersen and Riant following him, whereas Weinhold favored Höchstedt because it was "ein alter Donauort". However, there is no "Weisstadt" in that area, and as to Höchstedt, such an identification would entail a very unlikely detour nor is the linguistic resemblance of the two names at all convincing. There is no other explanation, I believe, but either to assume a place which is no longer in existence today, or to conjecture that, by an oversight of the copyist or by an error in the original, the name *Nyiastad* "Neustadt" listed previously under (15) was repeated here instead of (Donau) wörth, or to fit better the distances indicated a place somewhat north of this city—a confusion similar to that noted under *Mioluhús*: *Mjólestad* and *Meining*: *Meningstad* above.

(22) *til Austborgar.* All the more obvious is the identification of this name with the city of Augsburg. The ancient *Augusta Vindelicorum*, since the days of the Roman emperors Septimius Severus and Caracalla at the northern end of the Roman road which from there through Partenkirchen, Innsbruck, Matrei, Sterzing and Bozen led across the Brenner to Verona, could hardly be avoided by the northern pilgrims who took the easternmost route on their way from Lübeck to Rome. The minor linguistic modifications are easy to explain. In German, the awkward accumulation of consonants in **Augstburg* (<*Augustburg* 832, *Ougistburg* 1070, *Ougestburg*, Oesterley 34, Förstemann I, 268) was simplified by dropping the *t* and associating the name with *Aug(e)*, cf. *Ougspurg* 1076, *Ougespurch* 1307, Oesterley 34, although once the form *Oustborch* is recorded. To the Norseman, on the other hand, it was more natural to drop the *-g-* and to identify the first part of the name with ON *aust-* "eastern", as found in a great many ON topographical designations such as *Austbú*, *-bý*, *-firðir*, *-fjǫrðr*, *-garðr*, *-marr*, *-mörk*, etc., Cleasby-Vigfusson 35, Fritzner I, 100, and the many more beginning with *Austr-* and discussed under *Austur róda* (8). Cf. also *ZONF*, VI (1930), 205 and J. Schnetz in *Archiv f. Gesch. d. Hochstifts Augsburg,* V (1916-19), 103 ff., 660 ff.

(23) *til Blankabergs.* This name has so far defied all attempts at identifying it with a present-day locality. There is no place with the first element *Blank-* anywhere in the region south of Augsburg. In fact, the only Blankenberg in southern Germany is near Traunstein, 80 miles to the east (Förstemann I, 480). Small wonder that Suhm contented himself with the comment "presumably in

Bavaria, east of the Danube". Weinhold thought of Blonenhofen, which likewise is far off the direct route and is recorded as *Pluwenhofen* in the twelfth century according to Förstemann I, 489.

However, if we accept the distances given in the *Hauksbók* itinerary, which in the main are quite accurate, and if we follow the natural route south along the Lech river, we arrive at Landsberg, 1199 *Landesperch*, Förstemann II, 18, 1297 *Landsperg*, Oesterley 375. If we compare the Annals of Stade, we find neither *Blankaberg* nor Landsberg but *Ingelinge*, present-day Igling (Oesterley 315, Förstemann I, 1584), just a stone's throw northwest of Landsberg on the other side of the Lech river. The distance from Augsburg to *Blankaberg*/Landsberg is stated as 5 miles in the *Hauksbók*, that from Augsburg to Igling as 4 miles in the Annals of Stade. It is quite possible that there was a choice of routes east and west of the river, in fact, we do know of another alternate still further east, running through Mehring, Inning, Würmsee, Polling and joining the main route again at Oberau near Partenkirchen, cf. J. E. Tyler, *The Alpine Passes—the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1930), p. 114. Of course, the question remains: why was the name *Land(e)sberg* recorded as *Blankaberg* in the *Hauksbók*? Does the initial B- represent a misunderstood preposition, MHG *b(i)*, similar to the MLG *T-* in *Tertinborg*? See under (3).

(24) *til Svanga.* This name too was wrongly identified by Suhm and, following him, by Petersen. In spite of the spelling, the name cannot, as they thought, refer to Schwangau (Hohenschwangau) near Füssen. First because again the distances given in the itinerary do not fit Hohenschwangau at all, and secondly because it would mean a most uncalled-for detour southwest to a point from which there is no direct connection with Partenkirchen (see below). Undoubtedly, as Weinhold suspected, the similarity of the names Schwangau and Schongau caused the confusion in the *Hauksbók* text. Older German forms of Schongau are *Scongowa* 1080, *Scongou* 1160, *Scongave* 1183, *Schongev* 1188, Förstemann II, 764, *Schonga* 1204, *Schongow* 1301, Oesterley 615 (on the absence of umlaut cf. *ZONF*, VI [1930], 158), (Hohen)Schwangau is recorded as *Swanegau* 1191, Förstemann II, 963.

In *Annales Stadenses* the name reads *Schange* (with a senseless variant *Schlange*) which is closer to Schongau than to Schwangau. In fact Abbot Albert in his Annals of Stade leaves no doubt that he has in mind the route through Schongau, in so far as he mentions as the immediately following station *Amergo*, that is Ober-Ammergau, which is not mentioned in the Scandinavian itinerary. The total distance from Augsburg to Partenkirchen is given as 16 miles in both the Annals of Stade and the *Hauksbók*, a concurrence which would be impossible if in the latter the route had gone through Hohenschwangau. And last but not least, Wolfger, Bishop of Passau, who recorded quite minutely his travels in this region, mentions *Schongowa* but never (Hohen)Schwangau as one of the main stations between Augsburg and Verona, cf. *Reiserechnungen Wolfgers von Ellenbrechtshausen*, ed. I.V. Zingerle (Heilbronn, 1877), p. 59.

(25) *Trentu Daler.* We may be surprised to find at this point, on the northern slopes of the Alps, a name referring to the city of Trient, more than 120 miles to the south. The reason is that until the end of the Middle Ages the name Brenner was hardly ever used for this particular pass over the Alps.[53] Instead, our Latin sources usually speak of *vallis Tridentina* (*Tarentina*), the valley of Trient along the Etsch (Adige) river. This is illustrated by the introductory remarks of Firri and Tirri in the Annals of Stade, *loc. cit.*, p. 338, in which one

---

[53] Cf. E. Oehlmann, "Die Alpenpässe im Mittelalter," *Jb. f. schweiz. Gesch.*, IV (1879), 215: Nur ganz selten wird im Mittelalter der Brenner selbst genannt; sehr häufig aber tritt statt dessen der Name der 'Vallis Tridentina' auf. See also J. E. Tyler, *op. cit.*, p. 117.

of the two young men enumerates the various crossings of the Alps as follows: *Poteris redire per Vallem Tarentinam* (Etschtal-Brenner), *per Elvelinum* (St. Gotthard), *per montem Jovis* (Great St. Bernard, ON *Mundio*): *poteris etiam per Pusterdal* (in the eastern Alps, between Sterzing, Lienz and Villach).[54] *Vallis Tarentina* or *Tridentina* is, therefore, identical with the route over the Brenner pass and through the valley of the Etsch (Adige) river. This designation, or its Scandinavian counterpart *Trentu Daler*, may, therefore, be used at any point between Augsburg and Verona when it is evident that the traveller is taking the route over the Brenner. Of course, *dalr*, plural *dalir*, is a topographical term used very frequently in Scandinavian, especially in Norway, *Guðbrandsdalir*, and in Iceland, cf. *Stednave*, 31 ff., 51 ff., 65 ff., 81, 112; F. Jónsson, *Oversigt* 253. Friar Faber also uses the Latin term, although, writing in the fifteenth century, he adds the remark *iugum montis dicti Brenner*, *op. cit.*, I, 69; III, 455.

(26) *til Bardar kyrkiu.* This must refer to present-day Partenkirchen, in the Middle Ages written *Barthinchirchen* 1156, Förstemann I, 364, *Bartenkirke* 1180, Oesterley 515. The initial *P-* in the official modern spelling is of more recent date. Small wonder, therefore, that it was associated by the Scandinavian author with ON *barð*, probably in the sense of "edge of a hill" (*fjœldside*, F. Jónsson, *Oversigt* 254), frequent in local names of farms in Iceland, Cleasby-Vigfusson 51 f., in *Barðarkyrkja* with a genitive in *-ar* instead of *-s*, similar to the declensional shift of *lánardróttenn*: *lánsfé*, etc., Noreen §361 Anm. 1 and 358, 2, *fjall*: *fjallarendi*. Or, if the *a* of the first syllable was long, one might think of popular association in Old Norse with a proper name, *Bǫ́rðr*, gen. *Bárðar*, (Noreen §388), and its derivatives *Bárðardalur*, a valley in Þingeyjarsýsla, Iceland, Blöndal 61. As to names in -kirkja, cf. *Stednavne* 72, 81, and *Margretarkirkja*, *Fornmannasögur* VI, 440, *Katrínarkirkja*, *ibid.*, X, 153. Albert of Stade's spelling *Bardenkerke* with Low German *-d-* and *-k-* for High German *-t-* and *-ch-* is a trifle closer to the mediaeval and modern German form with *-in-/-en-* in the second syllable. As is known, *Parten-* goes back to a pre-Gmc. *Parodunum* (cf. *Zarten*<*Tarodunum* in the Blackforest), *ZONF*, IX (1933), 51.

In addition to Partenkirchen, known since Roman days as the base guarding the northern entry to the mountains, the *Annals of Stade* mention two stations not listed in the *Hauksbók* itinerary: *Medewald*, Low German spelling for *Mittenwald*, and *Cirl*, nowadays *Zierl*, on the Inn river. The total distance between Partenkirchen and Innsbruck is given as 8 miles in the *Hauksbók*, as 9 miles by Albert of Stade.

(27) *til Isinbriggiu.* In spite of the peculiar distortion of the first part, the name is no doubt identical with present-day Innsbruck. The Norseman responsible for this spelling obviously did not see the connection of the name of the city with that of the river on which it is situated, in contrast to Friar Faber who muses: *Pontinum latine, Insprugg dicitur theutonice, quia Pontinum dicitur quasi Pons Ini fluvii, quod significat hoc nomen Insprugg, op. cit.*, I, 69. Instead, in the *Hauksbók* itinerary the name seems to have been associated with the ON word *ís* "ice," from which an imaginary adj. **ísinn* might be derived, with a form *ísin* to serve in composition with *-bryggja*. A popular etymology of this sort may have been suggested by the general phonological pattern according to which the combination of short vowel+*n*+*s* in German corresponds to the combination of long vowel+*s*, without *n*, in Old Norse, as in OHG *inst*: ON *ístr* "paunch," OHG *funs*: ON *fús*(*s*), etc., Noreen §233. Cf. also ON *Péttlandz-*

---

[54] The route through the *Pusterdal* seems to have suffered a very poor reputation in mediaeval times. Says Albert of Stade: Sed per Pusterdal carissima sunt tempora et mala hospitia, *loc. cit.*, p. 339. It is not mentioned at all in the Hauksbok itinerary but is described most vividly by Friar Faber, *op. cit.*, IV, 446 ff.

fjǫrðr, *Heimskringla* I, 346; II, 428, rendering English Pentlandfirth. Of course, one might have expected **Ísabryggja* in analogy to ON compounds like *Ísafjǫrðr*, Cleasby-Vigfusson 319 and *Stednavne* 19. The second part, *-briggja*, older *-bryggja*, renders German *-bruck*, older *-brugg*, although the word usually means "landing-stage, gangway" in Old Norse, rarely "bridge" cf. *Lundúnabryggja* "London-bridge," *Stanfurðubryggja* "Stamford-bridge," and *Kastalabryggja*, *Heimskringla*, III, 216. The Annals of Stade write *Enspruc*, but mention an interesting bit of hero legend preserved in a church in nearby Wilten where the monk and giant Heime (*Heymo*) is said to be buried (MGH, SS XVI, 339).

(28) *til Matran.* This name must refer to the town of Matrey for which in the Middle Ages the following forms are recorded: *Matereia* 995, *Maturegio* 1050, *Matreie* 1170, Förstemann II, 248. Oesterley 432 lists *Matron* 1229 which in form and approximate date comes closer than any other to the Scandinavian spelling in the *Hauksbók*. Interestingly enough, Kranzmeyer reports [Motrna] as the present dialectal pronunciation (*ZONF* X [1934], 109). The Annals of Stade have *Materel* with *-l*, which may be a scribal error for *i* (**Materei*).

(29) *til Sterting.* With the exception of the medial *-t-*, the Scandinavian spelling is identical with the present-day form of Sterzing. However, the dropping of the final *-en* in Bavarian place-names in *-ingen* by way of dialectal [-ingn], as in *Freising*<*Frisingin* 750, *Frisingun* 1060, *Freising* 1484, Oesterley 189, probably occurred after the *Hauksbók* itinerary was written, so that the spelling Sterting without *-en* is due to omission in the Scandinavian text, as in the case of Breiding (12) and Meining (13) above. In fact, Albert of Stade has *Stercinge* similar to *Meininge*. Somewhat puzzling is the *-t-* instead of *-z-* in the *Hauksbók* spelling, whereas the *-z-* in Virzinburg was left intact. And even the Low German Annals of Stade write *-c-*, that is, *-z-*! The only explanation is that, in the absence of the sound group *sterz-*, the Norseman associated the name with ON *stertr* "tail"; cf. also the ON adjective *stertr* "stately, haughty", and the verb *sterta*, Cleasby-Vigfusson 591. He also may have had the vague notion that Scandinavian words and names often had a *-t-* in the place of a German *-z-* (see *p*: *f* in *Oxenport*: *Ochsenfurt* above). In fact, etymologically the name Sterzing probably does go back to Gmc. **stert-*, OHG *sterz-*, used as a personal name with the patronymic suffix *-ing*. (It does not derive from *torcinea*, Förstemann II, 891 and 1384, and even less from *Erzingen "ore-town" plus *St-*, as Friar Felix Faber imagined, *op. cit.*, III, 454 f.)

(30) *til Brigdz.* The strange conglomeration of consonants in the Scandinavian spelling of the name of the city of Brixen is obviously due to the Norseman's attempt to "naturalize" the word by identifying it with the ON word *brigð* f. "breach, breaking," Cleasby-Vigfusson, Fritzner I, 186, (cf. the derivatives *brixla* and *brixl*), or with the name of St. Brigit, ON *Brigið*, found also in composition, *Brig(i)ðaruð* "clearing of Brigit", Noreen §160 Anm. Similar, though not identical, is the rendering of Barcelona as *Barðzalon* (*Barðalon*), *Fornmannasögur* X, 86. Perhaps the final *-z*, which in ON words ending in *-d*, *-t*, *-tn*, *-ll*, *-nn* appears as genitive ending (Noreen §245, 1; 310, 1), was to convey the idea of a genitive form as required after the preposition *til*, see under *Kluz* (31) and *Boz* (32). In the Annals of Stade the name, which is undoubtedly of non-Germanic origin, is written *Brixa*, older recorded forms are *Prixina* 955, 995, *Prihsen* 1165, Förstemann I, 572. Wolfger records twice *aput Brixiam*, pp. 30 and 53. Friar Faber has *Brixina* I, 70.

(31) *til Kluz.* The name corresponds to the mediaeval forms of present-day Klausen, 1028 *Clusas*, 1170 *Chlusa*, Förstemann I, 1696. In view of the *-s-* of these forms, one is inclined to consider the *-z-* of the *Hauksbók* spelling equivalent to *-s-*, see under Goslar (7). On the other hand, the spelling *Bernar Klutz* with *-tz-*, see below under (34), suggests that *-z-* and *-tz-* represent the affricate [ts], not the fricative [s]. If so, *Kluz* or *Klutz* may have been meant

to be genitive forms, perhaps of a wrongly abstracted nominative **Klut-*. A correct ON form is contained in *Klús-Petrús* "St. Peter with the Keys, Key Peter", Cleasby-Vigfusson, 344. The Annals of Stade have *Clusa*. The town is one of the many of the same name located at a point where the road runs through a narrow and steep-sided gorge and the valley is sealed off or fortified.

(32) *til Boz*. What has been suggested tentatively for *Kluz* is true beyond any doubt in the case of the Scandinavian spelling *Boz* for the name of the city of Bozen, 769 *Bauzanum*, 995 *Bauzana*, 1050 *Pauzano*, 1060 *Bozana*, 1143 *Bozon*, 1180 *Pozin*, Förstemann I, 379. To a Scandinavian ear the name made good sense if written *Boz*, because this represented the genitive, after *til*, of ON *botn* "bottom, ground", and especially in topographical designations, "head of bay, firth, lake, or dale", Cleasby-Vigfusson 73, Blöndal 98, Fritzner I, 174 *Vatsdalsbotn*, F. Jónsson, *Oversigt*, 253, *Stednavne* 156. According to the rule that in an unusual consonant cluster the middle consonant is syncopated in Old Norse, *n* is dropped in the genitive of such words as *nafn*: *nafs*, *vatn*: *vats*, in older manuscripts always *vaz*, and accordingly also *botn*: *bots*, or, more frequently, *boz*, Noreen §291, 9. Retrospectively, then, the interpretation of *til Boz* as *til *Bot(n)s* would further support the explanation of *til Kluz/Klutz* as *til Klut-s*. Strangely enough, Albert of Stade likewise has *Boz*; Wolfger records *aput Bozam*, twice, pp. 30 and 53, and Friar Faber writes *descendimus in Bozanam civitatem, op. cit.*, I, 71.

(33) *til Trentar*. The non-Germanic name of Trient, which had been mentioned once before in the genitive form *Trentu*, see under (25), this time has the genitive *Trentar*, that is according to nouns of the *-ō-*, *-i-*, or *-u-* class in Old Norse. Such a fluctuation has been observed for nouns, and even more frequently for place-names, especially for those of foreign origin. Cf. also ON *sólo-*: *sólar-*, Noreen §391 Anm. 1, *láns-*: *lánar-*, §361, Anm. 1, and furthermore §358, 2; 363, Anm. 1; 365, Anm. 1; 371, Anm, 2. For the change of declension (and gender) of words used in topographical terms see the bibliography in *Stednavne* 45.

Beginning with the stretch from Bozen to Trient the *Hauksbók* itinerary counts by *valskar mylur* (one mile=1.5 kilometer), instead of by German miles (one mile=7.5 kilometer) as from Lübeck to Bozen. So does Albert of Stade who explicitly speaks of *miliaria Teutonica* north of Bozen, while he measures by *leucae* between Bozen and Rome. In Albert's Annals Trient is named *Tarentum*; both Wolfger, p. 30, and Friar Faber, I, 74, use the more customary form *Tridentum*. Moreover, the Annals list two more stations, Branzoll and Neumarkt, between Bozen and Trient. Beyond Trient the two routes separate, the Annals follow the course of the Brenta river through Kofel, Bessano, Padua, Rovigo to Ferrara, while the *Hauksbók* itinerary continues along the more direct road through Chiusa and the valley of the Etsch to Ferrara.

(34) *til Bernar klutz*. The "Veronese Narrows," present-day Chiusa, about 12 miles north of Verona, have been famous in history since the time in 1155 when Frederick Barbarossa was trapped there on his way back to Germany.[55] For *Klutz*, see under (31), for *Bernar* the following.

(35) *til Bernar*. The *Hauksbók* uses the Germanic form of the name Verona which was well-established in Old Norse through the saga of Thíðrek of Bern and others. The name is declined here like nouns of the *-ō-* or *i*-class, such as *kvern*, gen. *kvernar*, etc. Verona has always been considered the southern base of the route across the Brenner to Augsburg; much of its commercial prosperity was due to this favorable location. One of its most lucrative sources of income consisted in the toll levied from German merchants passing through the city,

---

[55] Cf. G.G.Dept, "Le mot 'clusas' dans les diplomes Carolingiens", *Mélanges d'Histoire offerts à Henri Pirenne* (Brussels, 1926), pp. 89 ff.

whereas *bona fide* pilgrims were expressly exempted from this charge, according to a Veronese regulation of 1173, cf. J. E. Tyler, *The Alpine Passes* (Oxford, 1930), p. 25.

(36) *til Fera.* This spelling is either haplography for *Ferrara*, as suspected by the editors of *Hauksbók* (pp. V and CXXXIV), or, what seems even more plausible, was intended to represent a genitive plural, after *til*, of the name of the Italian city which in mediaeval sources often appears as *Ferrar* or *Ferar* (W. Matthias, *Die geographische Nomenclatur Italiens im altdeutschen Schrifttum* [Leipzig, 1912], p. 90). Albert of Stade writes *ad Ferrariam*, but takes time out to sound a friendly warning for all pilgrims who venture across the Po river in that region:

> "This river, although of moderate size, is very dangerous in times of bad weather because there is no refuge on either side, with nothing but swamps and deserted land intervening; and though it may be narrow to start with, the river becomes ultimately very wide. Therefore, take care that you cross it in good weather in a safe boat. You cannot find any decent people there because only the worst scoundrels are left. Therefore cross in day time, not at night." (*Loc. cit.*, p. 338).

(37) *til Bolonia.* Here again Albert of Stade deviates from the *Hauksbók* itinerary in that he recommends a route between Ferrara and Rome which runs through Argenta, San Alberto, Ravenna (the manuscript of the *Annales Stadenses* has *Travena*,—the initial *T-* undoubtedly being the Low German preposition *t*(*e*) as in *T-ertinborg*, see above), and Viterbo.

(38) *til Florens umm Munca ferla.* The name of Florence is usually spelled with *s* or *z* in Old Norse. The additional remark, *umm Munca ferla*, was suspected by Suhm of being a distortion for some mediaeval name of the Apennines, which, however, were usually called *Mons Bardonis* and accordingly *Munbard* in Old Norse. It is even more doubtful that the remark contains any reference to the city of Forli, 40 miles to the southeast (gen. in Old Norse *Førla*, *Ferla*?). Thus, there remains only the literal meaning, "along the monks' trails", which might refer to a route frequently travelled by members of Holy Orders and by other pilgrims on their way from Bologna to Florence across the Apennines. For other compounds with *munka-*, cf. *munka-búnaðr, -klaustur, -mót, -regla*, and the proper names *Munkabryggja, -þverá*, Cleasby-Vigfusson 439, Blöndal 560.

(39) *til Sena.* The spelling of present-day Siena with *-e-* is also quite frequent in mediaeval German sources, cf. Matthias, *op. cit.*, pp. 21 and 184.

(40) *til Roma Borgar—vt vm sialfa Róm og Latran—til S: Páls kirkiu.* The name of the Holy City in Old Norse appears with and without *-borg*, with *-ó-* as well as with *-ú-* in the stem syllable, *Róma, Rúma, Rómaborg, Rúmaborg.* The adding of *-borg* to non-Germanic place-names found in Old English (*Rómeburg*, *Rómaburh*, Bosworth-Toller 134, Metzenthin 87) and even more frequently in the Old Saxon *Heliand* (*Rûmu-, Bethlehema-, Hiericho-, Nazareth-, Sidono-, Sodomoburg*, E. H. Sehrt, *Vollständiges Wörterbuch zum Heliand* [Göttingen, 1925], p. 66), is especially popular in Old Norse. Further examples in the *Hauksbók* are *Kartagóborg* (Carthage), *Meinlangsborg* (Milan), *Reinsborg* (Reims), *Turonsborg* (Tours); there is also *Parísborg* besides *París*, *Brimarborg* besides *Brimar* (Bremen), *Jórsalir* besides *Jórsalaborg* (Jerusalem), *Meginzaborg* (Mainz), *Kotzkogaborg* (Gützkow), and many others (cf. *Fornmannasögur* I, 107 f.) Interestingly enough, a distinction is made in our passage between Rome in a wider sense, including its outskirts, i.e., *Rómaborg*, and Rome proper, i.e., *Róm*. The church of St. John Lateran, where the Pope has his throne, is also the first church mentioned by Abbot Nikulás, who later on refers to the Church of St. Paul's, too. Cf. F. P. Magoun in *Harvard Theological Review*, XXXIII (1940), 279 ff.

V

From Scandinavia by way of Lübeck, Brunswick, Würzburg, Augsburg, the Brenner Pass and Verona to Rome, this is the easternmost route of the so-called *eystri leið*, as outlined in the itinerary of *Ms* 281 of the *Hauksbók* and confirmed by Albert of Stade's route in the Firri-Tirri dialogue of his *Annales Stadenses.* It also coincides to a large measure with the more heavily frequented mediaeval routes of commerce, which on the basis of much documentary material were compiled by F. Rauers and presented in the form of a map.[56] In its southern part, between Augsburg and Verona, our route is identical with the ancient road indicated in the *Itineraria Antonini Augusti* (ed. O. Cuntz [Leipzig, 1929], p. 41 and maps), and especially in the so-called *Peutinger Map* (ed. K. Miller [Stuttgart, 1916], pp. 270-8 with maps), following the stations *Augusta Vindelicorum* (Augsburg), *Ad Novas* (near Landsberg), *Abodiaco* (Epfach), *Tarteno* (Partenkirchen), *Scarbia* (Scharnitz-Mittenwald), *Vetonina* (Zirl), *Veldidena* (Wilten near Innsbruck), *Matreio* (Matrey), *Vepitena* (near Sterzing in the Wipp Valley), *Ponte Drusi* (Bozen), *Tredente* (Trient), *Verona.*

The Lübeck-Brenner-Verona route to Rome was by no means the safest or the most popular. As the Abbot of Munkaþverá indicates, the route through western Germany, along the Rhine and across the Great St. Bernard, was the way which most people travelled (*ok er þat flestra manna för*). In fact there are few passages in mediaeval Scandinavian literature which beyond any doubt refer to the use of the Lübeck-Brenner route to Rome.

Let us come back once more to Flosi's homeward journey from Rome during which, according to the *Njáls saga* 158, 13, he followed "the eastern route (*ena eystra leið*) and stayed long in towns and went in before mighty men, and had from them great honor. He was in Norway the winter after . . ." (see above p. 103). This passage has been interpreted by Andreas Heusler in his translation of the saga as meaning that Flosi, who on his *way to Rome* had taken *ena vestra leið*, on his *return from Rome* went across the Brenner pass and northward through central Germany.[57] However, as we have seen, even if Flosi is said to have followed "the eastern route" on his way home, he may have taken one of at least two alternatives, *viz.*, either the route across the Great St. Bernard and down the Rhine and through western Germany (II,1), or the one across the Brenner pass and from there on to Augsburg, Würzburg, Brunswick and Lübeck (II,2), since both of these alternates were referred to as *eystri leið* in Old Norse. Also the fact that, before reaching Iceland, Flosi passed through Norway does not decide in favor of one or the other since both roads end up in the immediate vicinity of Denmark, whether it be near Stade or Lübeck. And even the remark concerning his staying in towns and visiting influential people may refer to travelling through Basel, Strassburg, Mainz, etc., as well as through Augsburg, Würzburg, Brunswick and Lübeck. Of course, if we were to insist on the historicity of the saga and on the date of Flosi's return from Rome as being the year 1015, the Brenner-Lübeck route would, indeed, have been much less probable for Flosi than the other one along the Rhine, since Lübeck was not founded until 1143 and did not attain significance as a port for travellers from and to the North until the beginning of the thirteenth century. On the other hand, if we assume that the passage of the saga concerning the pilgrim routes to and from Rome originated simultaneously with the writing of the saga, that is the second half of the thirteenth century, then the Brenner-Lübeck route no doubt was available and well-known and the question which of the two was chosen by Flosi again remains undecided. F. Jónsson, therefore, in his edition of the *Njáls saga* was right in referring to both Werlauff, that is, Abbot Nikulás' diary, and to the *Hauksbók* itinerary—in other words, to both the St. Bernard and the Brenner routes (II,1 or II,2).[58]

---

[56] In *A. Petermanns Mitteilungen aus Justus Perthes' Geogr. Institut* LII (1906), 49-59 and map.

[57] *Die Geschichte vom weisen Njal*, übertragen von Andr. Heusler (*Thule*, IV; Jena, 1922), p. 380 note 3.

Equally ambiguous is the tradition about Eric called Evergood who was king of Denmark from 1095 to 1103 and who in the fall of 1098 went to Venice, Bari and Rome to have his brother Canute (d. 1086) canonized and also, if possible, to render Denmark independent of the German Church. We know that on his homeward journey Eric stopped near Piacenza and Lucca. These localities suggest that he crossed the Alps by way of the Great St. Bernard and returned to Denmark following the Rhine river and through northwestern Germany (II,1).

However, on his way to Rome he was thought by Suhm and others[59] to have used the more easterly route over the Brenner pass, probably because of his stay in Venice and Bari. Again our historical sources are not definite enough on this point. King Eric may well have taken the same route on his way to and from Rome, digressing to Venice and Bari only after he had reached Vercelli or Milan. In fact there is a tradition (questioned by Suhm) that he visited Cologne on his way south. Moreover, the relatively early date of Eric's journey favors the route through western Germany rather than that leading across the Brenner and through central Germany to Lübeck.

The third time, according to our mediaeval Scandinavian records, that the Brenner route may have been used was the famous pilgrimage of the Norwegian King Sigurd Jórsalafari ("Jerusalem-Farer") to the Holy Land. Sigurd had left Norway in the spring of 1108 and, sailing along the French and Spanish coast through the Straits of Gibraltar, he stopped at Sicily and stayed with Duke Rogers before continuing his journey to Ascalon and Jerusalem. On his return he sailed from Palestine to Cyprus and Constantinople (1111), travelled through Bulgaria, Hungary, Bavaria and Swabia, where he met the Emperor, Henry V.[60] In the summer of 1111 he reached Haddeby, was welcomed by the Danish King Niels and then covered the last leg of his journey back to Norway. Again it is difficult to decide which of the two "eastern routes" Sigurd followed on his way home. If travelling by the easternmost route, he would have crossed Swabia only during the short stretch near Augsburg along the Lech river, whereas he would, indeed, have traversed a good deal of *Sváfa*, "Swabia," if on his way from "Hungary and Pannonia" he had joined the Rhine route, perhaps in the region near Speyer where Henry V stayed in August 1111. On the other hand, it is not impossible that Sigurd, coming from the Balkans, followed the ancient road along the Danube valley and met the Emperor in Passau where the latter is known to have resided in May of the same year. In this case, however, Sigurd would have passed through Swabia only if going from Passau up the Danube river as far as Donauwörth and there joining the Augsburg-Brunswick route to the north, while the more natural connection with that route would have been by way of Nürnberg and Würzburg, that is through the territories of Bavaria and Franconia and by-passing Swabia altogether.

Of little import is the curious reference in one of the late Romantic sagas entitled *Saga of Sálusi og Nikanor*, where in ch. 13 a host of foreign potentates and their armies gather in *Rómaborg*, coming from *Liberdonium* (?) and *Bár*

---

[58] (*ANSB*, XIII; Halle, 1908), p. 420 note. However, F. Jónsson, too, was wrong in limiting the possibilities to "Germany and *Switzerland*."

[59] P. F. Suhm, *Historie af Danmark* V (Copenhagen, 1792), 43-49.

[60] Eptir þetta bjósk Sigurðr konungr til heimferðar. . . Sigurðr konungr fór útan fyrst á Bolgaraland ok þá um Ungararíki, ok um Pannóniam ok um Sváfa ok um Býjara-(Beigara-)land; . . . En er Sigurðr konungr kom í Slésvíg á Danmǫrk, þá veitti Eilífr jarl honum dýrliga veizlu. . . I Heiðabý fann hann Nikolás Dana-konung . . . ok fylgði honum sjalfr norðr á Jótland. . . *Magnús sona saga*, ch. 13, *Heimskringla*, III. 283 ff. Cf. also Suhm, *op. cit.*, V, 162; 166-8; 178-81; 186-90.

(Bari), from *Fenedíen* (Venice), *Pólen* (Poland) and—*Trentudalir*.[61] What political unit the author of the saga had exactly in mind—Tirol—is anybody's guess. At any rate, it seems that he knew something about the route furthest to the east over the Brenner pass and along the Etsch (Adige) river below and above Trient, see under (25).

However, in one of the biographies of Icelandic bishops, the *Guðmundar saga*, there is a rather explicit description of a trip to Rome which more probably than any other passage in Old Norse literature refers to the eastern route outlined in the *Hauksbók* itinerary. As a result of difficulties with the Archbishop of Nidarós, Bishop Guðmund in 1225 sends a priest by the name of Ketill as special messenger to the Pope in Rome. Early in February Ketill leaves Nidarós, proceeds to Oslo on land, from there to Denmark and thence, on foot, all the way through Germany to Rome, where he arrives at the end of March after a journey of about 50 days. Having received the Pope's reply on May 8 Ketill "runs northwards through the lands", so that after 33 days he reaches the coast-town of Rostock and from there returns to Nidarós, arriving on June 23.[62] That is to say Ketill covered the total distance between Nidarós and Rome in 45 days and that between Rostock and Rome *via* Brenner pass, about 1,400 kilometers, in 33 days, averaging 42 kilometers a day. This is exactly the average computed by Fr. Ludwig who speaks of 40-45 kilometers a day.[63] If we assumed that Ketill followed the more westerly of the "eastern routes" along the Rhine and over the Great St. Bernard (II,1), the Bishop's messenger would have covered a total of about 1,900 kilometers or about 58 kilometers a day, an average utterly impossible over a period of 33 days. Moreover, the mention of the city of Rostock[64] as the port from which Ketill sails for Nidarós in Norway is conclusive proof that he took the easternmost and shortest route through Germany on his fast homeward trip and, perhaps, also on his way to Rome.

On the whole, therefore, it is reasonable to assume that when the so-called "eastern route" (*in eystri leið*) is mentioned in mediaeval Scandinavian literature, particularly before 1200, the reference is likely to be to the route through western Germany along the Rhine across the Great St. Bernard and through northwestern Italy to the Holy City, as described by Abbot Nikulás of Munkathverá (on the map: II,1 with its minor deviations). The more easterly alternate through central Germany over the Brenner into northeastern Italy and from there on to Rome, as outlined in the *Hauksbók* itinerary, cannot be proved to have been in use until the beginning of the thirteenth century, the time when the Hanseatic League and especially such cities as Lübeck, Lüneburg, Brunswick, Goslar and others began to dominate the trade and the lines of communication in Northern Germany and a large part of the Scandinavian world.[65]

---

[61] In *Fjórar Riddarasögur*, ed. by H. Erlendsson and E. Þórðarson (Reykjavík, 1852), p. 71: kom og ærinn her af Fenedíen og Pólen og Trentudölum.

[62] . . . ferr hann landveg austr til Oslóar, þaðan með fari til Danmerkr, svá til þýzka (lands) (þýðersku), leggr ei fót fyrr en hann kemr i Romam rétt fyrir cenam domini. . . Leggr land undir fót, ok hleypr svá norðr eptir löndum, at á tuttugta degi ok þrettánda kemr hann í sjátún aptr í Rauðstokk, gengr þar þegar í kugg, er albúinn liggr fyrir bænum, fá þeir hraðbyri til Björgynjar. . . *Biskupa sögur*, gefnar út af hinu Islenzka Bókmentafélagi, II (Copenhagen, 1878), 122-24. Cf. also F. Paasche, *op. cit.*, p. 118.

[63] Fr. Ludwig, *Untersuchungen über die Reise- und Marschgeschwindigkeit im XII. und XIII. Jh.* (Berlin, 1897), p. 80.

[64] Cf. *Fornmannasögur*, XI, 354: *Rauðstokkr, Rauðstorkr, Roðstokkr.*

[65] Cf. the statement by J. W. Thompson, *Feudal Germany* (Chicago, 1928), p. 57: By the beginning of the 13th century the Hinterland of mediaeval Germany was not the valley of the Elbe but the valley of the Oder.

Aristoteles im zwoelften Jahrhundert

MARTIN GRABMANN

DER weitaus grösste Teil meiner Schriften und Abhandlungen über den Aristotelismus des Mittelalters ist den Problemen der Aristotelesübersetzungen, der Aristotelesrezeption, der Aristoteleserklärung und Aristotelesbenützung im 13. Jahrhundert gewidmet. Dem 12. Jahrhundert galten meine auf handschriftlichen Funden beruhenden Untersuchungen über *Logische Inedita* aus der Zeit von Abaelard bis Petrus Hispanus. Wenn ich jetzt eine zusammenfassende Darstellung über Aristoteles im 12. Jahrhundert bringe, so gab den Anlass hierzu eine Einladung zu Vorträgen an der Universität Freiburg in der Schweiz, die durch das Rektorat und theologische Dekanat an mich zu Beginn dieses Jahres (1948) ergangen ist. Unter den Themata, die mir der Herr Dekan P. M. H. Vicaire O. P., Professor der Kirchengeschichte, vorschlug, befand sich auch; "Aristoteles im 12. Jahrhundert." Die zwei Vorträge, die ich darüber im Mai dieses Jahres 1948 in Freiburg gehalten habe, kommen in den Veröffentlichungen des *Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies* in Toronto in erweiterter Form zum Abdruck.

Ich zerlege diese Abhandlung in zwei Teile. Der erste Teil beschäftigt sich mit der Aristoteleskenntnis des 12. Jahrhunderts, mit den in dieser scholastischen Epoche bekannten und entstandenen Aristotelesübersetzungen. Der zweite Teil hat die Aristotelesbenützung in der Frühscholastik zum Gegenstand, wobei die Verwertung der aristotelisch-boëthianischen Logik auf der Grundlage handschriftlicher Forschungen und Funde im Vordergrund steht.

Die Frage, ob und inwieweit auch die im 12. Jahrhundert teils aus dem Arabischen, teils aus dem Griechischen hergestellten Uebersetzungen der naturphilosophischen Schriften, der Metaphysik und Ethik des Aristoteles in der Philosophie und Theologie dieser Zeit Erwähnung und Verwertung gefunden haben, konnte nur ganz kurz gestreift werden. Ich habe hierüber schon in meinem 1916 erschienenen Buch, *Forschungen über die lateinischen Aristotelesübersetzungen des 13. Jahrhunderts,* Mitteilungen gemacht. Ich möchte dies später zum Gegenstand einer eigenen Untersuchung machen, ohne indessen wesentlich neue Ergebnisse zu erwarten. Ich konnte in vorliegender Untersuchung auch nicht der Verwertung der aristotelischen Philosophie in der Rechtswissenschaft und Medizin des 12. Jahrhunderts nachgehen, da mir die hierzu nötigen literarischen Hilfsmittel dermalen nicht zur Verfügung stehen. Bei der Darstellung der Verwertung der aristotelischen Logik habe ich vielfach eigene Forschungen, die ich schon früher veröffentlicht habe, hineingearbeitet. Auf diese Weise habe ich an verschiedenen Orten Verstreutes und jetzt teilweise nicht mehr Zugängliches zu einem Bilde gesammelt und zusammengearbeitet. Bei meinem Aufenthalt in Freiburg in der Schweiz hatte ich auch die Gelegenheit, die neueste einschlägige Literatur, soweit ich sie noch nicht kannte, einzusehen und zu benützen.

I.

DIE ARISTOTELESERKENNTNIS (UEBERSETZUNGEN) IM 12. JAHRHUNDERT

Für die Logik der Scholastik des 12. und 13., wie auch der folgenden Jahrhunderte, bildeten die logischen Schriften des Aristoteles und des Boëthius, die zugleich mit der *Isagoge* des Porphyrius zu einem *corpus* logischer Textbücher verbunden waren, die Grundlage, welche in überaus zahlreichen Kommentaren, in systematischen Gesamtdarstellungen der Logik und in logischen Monographien bearbeitet und weitergebildet wurde. Dieses *corpus logicum* zerfällt in zwei Teile, in die *Logica vetus* und die erst im Verlaufe des 12. Jahrhunderts bekannt gewordene *Logica nova.*

Die *Logica vetus* umfasst die durch Boëthius hergestellten Uebersetzungen der *Isagoge* des Porphyrius, der aristotelischen Schriften *Kategorien* (*Praedicamenta*) und *Perihermeneias*, die Kommentare des Boëthius zur *Isagoge* in der Uebersetzung des Marius Victorinus und in der eigenen Uebersetzung des Boëthius, den Kommentar des Boëthius zu den *Kategorien* in vier Büchern, zwei Kommentare des Boëthius zu *Perihermeneias*, einen mehr elementaren in zwei Büchern und einen streng wissenschaftlichen in fünf Büchern, endlich die logischen Abhandlungen des Boëthius: *Introductio ad syllogismos categoricos, De Syllogismo categorico, De Syllogismo hypothetico, De Divisione, De Differentiis topicis* und einen unvollendeten (bis cap. 76) Kommentar zu Ciceros *Topica.* Die *Logica nova* setzt sich zusammen aus den lateinischen Uebersetzungen der aristotelischen Schriften: *Analytica priora, Analytica posteriora, Topica* und *De Elenchis*, wozu noch ein dem Gilbert de la Porrée zugeschriebener *Liber sex principiorum* kommt.

Es fragt sich, ob die in den mittelalterlichen Handschriften und in den Drucken überlieferten Bestandteile der *Logica vetus* den von Boëthius hergestellten Text überliefern und wiedergeben, oder ob es auch noch andere lateinische Uebersetzungen der *Isagoge*, der *Kategorien* und der Schrift *Perihermeneias* gegeben hat.

Was die Uebersetzungen der *Isagoge* und der Schrift *Perihermeneias* angeht, so ist die Authentizität der boëthianischen Uebersetzung ausser allem Zweifel. Hingegen hat die Inventarisierung, deren Ergebnisse in der Praefatio zum ersten Band des *Aristoteles latinus* zusammengestellt sind, gezeigt, dass ausser dem überlieferten und allgemein gebrauchten Text der *Kategorien* auch noch andere Textrezensionem handschriftlich vorhanden sind.[1] Ein italienischer Forscher, Lorenzo Minio-Paluello, hat hierüber spezielle Unterschungen angestellt.[2] Im *Cod.* Z. L. 497 (*saec.* xi-xii) der Biblioteca nazionale Marciana in Venedig, im *Cod. Lat.* 2788 (*saec.* xi) der Bibliothèque nationale in Paris und teilweise in Interlinearglossen des *Cod. lat.* 1129 (*saec.* xi) der gleichen Bibliothek findet sich eine Textrezension der lateinischen Uebersetzung der *Kategorien*, die von der *versio communis* erheblich abweicht. In mehreren Handschriften (*Cod.* 553, *saec.* xii ex., der Biblioteca Antoniana in Padua, *Cod.* Y. 7 Sup. der Biblioteca Marciana und *Cod.* 658, *saec.* xi, der Biblioteca communale in Assisi) findet sich eine anonyme Uebersetzung, die aus der obengenannten und der *versio communis* kontaminiert ist. Welche von diesen Redaktionen ist nun die eigentliche Uebersetzung des Boëthius? Minio-Paluello kommt auf dem Wege sorgfältiger linguistischer Vergleichung und Beachtung der philosophischen Terminologie des Boëthius zu dem Ergebnis, dass die anonyme Uebersetzung in *Cod. Marcianus* Z. L. 497 die eigentliche boëthianische ist. Der Beweis hierfür liegt darin, dass die umfangreichen Aristoteleslemmata in den Handschriften des Boëthius-Kommentars zu den *Kategorien* mit diesem Codex Marcianus übereinstimmen. Die *versio communis* muss daher als eine Ueberarbeitung der boëthianischen Uebersetzung angesehen werden. In ihr sind drei Bestandteile zu unterscheiden: (a) zwei Drittel der boëthianischen Uebersetzung in einer leicht veränderten Textgestaltung; (b) ein Stück der boëthianischen Uebersetzung in einer viel stärkeren Veränderung; (c) ein Drittel des Textes in einer ganz neuen Uebersetzung aus dem Griechischen. Wie E. Franceschini, dessen Referat ich diese Feststellung verdanke, mitteilt, will Minio-Paluello in einer späteren Untersuchung dartun, dass diese Umformung des boëthianischen Originals in der *versio communis* von einem oder von mehreren Schülern des Johannes Scotus Eriugena hergestellt worden ist. Ausserdem will er darlegen, welche Bedeutung die Auffindung der echten boëthianischen Uebersetzung für die Herstellung des griechischen Textes der *Kategorien* besitzt. Ich weiss nicht, ob diese Untersuchung von Minio-Paluello schon erschienen ist; jedenfalls sehe ich ihr mit Interesse und Zuversicht entgegen, umsomehr als der genannte Forscher seine Kompetenz reichlich bewiesen hat: von ihm stammt, wie bekannt, der Nachweis, dass die neuaufgefundene griechisch-lateinische Uebersetzung der aristotelischen Poëtik dem Wilhelm von Moerbeke zuzuschreiben ist.[3]—Die Praefatio des *Aristoteles latinus* fügt noch die Bemerkung hinzu,[4] dass der künftige Editor der lateinischen Uebersetzung der *Kategorien* mit einer ganz besonderen Sorgfalt verfahren müsse, da unter den unzähligen Codices sich viele befinden, die Textemendationen bieten.

---

[1] *Corpus philosophorum medii aevi. Aristoteles latinus*, codices descripsit Georgius Lacombe in societatem operis asumptis A. Birkenmajer, M. Dulong, Aet. Franceschini, Pars prior (Roma, 1939), Praefatio, S. 44.

[2] Hierüber berichtet E. Franceschini, *Bulletino di filologia classica*, N. 11-12 (1937).

Die aristotelisch-boëthianische Logik hat langsam und allmählich Eingang in der mittelalterlichen Wissenschaft gefunden. A. van de Vyver,[5] ein ausgezeichneter Kenner der handschriftlichen Ueberlieferung dieses Schrifttums in der Vor- und Frühscholastik, stellt folgende Entwicklungsphasen auf:

(a) Die erste Periode (7. und 8. Jahrh.) ist *une période alogique*: hier herrschen die *Etymologiae* des Isidor von Sevilla, der Cassiodor, Marcianus Capella und die pseudo-augustinische Schrift *Categoriae* benutzt.

(b) Auch im 9. und 10. Jahrhundert werden die Enzyklopädien des Isidor, Cassiodor und Martianus Capella weiter benützt. Doch können wir schon bei Alkuin und Scotus Eriugena eine erste Benützung der *Isagoge* des Porphyrius, des *Perihermeneias* und der *Topik* Ciceros, die zusammen mit den Kommentaren des Boëthius in Gebrauch kommen, bemerken. Aufgrund der eben erwähnten Forschungsarbeit von Minio-Paluello können wir noch die Tatsache hinzufügen, dass auch die *Kategorien* in der Schule des Scotus Eriugena benutzt worden sind. Die boëthianischen Uebersetzungen der *Isagoge*, der *Kategorien* und des *Perihermenias*, ebenso wie des Boëthius' Kommentare zu diesem ersten Teil des Organon scheinen erst am Anfang des 10. Jahrhunderts Verbreitung gefunden zu haben. Von den logischen Monographien des Boëthius begegnet uns keine vor dem End des 10. Jahrhunderts, weder in Handschriften, noch in Handschriftenkatalogen.

(c) Im 11. und vornehmlich in der ersten Hälfte des 12. Jahrhunderts waren die Kommentare und die logischen Traktate des Boëthius stärker im Gebrauch. Die Handschriften der *Logica vetus* (*Isagoge, Kategorien, Perihermeneias* verbunden mit den logischen Monographien des Boëthius) werden häufiger. Kommentare und Glossen zu all diesen Schriften werden verfasst, so namentlich von Abälard. Aus dieser Zeit tritt uns die grosse Gestalt des Benediktinermönches Notker Labeo, des hervorragendsten Lehrers der Klosterschule von St. Gallen (1022), entgegen, ein Mann, der als *nostrae memoriae hominum doctissimus* bezeichnet wurde. In der deutschen Literaturgeschichte nimmt Notker dadurch eine hochbedeutsame Stelle ein, dass er ausser zahlreichen Schriften der Antike (Cato, Vergil, Terenz usw.) die Psalmen, das Buch Job, die *Moralia* Gregors des Grossen, die *Consolatio philosophiae* des Boëthius und auch die aristotelischen Schriften *Categoriae* und *Perhermeneias* aus dem Lateinischen ins Althochdeutsche übertrug.[6] In die Uebersetzungen dieser beiden Teile des Organon hat er Erklärungen, die dem Kommentar des Boëthius entnommen sind, eingefügt. Diese Uebersetzungen der logischen Schriften sind eine Mischung von Lateinisch und Deutsch. Notker schrieb auch logische Abhandlungen: *De Partibus logicae* und *De Syllogismis.* Seine *Dialectica* (*Cod.* 820 der Stiftsbibliothek von St. Gallen) gibt den Inhalt der einzelnen Teile des Organon an, auch schon der beiden Analytiken und der Topik: *De primis analeticis* (fols. 56-57), *De secundis analeticis* (fol. 57), *De Topicis* (fols. 58-62). Man braucht jedoch nicht anzunehmen, dass der Gelehrte diese Teile der *Logica nova* auch selber unmittelbar eingesehen hat. A. van de Vyver[7] hat in einer frühen, aus der Benediktinerabtei Fleury stammenden Pariser Handschrift, die unter den von ihm entdeckten Schriften des Abtes Abbon von Fleury (*ca.* 945-1004) auch dessen Kommentare zu den boëthianischen Schriften *De Syllogismo hypothetico* und *De Syllogismo categorico* enthält, die ältesten bisher bekannten Auslegungen dieser Schriften festgestellt. Freilich berichtet Richer von St. Remi, der Schüler des Gerbert von Aurillac, des späteren Papstes Silvester II, dass dieser in den Jahren 972-991 an der Domschule zu Reims nicht bloss die *Isagoge*, die *Kategorien* und *Perhermeneias*, sondern auch sämtliche logische Traktate des Boëthius erklärt habe. Doch ist uns von diesen Kommentaren nichts mehr erhalten.

---

[3] L. Minio-Paluello, 'Guglielmo die Moerbeke, Traduttore della Poetica del Aristotele (1278)', *Rivista di filosofia neo-scolastica*, XXXIX (1947), 1-17.

[4] Aristoteles latinus, *loc. cit.*

[5] 'Les étapes du développement philosophique du haut moyen-âge', *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire*, VIII, 2 (1929), 425-52.

[6] Ueber Notker Labeo, vgl. G. Ehrismann, *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur bis zum Ausgang des Mittelalters*, Erster Teil (zweite Auflage, München, 1932), S. 416-58.

(d) Das wichtigste Ereignis in der Geschichte der aristotelischen Logik im Mittelalter ist das Eintreten des grösseren und wichtigeren Teiles des logischen Schrifttum des Stagiriten: der *Analytica priora*, der *Analytica posteriora*, der Topik und der Elenchik, mit einem Wort der *Logica nova*, in den Gesichtskreis der lateinischen Scholastik.

Die Feststellung der Wege, auf denen diese aristotelischen Schriften in lateinischem Sprachgewande in die Scholastik gekommen sind, in erster Linie also die Identifizierung der Uebersetzer, gehört zu den schwierigsten Problem der mittelalterlichen Philosophiegeschichte. Boëthius[8] hat, wie er selber mitteilt, die Absicht gehabt, den ganzen Aristoteles aus dem Griechischen ins Lateinische zu übersetzen. Er erklärt ausdrücklich, dass er Uebersetzungen der beiden Analytiken und der Topik hergestellt habe. So sind denn auch die in der Scholastik allgemein gebrauchten Uebersetzungen (*versio communis*) der beiden Analytiken, der Topik und der Elenchik in den Boëthiusausgaben, zuletzt bei Migne (PL 64) abgedruckt worden. V. Rose[9] hat darauf aufmerksam gemacht, dass der hier vorliegende Text dieser Schriften von dem Aristotelesübersetzer und Humanisten Johannes Argyropulos und von den Boëthiusherausgebern überarbeitet worden ist und infolgedessen auch die mittelalterliche *translatio communis* nicht richtig wiedergibt. Gegen den boëthianischen Ursprung spricht der Umstand, dass wir vor dem 12. Jahrh. keine Handschriften derselben besitzen. Van de Vyver,[10] der ein Werk *Boèce et l'évolution philosophique du moyen âge* vorbereitet, ist der Anschauung, dass das Mittelalter die lateinischen Uebersetzungen, die Boëthius vor dem zweiten Teil des Organon hergestellt hat, nicht mehr gehabt und auch nicht gekannt hat. Für die uns bekannten Texte dieser Werke kann die boëthianische Autorschaft durch äussere Zeugnisse nicht erhärtet werden. Es bliebe daher nur übrig, aufgrund innerer Kriterien, d.h. durch sorgfältige Textvergleichung, durch Aufzeigung sprachlicher und terminologischer Uebereinstimmungen mit den sicher von Boethius herrührenden Uebersetzungen den Beweis für diese Autorschaft zu unternehmen.

V. Rose hat in seiner Abhandlung *Die Lücke im Diogenes Laërtius und der*

---

[7] 'Les Oeuvres inédites d'Abbon de Fleury', *Revue bénédictine*, XLVII (1935), 125-29.

[8] M. Grabmann, *Die Geschichte der scholastischen Methode* I (Freiburg, 1909), S. 148 ff.; Derselbe, *Die theologische Erkenntnis- und Einleitungslehre des hl. Thomas von Aquin auf Grund seiner Schrift In Boëthium de Trinitate* (Freiburg, Schweiz, 1948), S. 1 ff.; E. K. Rand, *Founders of the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, Mass., 1928), S. 135-80; M. Cappuyns O.S.B., *art.* Boèce, *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastique* IX (1939), 238-80.

[9] 'Die Lücke im Diogenes Laërtius und der alte Uebersetzer', *Hermes* I (1866), 367-97.

[10] 'Voor-scholastische Wijsbegeerte', *Tijdschrift voor Philosophie* I (1929), 440-48, speziell 442.

alte Uebersetzer (*Hermes* V [1866], 367-397) auf eine Stelle in der Chronik des Robert von Mont-Saint Michel (Robertus de Monte) zum Jahre 1128 aufmerksam gemacht, in der ein gewisser Jakob von Venedig als Uebersetzer dieses zweiten Teiles des Organons bezeichnet wird:[11]

> Jacobus clericus de Venetia transtulit de graeco in latinum quosdam libros Aristotelis et commentatus est, scilicet Topica, Analyticos et priores et posteriores, et Elenchos, quamvis antiqua translatio super eosdem libros haberetur.

Ist diese letzte Bemerkung doch ein Hinwies auf eine boëthianische Uebersetzung? J. Schmidlin hat auf Roses wertvollen Aufsatz hingewisen und diese Notiz in seiner Untersuchung der Philosophie Ottos von Freising für den Nachweis verwertet, dass die lateinische Uebersetzung dieser aristotelischen Schrift von Jakob von Venedig stammt.[12] Unter dem Einfluss dieser Darlegungen habe ich mich in meiner *Geschichte der scholastischen Methode*[13] für diese Autorschaft ausgesprochen. Ich wurde in dieser Meinung durch die Tatsache bestärkt, dass Jakob von Venedig sich zugleich mit zwei andern des Griechischen kundigen und als Uebersetzer tätigen Italienern, Moses von Bergamo und Burgundio von Pisa, im Jahre 1136 als Begleiter des Bischofs Anselm von Havelberg in Konstantinopel am Hofe des Kaisers Johannes Kommenos befand, also Beziehungen zum griechischen Orient hatte.

Diese These ist durch eine wichtige Entdeckung des amerikanischen Forschers Ch. H. Haskins[14] stark erschüttert worden. Er stellte im *Cod. Ms.* 17-14 der Kapitelsbibliothek zu Toledo eine dreifache Uebersetzung der *Analytica posteriora* fest, die arabisch-lateinische des Gerhard von Cremona und zwei griechisch-lateinische Versionen. Eine von diesen hat folgenden Prologus:

> Vallatum multis occupationibus me dilectio vestra compulit, ut posteriores analeticos Aristotelis de greco in latinum transferrem. Quod eo affectuosius aggressus sum, quod cognoscebam librum illum multos in se sciencie fructus continere et ut certum erat noticiam eius nostris temporibus latinis non patere. Nam translatio Boecii apud nos integra non invenitur, et id ipsum quod de ea reperitur, vitio corruptionis offuscatur. Translationem vero Jacobi obscuritatis tenebris involvi silentio suo perhibent Francie magistri, qui quamvis illam translationem et commentarios ab eodem Jacobo translatos habeant, tamen noticiam illius libri non audent profiteri. Eapropter si quid utilitatis ex mea translatione sibi noverit latinitas provenire, postulationi vestre debebit imputari. Non enim spe lucri aut inanis glorie ad transferendum accessi, sed ut aliquid conferens latinitati vestre morem gererem voluntati. Ceterum si in aliquo visus fuero rationis tramitem excessisse vestra vel aliorum doctorum ammonitione non erubescam emendare.

In diesem Prologus ist zunächst auf eine unvollendete und fehlerhaft überlieferte Uebersetzung hingewiesen, die unser Uebersetzer dem Boëthius zuweist. Sodann ist von einer Uebersetzung des Jacobus, worunter jedenfalls Jakob von Venedig zu verstehen ist, die Rede; und es wird bemerkt, dass die *magistri Franciae*, d.h. die Professoren der Logik in Paris und in andern französischen Schulen diese Uebersetzung wegen ihrer überaus grossen Dunkelheit und Unverständlichkeit stillschweigend ausser acht lassen. Wenn die *magistri* auch diese Uebersetzung und die von Jakob von Venedig übersetzten Kommentare besitzen, so wagen sie es doch nicht, irgendeine Kenntnis hiervon zu verraten. Was die Kommentare anbelangt, so ist hier von Uebersetzungen von Kommentaren, die Jakob verfasst hat, die Rede, während Robertus de Monte von Kommentaren spricht, die Jakob den von ihm übertragenen aristotelischen Büchern beigegeben hat.

---

[11] MGH, SS VI, 489.

[12] J. Schmidlin, 'Die Philosophie Ottos von Freising', *Philosophisches Jahrbuch*, XVIII (1905), 175.

[13] Band II (Freiburg, 1911), S. 73-75.

[14] *Studies in the History of Mediaeval Science* (Cambridge, Mass., 1924), pp. 223-41.

Aus diesen Bemerkungen in unserm Prologus ergibt sich ohne weiteres, dass die Uebersetzung der *Analytica posteriora* des Jakob von Venedig nicht die *versio communis* ist. Diese steht übrigens auch in der Handschrift von Toledo an zweiter Stelle. Leider sind wir über die *Analytica posteriora* innerhalb des Studienbetriebes des 12. Jahrhunderts nicht ausreichend unterrichtet. Wir besitzen bisher keine Kommentare zu diesem Werk aus dem 12. Jahrhundert. Man ist auch noch nicht den Zitaten aus dieser aristotelischen Schrift in den Kommentaren zu den Büchern der *Logica vetus* aus dieser Zeit nachgegangen. Da aber im 13. Jahrhundert diese *versio communis* allgemein benützt und kommentiert worden ist, dürfen wir mit Recht auch von der vorhergehenden Zeit annehmen, dass die *magistri Franciae* damals dieselbe Uebersetzung verwendet haben.

In dem oben abgedruckten Prologus ist nur von der Uebersetzung der *Analytica posteriora* die Rede. Es fragt sich, ob wir die Bemerkungen des Verfassers auch auf die *Analytica priora*, auf die Topik und die Elenchik ausdehnen und auch hier die *versio communis* dem Jakob von Venedig absprechen dürfen. Da die lateinischen Uebersetzungen dieser Schriften mit der *versio communis* der *Analytica posteriora* in den Handschriften verbunden sind—die Sammlung dieser Schriften bildet ja die *Logica nova*—dürfen wir dies annehmen. Ch. H. Haskins hat denn auch die Konsequenzen aus seiner Entdeckung gezogen und die in der mittelalterlichen Schullogik gebrauchten lateinischen Uebersetzungen der beiden Analytiken, der Topik und Elenchik dem Jakob von Venedig abgesprochen. Er hat sie dem Boëthius wieder zugeteilt.

Was wissen wir nun über die Entstehungszeit und den Autor der mit einem Prologus versehenen Uebersetzung der *Analytica posteriora* in der Handschrift von Toledo?

Bezeichnen wir diese Uebersetzung als *Translatio Toletana*, wie es die Verfasser des *Aristoteles latinus* in ihrer Vorrede vorschlagen. Johannes von Salisbury kennt diese Uebersetzung in seinem *Metalogicus* (*ca.* 1159) und bezeichnet sie als *nova*, sodass wir sie nicht lange vor 1159 ansetzen dürfen. Die erwähnte Stelle des *Metalagicus* lautet:[15]

> Gaudeant, inquit Aristoteles (*Anal. Post.* I, 2; 83a33) species. Monstra, vel secundum novam translationem cicadationes enim sunt.

Es handelt sich um die lateinische Uebersetzung des Wortes *τετερίσματα.* Die Uebersetzung *monstra* findet sich in der *versio communis*, während sich die Uebersetzung *cicadationes*, wie B. Geyer bemerkt hat, in der *Translatio Toletana* nachweisen lässt. V. Rose vermutet in dieser *Translatio nova* eine Leistung des Henricus Aristippus von Catania (*gest.* 1162), der den Phädon und Menon Platos, das IV Buch der *Meteorologica* und nach einer neuentdeckten Notiz auch *De Generatione et corruptione* übersetzt hat. V. Rose beruft sich auf Stellen im *Metalogicus* des Joh. von Salisbury, wo dieser von einem *Graecus interpres* redet, den er in Apulien persönlich kennengelernt habe, und den er als *natione Severitanus* bezeichnet. Henricus Aristippus stammt aus Severia in Calabrien. Ich habe in meiner *Geschichte der scholastischen Methode* dieser Ansicht V. Roses Wahrscheinlichkeit zugesprochen. Hier müsste wieder die Stilvergleichung zwischen der *Translatio Toletana* und den Aristotelesübersetzungen des Henricus Aristippus, die sich vor der kritischen Edition dieser Texte nicht gut durchführen lässt, als wichtige Instanz angerufen werden. Bliemetzrieder[16] hat ohne überzeugende Gründe die *Translatio Toletana* dem Burgundio von Pisa (*gest.* 1193), dem Uebersetzer medizinischer Schriften des Galenus und Hippokrates, des *De Fide orthodoxa* des hl. Johannes von Damaskus und anderer patristischer Schriften, zugeteilt.

---

[15] *Metalogicon* II, xx, ed. Clemens C. I. Webb (Oxford, 1929), p. 111.

[16] Fr. Bliemetzrieder, 'Noch einmal die alte lateinische Uebersetzung der *Analytica posteriora* des Aristoteles', *Philosophisches Jahrbuch* XXXVIII (1925), 230 ff.

B. Geyer[17] hält trotz der Entdeckung von Ch. H. Haskins daran fest, dass Jakob von Venedig die in der mittelalterlichen Schullogik benützten lateinischen Uebersetzungen der *Logica nova* angefertigt hat. Sehr zurückhaltend drückt sich A. Pelzer, der die Abschnitte über die Aristotelesübersetzungen in den beiden ersten Bänden der *Histoire de la philosophie médiévale* von M. De Wulf bearbeitet hat, über die Uebersetzertätigkeit des Jakob von Venedig aus:

> Suivant une note ajoutée à la chronique de Robert de Torigny pour l'année 1128, déjà alors Jacques de Venise aurait traduit du grec et commenté les Topiques, les deux Analytiques et les Réfutations sophistiques "bien qu'il existât une version plus ancienne de ces mêmes livres."[18]

E. Franceschini, der in seiner Schrift *Aristotele nel medio evo*[19] den gegenwärtigen Stand der Erforschung der mittelalterlichen Aristotelesübersetzungen meisterhaft darstellt, hat die Schwierigkeiten auch bezüglich der Uebertragungen der *Logica nova* stark unterstrichen. Sein Urteil hat ein besonderes Gewicht, da er in hervorragender Weise an der Inventarisierung der Handschriften der mittelalterlichen lateinischen Aristotelesübersetzungen für das *Corpus philosophorum medii aevi* beteiligt ist. Er äussert seine Bedenken gegen die Zuteilung dieser Logikübersetzungen sowohl an Boëthius wie auch an Jakob von Venedig. Gegen die Zuteilung an Boëthius macht er geltend, dass sich erst im 12. Jahrh. Handschriften der Uebersetzungen der beiden Analytiken, der Topik und der Elenchik nachweisen lassen. Es ist keine einzige Handschrift der *Logica nova* vor dem Jahre 1150 gefunden worden. Die älteste Handschrift ist ein Oxforder Codex, Trinity College 47, der ein Stück der Topik enthält, der aber auch nicht ausdrücklich datiert ist, sondern nur paläographisch um 1150 angesetzt werden kann. In dieser Handschrift findet sich die Rubrik (fol. 19^r): *Incipit Aristotelis Topica a Boecio de greco in latinum translata.* Allein diese Bemerkung ist zu spät, als dass ihr eine entscheidende Bedeutung beigemessen werden könnte. Gegen die Zuteilung an Jakob von Venedig spricht vor allem die soeben erwähnte Bemerkung im Prologus der *Translatio Toletana* auch fehlt in der handschriftlichen Ueberlieferung jede Spur von Kommentaren, mit denen nach der Notiz in der Chronik des Robert von Torigny Jakob von Venedig seine Uebersetzungen begleitet hat. Weiterhin bringt E. Franceschini gegen die Zuteilung an Jakob von Venedig vor, dass Burgundio von Pisa in seinem von Haskins mitgeteilten Bericht über griechisch-lateinische Uebersetzungen aus dem Jahre 1173 nicht bloss den Jacobus de Venetia nicht erwähnt, sondern ausdrücklich dem Boëthius eine Uebersetzung der Topik und Elenchik zuweist:

> Sed et Boecius philosophus clarissimus Porphirium et Aristotelem in Categoriis et Periarmeniis, in Topicis et Elenchis et Nichomachum arismeticis transferens de verbo in verbum ex greca latine reddidit lingue (*Cod. Vat. Ottob. lat.* 227, fol. 2^r.)

Die unverständliche Bezeichnung *Nicomachum arismeticis* wird richtig mit *ad Nicomachum in ethicis* zu lesen sein.

In einer etwas späteren Abhandlung über den Anteil Italiens and der Vermittlung griechischen Gedankengutes an das Abendland im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert und über das Problem des Jakob von Venedig kommt E. Franceschini[20] zu dem Ergebnis, dass die *versio communis* der *Logica nova* nicht dem Jakob von Venedig zugeteilt werden kann. E. Franceschini stüzt sich hier auf neues Material, auf einen von dem italienischen Historiker A. Gaudenzi edierten Brief des Jacobus de Venetia an Moses von Bergamo, der mit den Worten beginnt: *Moysi Ravennati Dei gratia archiepiscopo Jacobus Veneticus graecus philosophus.* Dieser Brief, der von Jakob angefertigte Uebersetzungen von Canones enthält, lässt die Eigenart der Latinität diese Uebersetzers deutlich erkennen. Wenn man ihn stilistisch mit der *versio communis* der *Logica nova* vergleicht, muss man, wie Franceschini hervorhebt, die Autorschaft des Jacobus de Venetia an dieser *versio communis* negieren. Muss man also jetzt mit Haskins doch dem Boëthius diese Uebertragungen zuteilen? Auch daran ist nach Franceschini nicht zu denken. Es bestehen dagegen zu grosse und zu viele Schwierigkeiten. Das Stillschweigen von sechs Jahrhunderten und vor allem die sprachlichen und terminologischen Verschiedenheiten zwischen den sicher echten boëthianischen Uebersetzungen und dem Text der *versio communis*, deren Latinität nicht die des Boëthius ist, sprechen entschieden gegen diese Annahme. Erst wenn die kritische Ausgabe der lateinischen Uebersetzungen des Organon im Rahmen des *Corpus philosophorum medii aevi* erschienen ist, oder wenn etwa die eine oder andere handschriftliche Entdeckung uns zu Hilfe käme, liesse sich dieses Problem des Uebersetzers der *Logica nova* wieder in Angriff nehmen. Franceschini bewertet dieses Problem als *una fra le più ardue questioni della filosofia medievale.* Auch in seiner Abhandlung: *Aristotele nel medio evo* ist Franceschini der Auffassung, dass in dieser Frage einzig und allein die Philologen das letzte Wort haben. Wenn einmal die kritische Ausgabe der lateinischen *Logica vetus* und *Logica nova* vorliegt, wird es möglich sein, jene charakteristischen Verschiedenheiten in Stil, Sprache und Terminologie zusammenzustellen, die zwischen lateinischen Uebersetzungen, welche von verschiedenen Uebersetzern und zu ganz verschiedenen Zeitpunkten (*Logica vetus* 6. Jahrh.; *Logica nova* 12. Jahrh.) hergestellt worden sind, bestehen müssen. Auch M. Cappuyns, der übrigens noch in Jakob von Venedig den Uebersetzer der beiden Analytiken, der Topik und der Elenchik sieht, ist der gleichen Ansicht.[21] Bei diesen philologischen Untersuchungen wird man natürlich der Tatsache genaue Aufmerksamkeit schenken müssen, dass die mittelalterlichen Uebersetzer sich im allgemeinen bemühen, möglichst *de verbo in verbum* zu übertragen.

---

[17] Ueberweg-Geyer, *Die patristische und scholastische Philosophie* (Berlin, 1928), S. 146; B. Geyer, 'Die alten lateinischen Uebersetzungen der aristotelischen Analytik, Topik und Elenchik', *Philosophisches Jahrbuch* XXX (1917), 37-40.

[18] M. de Wulf, *Histoire de la philosophie médiévale* I (Louvain, 1934), p. 64.

[19] *Aristotele nel medio evo latino* (Padova, 1935), 5 ff.

Stellen wir nunmehr vornehmlich im Anschluss an die Praefatio des *Aristoteles latinus* kurz zusammen, was sich mit Sicherheit über die Uebersetzung und Rezeption der einzelnen Bestandteile der *Logica nova* bestimmen lässt.

Von den *Anlalytica priora* ist nur die *versio communis* erhalten. B. Geyer[22] macht darauf aufmerksam, dass Peter Abälard Zitate aus den *Analytica priora* bringt, die er nicht aus Boëthius entnommen hat. Aus dem Wortlaut dieser Zitate ist zu erkennen, dass Abälard eine von der *versio communis* verschiedene und dem Sprachgebrauch des Boëthius nahestehende Uebersetzung vor sich hatte. Geyer bringt auch ein Zitat des Abälard, wonach dieser auch von der aristotelischen Elenchik Einsicht genommen hat. Diese Zitate sind ungefähr auf

---

[20] *Il Contributo dell'Italia alla trasmissione del pensiero greco in occidente nei secoli XII-XIII e la questione di Giacomo Chiericio di Venezia* (Venezia, 1937), pp. 17-24.

[21] Le rôle exact de Boèce dans la transmission des oeuvres d'Aristote est difficile à dégager présentement, même dans le matériel manuscrit qui se réclame de son nom. Le triage décisif entre l'authentique et l'inauthentique est aujourd'hui impossible. Pour arriver à un résultat certain dans ce domaine, il faut attendre d'une part, que le *Corpus philosophorum medii aevi* publie l'ensemble des textes aristotéliciens pouvant entrer en ligne de compte; d'autre part, qu'outre les critères externes habituels, insuffisants en l'occurrence, une méthode philologique minutieuse et comparative en établisse rigoureusement la provenance. M. Cappuyns, *op. cit.*, p. 367.

[22] Ueberweg-Geyer, *op. cit.*, S. 146.

1125 zu datieren. Die Uebersetzung der *Analytica priora*, welche Abälard benützt hat, ist noch nicht aufgefunden worden.

Von den *Analytica posteriora* waren im zwöften Jahrhundert drei Uebersetzungen bekannt, die in dem schon erwähnten *Cod.* 17-14 der Kapitelsbibliothek von Toledo nebeneinander stehen: die *versio communis*, die sogenannte *Translatio Toletana* mit dem oben zitierten Prolog, und die arabisch-lateinische Uebersetzung des Gerhard von Cremona. In derselben Handschrift begegnet uns auch eine arabisch-lateinische Uebersetzung des Kommentars des Themistius zu den *Analytica posteriora*, die gleichfalls von Gerhard von Cremona herrührt. Ungeklärt ist die Frage nach einer Uebersetzung der *Analytica posteriora*, die Albert der Grosse einem Johannes zuweist und die er der *translatio communis* vorzieht. Franceschini[23] weist auf einen *Johannes Peripateticus* hin, der in der Robert Grosseteste zugeschriebenen, von L. Baur edierten *Summa philosophiae* erwähnt wird. Ich habe in den aus der ersten Hälfte des 13. Jahrhunderts stammenden *Flores librorum philosophiae naturalis et moralis*, die im *Cod.* 367 der Universitätsbibliothek von Erlangen überliefert sind, einen Logiker *Johannes sophista* erwähnt gefunden.[24]

Von der Topik besitzen wir nur die *versio communis*. Doch haben E. Franceschini und M. Dulong in Randbemerkungen (Varianten) verschiedener Handschriften, darunter *Clm.* 16123, Texte, die scheinbar einer älteren Uebersetzung angehören, festgestellt.

Von der Elenchik besitzen wir gleichfalls nur die *versio communis*. Auch hier hat E. Franceschini im *Cod.* 658 der Biblioteca communale zu Assisi Lesarten einer anderen Uebersetzung entdeckt. Ich habe in einem anonymen, wohl noch dem 12. Jahrh. angehörenden Kommentar zur Elenchik (*Ms. lat.*, fol. 624 der ehemaligen Preussischen Staatsbibliothek, jetzt Oeffentlichen Wissenschaftlichen Bibliothek Berlins) Hinweise auf eine *alia translatio* vorgefunden.

Mit den lateinischen Uebersetzungen der aristotelischen *Logik* ist in der handschriftlichen Ueberlieferung der *Liber sex principiorum* verbunden, der gewöhnlich Gilbert de la Porrée zugeschrieben wird. Sie galt als Bestandteil der *Logica vetus*. P. Aubain Heysse, der eine kritische Ausgabe dieses Schriftchens veranstaltet hat,[25] bemerkt in der kurzen Einleitung, dass über die Autorschaft noch keine volle Klarheit herrsche. In den Handschriften wird sie teils Aristoteles, teils Gilbert de la Porrée zugeeignet, teils anonym gelassen. So viel man bisher weiss, wird sie zuerst von Albertus Magnus dem Gilbert zugeteilt. Zweifelhaft ist, ob das achte Buch noch zum ursprünglichen Text gehört, da das siebente Buch mit den Worten schliesst: *Hec quidem de principiis dicta sufficiant, reliqua autem in eo volumine, quod de analiticis est, querantur.* Es hört auch in manchen Handschriften dieses Werk mit dem siebenten Buch auf. Im achten Buch wird auch die aristotelische Schrift *De generatione et corruptione* mehrmals zitiert, deren alte griechisch-lateinische Uebertragung wohl dem Gilbert de la Porrée noch nicht zur Verfügung gestanden hat. P. J. de Ghellinck[26] bemerkt, dass diese Schrift gewöhnlich Gilbert zugeeignet wird, obschon erst Albertus Magnus diese Autorschaft bezeugt. Der *Liber sex principiorum*, der die sechs letzten, in den aristotelischen Kategorien kürzer behandelten Prädikamente ausführlich erörtert, nahm im Unterrichtsbetrieb der Pariser Artistenfakultät eine bevorzugte Stellung ein. Durch die Statuten der Natio Anglica von 1252 und der ganzen Artistenfakultät von 1255 wird dieses Werk unter den Textbüchern aufgeführt, über welche pflichtgemäss Vorlesungen gehalten werden müssen. Es findet sich diese Schrift auch sehr häufig in den Codices, welche das aristotelische Organon enthalten. Wir besitzen auch aus der Scholastik zahlreiche Kommentare zu diesem Opusculum, darunter die von Albertus Magnus. Der bisher bekannte älteste Kommentar, dessen Verfasser genannt ist, dürfte derjenige des Professors an der Pariser Artistenfakultät Nikolaus von Paris sein, von dem ich zwei Handschriften (*Cod.* Vat. *lat.* 3011 und *Cod.* 313 der Universitätsbibliothek Innsbruck, fols. 130^r-145^r) festgestellt habe. Beachtenswert ist in der letzten Handschrift (fol. 130^r) die Bemerkung über den Autor:

---

[23] *Aristotele nel medio evo latino*, p. 8, n. 11.

[24] 'Methode und Hilfsmittel des Aristotelesstudiums im Mittelalter', *Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1939, Philos. hist. Klasse V 162.

[25] *Liber de sex principiis Gilberto Porretano ascriptus* ad fidem manuscriptorum ed. Albanus Heysse O.F.M. (Opuscula et textus, Series scolastica, Monasterii, 1929).

[26] *L'Essor de la littérature latine au XIIe siècle* I (Louvain, 1946), p. 69.

> Causa efficiens [huius libri] dubitatur. Quidam enim dicunt quod Aristoteles fecerit eum. Sed in hoc non consentiunt famosiores eo quod non sit stilus eius. Alii dicunt quod Alanus. Alii dicunt quod de novo sit factus a quodam bachallario Parysiensi.

Auffallend ist hier, dass Gilbertus Porretanus überhaupt nicht erwähnt ist; ebenso, dass die Autorschaft des Aristoteles aus stilkritischen Gründen abgelehnt wird. An eine Autorschaft des Alanus de Insulis, die auch sonst nicht bezeugt ist, wird auch nicht gut zu denken sein. Was schliesslich die von Nikolaus von Paris zuletzt angeführte Ansicht betrifft, dass der *Liber sex principiorum* erst vor kurzem, also erst im 13. Jahrhundert von einem Pariser Baccalaureus, der leider nicht genannt wird, verfasst sei, so wird man derselben nicht gut beipflichten können, da man diese Schrift doch in das 12. Jahrhundert verlegen muss.

Die Aristotelesübersetzungen des 12. Jahrhunderts umfassen nicht nur die logischen Schriften, sondern dehnen sich auch in weitem Umfang auf die *Libri naturales,* zu denen vielfach die Metaphysik gerechnet wurde, und die Ethik aus. Während Aimable Jourdain[27] in seinem bis noch in unser Jahrhundert hinein massgebenden Werk über Alter und Ursprung der lateinischen Uebersetzungen aus dem 12. Jahrhundert mit Ausnahme der *Parva naturalia* und des 4. Buches der *Meteorologica* nur arabisch-lateinische Uebersetzungen kannte und von Uebersetzungen der Metaphysik und Ethik in der Frühscholastik noch nichts wusste, habe ich in meinem Buch über *Die lateinischen Aristotelesübersetzungen des 13. Jahrhunderts* unter Benützung der Forschungen und Editionen Clemens Bäumkers grieschisch-lateinische Uebersetzungen der *Libri naturales* in erheblichem Ausmasse und auch eine Teilübersetzung der Metaphysik, die mit dem 12. Jahrhundert zusammenhängt, auf Grund der handschriftlichen Ueberlieferung nachweisen können. Seither ist unsere Kenntnis um die Uebersetzugen des sogenannten "neuen Aristoteles" in der Frühscholastik durch die Forschungen und Entdeckungen von Ch. H. Haskins und vor allem durch die von dem allzu früh verstorbenen amerikanischen Forscher G. Lacombe in Verbindung mit A. Birkenmajer, M. Dulong und E. Franceschini vorgenommene Inventarisierung der Handschriften der mittelalterlichen lateinischen Aristotelesübersetzungen erweitert und vertieft worden. Ich schliesse mich auch hier den Feststellungen der Praefatio zum *Aristoteles latinus,* vol. I, an und bringe zuerst die griechisch-lateinischen und dann die arabisch-lateinischen Uebersetzungen.

Von der Physik hat im Jahre 1912 Ch. H. Haskins ein Fragment einer griechisch-lateinischen Uebersetzung, das sich bis Kap. 2 des zweiten Buches erstreckt, im *Cod.* Vat. *Regin.* 1855, fols. 88^r-94^v, entdeckt und ins 12. Jahrhundert verlegt. Später hat er diese Datierung zurückgenommen und dieses Stück des angeführten Miszellankodex in die ersten Jahre des 13. Jahrhunderts angesetzt. Die Herausgeber des *Aristoteles latinus* hielten diese neue Datierung nicht für begründet und unterbreiteten den Fall einer paläographischen Autorität ersten

---

[27] *Recherches critiques sur l'âge et l'origine des traductions latines d'Aristote et des commentaires grecs ou arabes employés par les docteurs scolastiques* (Paris 1819; zweite Aufl. Paris, 1843). Deutsche Uebersetzung von A. Stahr (Halle, 1831).

Ranges, E. A. Lowe, der sich für ungefähr 1150 entschieden hat. Dieses *Physicae Fragmentum Vaticanum* (auch *Translatio Vaticana* genannt) ist von A. Mansion,[28] der die Edition der Physikübersetzungen für das *Corpus philosophorum medii aevi* übernommen hat, einer eingehenden, vor allem philologischen Untersuchung unterzogen worden. Dieser derzeit wohl beste Kenner der aristotelischen Physik hat die Bedeutung dieser ältesten Physikübersetzung für die Konstitution und Geschichte des griechischen Textes nachgewiesen und auch die Methode und Technik der lateinischen Uebersetzung darglegt, die nach dem Vorbild des Boëthius genau Wort für Wort den griechischen Urtext wiederzugeben sich bemüht. Wir haben hier die erste philologische Untersuchung einer Aristotelesübersetzung des 12. Jahrhunderts vor uns. Die Vatikanische Handschrift ist eine sehr sorgfältige Kopie. Der Kopist hat am Rande Korrekturen angebracht, für welche er eine andere griechische Handschrift verwertet als diejenige, welche der Uebersetzung zugrundelag.

Von dieser Translatio Vaticana ist eine andere griechisch-lateinische Uebersetzung abhängig, die in der Praefatio des *Aristoteles latinus* als *Physica veteris translationis* bezeichnet wird. Ueber Zeit und Autor derselben lässt sich nichts Sicheres sagen. Man kann vermuten, dass es sich hier um jene *Physica* handelt, welche nach den Forschungen Birkenmajers[29] um das Jahr 1170 von den Professoren der Medizin in Salerno, Ursus von Lodi und Maurus, zitiert wird. Wie die Praefatio mitteilt, ist A. Mansion der Ansicht, dass die *Physica veteris translationis* auch ihrerseits von einer älteren Uebersetzung, die er *Abrincensis* nennt und die im *Cod. Abrincensis* (Avranches) 232 erhalten ist. Doch scheint es sich nach den Forschungen Birkenmajers hier nicht um einen neuen selbständigen Typ einer griechisch-lateinischen Uebersetzung zu handeln, sondern nur um Textverschiedenheiten, für welche die Schreiber und Korrektoren der Handschrift verantwortlich sind. Die *Physica veteris translationis* wurde von Wilhelm von Moerbeke in der Zeit zwischen 1260 und 1270 überarbeitet. Diese *Physica novae translationis* bildete die Textunterlage für den Physikkommentar des hl. Thomas von Aquin.

Von *De Caelo et mundo* besitzen wir keine griechisch-lateinische Uebersetzung aus dem 12. Jahrhundert. Von *De Generatione et corruptione* wurde, wie ich in meinem Buche über *Die lateinischen Aristotelesübersetzungen* dargetan habe,[30] eine griechisch- lateinische Uebersetzung im 12. Jahrhundert angefertigt. Bei der Inventarisierung der Handschriften mittelalterlicher lateinischer Aristotelesübersetzungen wurde auch der Uebersetzer festgestellt. In einem nicht signierten Codex der Henry Walter Library in Baltimore ist eine griechisch-lateinische Uebersetzung des *De generatione et corruptione* ausdrücklich dem Henricus Aristippus zugeteilt:

> Liber Aristotelis translatus ab Henrico Aristippo de greco in latinum, correctus et per capitula distinctus a magistro Alvredo de Sarashel secundum commentum Alkindi super eundem librum.

Diese Uebersetzung steht in der dem 12. Jahrhundert angehörigen Handschrift von fols. 82^r-102^v. Eine zweite Handschrift dieser Uebersetzung, die man als *Translatio Henrici Aristippi* bezeichnen kann, ist im *Cod. Selden,* sup. 24, fols. 41^r-63^v, der Bodleiana in Oxford enthalten. Wie die Praefatio zum *Aristoteles latinus* mitteilt, haben der Vorstand der Bodleiana, H. E. Craster und G. Lacombe die Handschrift der Henry Walter Library dem 12. Jahrhundert zugeteilt, wie dies schon 1924 A. Birkenmajer getan hatte. Diese Uebersetzung war im 12.

---

[28] 'La *Translatio Vaticana* de la Physique d'Aristote,' *Miscellanea Giovanni Mercati IV* (Città del Vaticano, 1946), 27-47.

[29] *Le Rôle joué par les médecins dans la réception d'Aristote au XIIe et XIIIe siècles* (Varsovie, 1930), p. 4.

[30] S. 174-177.

Jahrhundert sehr bekannt, sie wird, wie Birkenmajer bemerkt, ohne den Namen des Uebersetzers von Daniel von Morley und von dem Mediziner Maurus in Salerno um 1175 erwähnt. Sehr beachtenswert ist in der Handschrift von Baltimore der Hinweis auf Alvred von Sareshel, der den Text korrigiert und in Kapitel eingeteilt und den Kommentar des Alkindi zu dieser aristotelischen Schrift benützt hat. G. Lacombe hat eine nähere geschichtliche Erläuterung dieser Rubrik gegben.[31] Es ist sehr beachtenswert, dass Alfredus Anglicus, der zu Beginn des 13. Jahrhundert auch einen Kommentar zu *De generatione et corruptione* schrieb und wohl der früheste scholastische Kommentator von naturphilosophischen Schriften des Stagiriten gewesen ist, hier in Verbindung mit Henricus Aristippus gebracht wird, der auch als erster in der Scholastik naturphilosophische Schriften des Aristoteles aus dem Griechischen ins Lateinische übertragen hat. Was Henricus Aristippus betrifft, so ist er in letzter Zeit mehr Gegenstand der Forschung gewesen.[32] Eine vorzügliche Zusammenfassung seiner Uebersetzertätigkeit gibt J. de Ghellinck.[33] [34]

Von den *Meteorologica* besitzen wir aus dem 12. Jahrhundert eine Uebersetzung, die teils arabisch-lateinisch, teils griechisch-lateinisch ist. Diese bietet die drei ersten Bücher in der arabisch-lateinischen Uebersetzung des Gerhard von Cremona und das vierte Buch in der griechisch-lateinischen Uebertragung des Henricus Aristippus. In den Handschriften ist noch beigefügt die von Alvredus von Sareshel gefertigte Uebersetzung der Schrift Avicennas *De Congelatione et conglutinatione lapidum*. Der Charakter dieser alten Uebersetzung ist am deutlichsten in einem Kolophon des *Cod. Cent.* V 59 der Stadtbibliothek in Nürnberg, fol. 214r, ausgesprochen:

---

[31] 'Alfredus Anglicus in Metheora', *Aus der Geisteswelt des Mittelalters; Festschrift M. Grabmann* (Münster, 1935), 463-471.

[32] Ch. H. Haskins, *Studies in the History of Mediaeval Science, pp.* 155-193; Ders. *The Sicilian Translators of the Twelfth century.* Mlle Labowsky im Vorwort zum ersten Band des *Plato latinus: Corpus platonicum medii aevi, Meno, interprete Henrico Aristippo*, ed. V. Kordeuter (London, 1940), pp. IX-XII; M. Z. Mandalari, 'Aristippo, arcidiacono di Catania, nella vita culturale e politica del secolo xii,' *Bollet. storico catan.*, IV (1939), 87-123; L. Metelli, 'Sulle due redazioni del Fedone latino di Aristippo', *Atti del R. Istituto Veneto*, XCVII, 2 (1937), 113/4; J. de Ghellinck S. J., *L'Essor de la littérature latine au XII*^{e} *siècle* I, pp. 18, 24, 34-35.

[33] *Loc. cit.* Henricus Aristippus, seinem Namen nach griechischer Herkunft, gebürtig aus San Severino in Calabria, seit 1156 Archidiakon von Catania (*gest.* 1162) hat auch eine Zeitlang eine politische Rolle am Hofe des Normannenkönigs Wilhelms I, "des Bösen" (1120-1166) gespielt und war in dessen Auftrag als Gesandter am Hofe des Kaisers Komnenos in Byzanz; vgl. G. B. Siragusa, 'Il regno di Guglielmo,' *Sicilia illustrate, con nuovi documenti* (Palermo, 1929), 178 ff., 298-304. Ausser den im Text erwähnten aristotelischen Uebersetzungen, wozu noch, wie wir sehen werden, das IV Buch der *Meteorologica* zu rechnen ist, hat er auch die platonischen Dialoge *Menon* und *Phaedon*, die *Mechanik* des Heron von Syrakus, die *Optik* und *Katoptik* des Euklid und den *Almagest* des Ptolemaeus übertragen. Seinen Plan, die Schriften des hl. Gregor von Nazianz und die des Diogenes Laërtius zu übersetzen, scheint er nicht zu Ende geführt zu haben. In den Einleitungen seiner Versionen, z. B. in der Einleitung zur Phaedonübersetzung macht er wertvolle Mitteilungen über die den sizilianischen Gelehrten zugänglichen Quellen und über das wissenschaftliche Leben am Hofe in Palermo.

[34] *An diesem Punkt hat Msgr. Grabmann seinem Manuskript eine Seite eingefügt, auf der er über die neueste Kritik an der oben im Text vorgenommenen Identifizierung des Uebersetzers der Schrift De Gen. et corr. berichtet. Msgr. Grabmann schreibt:*

"Gegen [diese Identifizierung] wendet sich L. Minio-Paluello, 'Henri Aristippe, Guillaume de Moerbeke et les traductions latines médiévales des Météorologiques et du *De Generatione et corruptione d'Aristote,' Rev. philos. de Louvain* (1947), 206-235. Der Verfasser lehnt dieselbe unter Berufung auf innere Kriterien, auf die durchgreifende Verschiedenheit zwischen dieser Uebersetzung und den sicher von Henricus herrührenden Uebersetzungen ab, ohne einen andern Namen vorzuschlagen. Die charakteristische Eigenart der Uebersetzungen des Henricus besteht darin, dass er die lateinischen Termini in der Uebersetzung eines und desselben griechischen Wortes häufig zu wechseln liebt. Hingegen weist die alte Uebersetzung des *De Gen. et corr.* eine grosse Uniformität in der lateinischen Wiedergabe identischer griechischer Wörter auf. Minio-Paluello zieht aus dieser Tatsache den Schluss, dass Henricus nicht der Verfasser der ihm zugeteilten Uebersetzung sein kann." *Msgr. Grabmann nimmt zu dieser Ansicht, die an mehreren Stellen seinem Text widerspricht, nicht Stellung. Wir haben uns daher für berechtigt gehalten, diese (nachträglich eingeschobene) Seite aus dem Text herauszunehmen und sie in Form einer Anmerkung wiederzugeben.*

> Completus est liber metheorum, cuius tres primos libros transtulit Gerhardus Lumbardus summus philosophus de arabico in latinum, quartum autem transtulit Henricus Aristippus de greco in latinum, tria ultima capitula transtulit Aluredus Anglicus Sehrelensis de arabico in latinum.

Auch von *De Anima* besitzen wir eine ältere griechisch-lateinische Uebersetzung, die meines Wissens zuerst Clemens Bäumker[35] durch Vergleichung der Zitate aus dieser aristotelischen Schrift in dem Werke *De Motu Cordis* des Alvred von Sareshel mit einer lateinischen Uebersetzung im *Cod. Cent.* V, 59 der Stadtbibliothek in Nürnberg festgestellt hat. Ueber den Autor und das Datum dieser Uebersetzung lässt sich nichts Sicheres sagen. Der älteste Codex, in welchem sich diese Uebersetzung nachweisen lässt, ist *Cod.* XI, 649 der Stiftsbibliothek von Sankt Florian, der um 1175 geschrieben ist. Bäumker hat gleichfalls auf dem Wege der Handschriftenvergleichung gezeigt, dass Wilhelm von Moerbeke diese ältere griechisch-lateinische Uebersetzung überarbeitet hat.

In einer Reihe von Handschriften ist die Schrift *De Memoria et reminiscentia* mit der älteren Uebersetzung von *De Anima* so eng verbunden, dass sie durch keine eigene *rubrica*, durch keine Initiale ausgeschieden ist und so als Teil von *De Anima* erscheint. Das dürfte auf eine gleichzeitige Entstehung dieser Uebersetzung hinweisen. Desgleichen existieren auch griechisch-lateinische Uebersetzungen der *Parva naturalia* (*De Sensu et sensato, De Memoria et reminiscentia, De Somno et vigilia, De Longitudine et brevitate vitae, De Juventute et senectute, De Expiratione et respiratione, De Morte et vita*), die mit Ausnahme der beiden ersten auch in der Schrift *De Motu cordis* zitiert sind. Auch diese älteren Uebersetzungen sind von Wilhelm von Moerbeke überarbeitet worden. Eine vorzügliche, auf den besten Handschriften beruhende Edition der griechisch-lateinischen Uebersetzung des *De Somno et vigilia* aus dem 12. Jahrhundert in Verbindung mit der Uebersetzung des Wilhelm von Moerbeke hat H. J. Dressaart Lulefs[36] veranstaltet. In der Einleitung (pp. XI-XIX) ist wertvollstes Material über die mittellateinischen Uebersetzungen, besonders des Wilhelm von Moerbeke dargeboten. Auch die Edition des griechischen Textes ist überaus sorgfältig. Der Uebersetzung ist ein griechisches Wortverzeichnis beigegeben, das auch das entsprechende lateinische Wort der beiden Uebersetzungen enthält.

Auch die Metaphysikübersetzungen reichen in das 12. Jahrhundert zurück. A. Birkenmajer hat in acht Handschriften eine Teilübersetzung der Metaphysik (I-IV, 4) aus dem 12. Jahrhundert entdeckt, die als *Metaphysica vetustissima* bezeichnet wird, zum Unterschied von der sog. *Metaphysica vetus*, einer im 13. Jahrhundert auftretenden viel benützten Ueberarbeitung dieser alten Teilübersetzung. Diese *Metaphysica vetustissima* ist, wie die Praefatio zum *Aristoteles latinus* bemerkt, vielleicht die Metaphysik, die in der von Ch. H. Haskins dem Alexander Neckam (*gest.* 1217) zugeteilten Schrift *Sacerdos ad altare* und in einem Kommentar zur *Ethica vetus* aus dem Beginn des 13. Jahrhunderts (*Cod.* 232 von Avranches) erwähnt ist. In der genannten Praefatio wird auch eine Stelle aus den *Gesta Philippi Augusti* des Guilelmus Brito erwähnt, die auf eine lateinische Metaphysikübersetzung um die Jahrhundertwende hinzuweisen scheint. Hier ist zum Jahre 1210 bemerkt:

---

[35] 'Die Stellung des Alfred von Sareshel und seiner Schrift 'De motu cordis' in der Wissenschaft des beginnenden 13. Jahrhunderts,' *Sitzungsber. d. Kgl. Bayerischen Akademie d. Wissensch.*, 1913, Philologisch-philosophische Klasse 9, Abh. (München, 1913), 35-40.

[36] *Aristoteles: De Somno et vigilia, adjectis veteribus translationibus et Theodori Metechitae commentariis* (Lugduni Batavorum, 1943).

> In diebus illis (*scil.* anno 1210) legebantur Parisius libelli quidam, ab Aristotele, ut dicunt, compositi, qui docebant metaphysicam, delati de novo a Constantinopoli et a graeco in latinum translati.

In der Praefatio zum *Aristoteles latinus* werden diese Worte vermutungsweise auf die *Metaphysica mediae translationis* bezogen. Diese ist die von Fr. Pelster entdeckte *Metaphysica media*, eine in zehn Codices überlieferte Uebersetzung von *Metaph.* I-X und XII-XIV. Im *Cod.* 2 der Library of William Kelso Jr. in Brooklyn wird ein *Canoniensis* als Uebersetzer genannt, dessen Persönlichkeit bisher noch nicht enträtselt werden konnte. Ich habe über die obige Stelle des Guilelmus Brito in meinem Buch über die kirchlichen Verbote des Aristoteles unter Innozenz III und Gregor IX[37] ausführlicher gehandelt. Die Metaphysikübersetzungen des 13. Jahrhunderts liegen über die Zeitgrenze dieser Untersuchung hinaus. Die *Metaphysica vetustissima* tritt zwar noch in Handschriften des 13. Jahrhunderts in Verbindung mit der *Metaphysica nova*, der von Michael Scotus gefertigten arabisch-lateinischen Uebersetzung auf, scheint aber in dieser Zeit nicht mehr verwertet worden zu sein. Man müsste freilich die Kommentare des 13. Jahrhunderts zur *Metaphysica vetus* auf ihre Textvorlage hin untersuchen. Ich verweise auf *Cod. Plut. Sin.* XIII, *Cod.* 7, der Biblioteca Mediceo-Laurenziana in Florenz, wo man von fols. 75^r-98^v einen Kommentar zur *Metaphysica vetus* liest.

Von den lateinischen Uebersetzungen der *Libri morales* des Aristoteles kommt für das 12. Jahrhundert nur die nikomachische Ethik in Betracht, von der es auch in dieser Zeit nur Teilübersetzungen gibt. Ueber die mittellateinischen Ethikübersetzungen haben die abschliessenden Forschungen von A. Pelzer[38] volle Klarheit gebracht. Für uns kommen hier nur zwei griechisch-lateinische Uebersetzungen in Betracht, die *Ethica vetus* und die *Ethica nova*, welche von Concetto Marchesi[39] mit einer ausführlichen literarhistorischen Einleitung ediert worden sind. Die *Ethica vetus* ist eine griechisch-lateinische Teilübersetzung der nikomachischen Ethik, das zweite und dritte Buch enthaltend. Manchmal schliesst sie mit den Worten: *ad puerilia peccata transferimus*, manchmal endigt sie kurz darauf mit dem Schluss des 3. Buches: *de castitate igitur tantum dictum sit*. Für diese zwei Versionen gebraucht der *Aristoteles latinus* die Bezeichnungen *Editio brevior* und *Editio longior*. Wie die Praefatio hervorhebt, gehören alle Handschriften der *Ethica vetus* dem 13. Jahrhundert an und ist der Uebersetzer unbekannt. Die *Ethica nova* ist eine griechisch-lateinische Teilübersetzung des ersten Buches und kommt in der handschriftlichen Ueberlieferung niemals oder doch äusserst selten getrennt von der *vetus* vor. Nur die Bezeichnung *Ethica nova*, die uns in den Handschriften sehr häufig begegnet, lässt sie gegenüber der *Ethica vetus* als die jüngere erscheinen. Auch hier ist der Uebersetzer unbekannt. Wie sich aus den von O. Lottin[40] aufgefundenen Kommentaren und aus einer von mir im *Cod. Ripoll* 109 des Archivo de la Corona de Aragón festgestellten Quästionensammlung für Examinazwecke[41] ersehen lässt, waren beide

---

[37] M. Grabmann, *I Papi del Duecento e l'Aristotelismo I: I divieti ecclesiastici di Aristotele sotto Innocenzo III e Gregorio IX* (Roma, 1941), pp. 11 ff.

[38] 'Les versions latines des ouvrages de morale conservés sous le nom d'Aristote en usage au xiii^e siècle,' *Revue néoscolastique de philosophie* XXIII (1921), 316-341, 378-412.

[39] *L'Etica Nicomachea nella tradizione latina medievale* (Messina, 1904).

[40] 'Un commentaire sur l'*Ethica vetus* des environs de 1230-1240,' *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* X (1934), 84-88; Ders., 'A propos du commentaire sur l'Ethique attribué à Jean Peckham,' *ibid.* X (1938), 79-83; Ders., *Psychologie et morale aux XII^e et XIII^e siècles* I (Louvain, 1942), pp. 505-507. Vgl. auch M. Grabmann, 'Das Studium der aristotelischen Ethik an der Artistenfakultät der Universität Paris in der ersten Hälfte des 13. Jahrhunderts,' *Philosophisches Jahrbuch*, LIII (1940), 339-354.

[41] M. Grabmann, 'Eine für Examinazwecke abgefasste Quästionensammlung der Pariser Artistenfakultät aus der ersten Hälfte des 13. Jahrhunderts,' *Mittelalterliches Geistesleben* II (Müchen, 1936), 183-199, speziell 192-196.

Uebersetzungen in der ersten Hälfte des 13. Jahrhunderts Gegenstand von Vorlesungen an der Pariser Artistenfakultät.[42]

Wann sind nun diese Uebersetzungen entstanden? Wir können mit gutem Grund wenigstens die *Ethica vetus* ins 12. Jahrhundert verlegen. Ich greife auf die schon früher angeführte Aeusserung des Burgundio von Pisa aus dem Jahre 1173 zurück. Aus ihr geht hervor, dass Burgundio, mit Henricus Aristippus der bedeutendste griechisch-lateinische Uebersetzer des 12. Jahrhunderts, jedenfalls im Jahre 1173 eine Uebersetzung der nikomachischen Ethik dem Boëthius zuschreibt. Wir werden später sehen, dass auch bei Autoren des 12. Jahrhunderts sich Zitate aus der aristotelischen Ethik finden. Bei der engen handschriftlichen Verbindung der beiden Ethiken ist es nicht ausgeschlossen, dass auch die *nova* noch ins 12. Jahrhundert zurückreicht. Ich habe in meinem Buch *Die lateinischen Aristotelesübersetzungen des 13. Jahrhunderts* darauf hingewiesen, dass in der handschriftlichen Ueberlieferung die *Ethica vetus* und die *Ethica nova* häufig mit der *Logica vetus* und der *Logica nova* zusammengehen. Ich habe hierfür eine Reihe von Handschriften angeführt, die ich jetzt noch vermehren könnte. Diese Tatsache deutet auch darauf hin, dass diese Teilübersetzungen zu dem älteren Bestandteil des der Scholastik bekannten aristotelischen Schrifttums gehören. Man wird indessen das Entstehen der *Ethica nova* in das frühe 13. Jahrhundert verlegen müssen, etwa um 1220. Die Ethikzitate in der vor 1217 verfassten Schrift *De Motu cordis* des Alvred von Sareshel sind, wie Clemens Bäumker[43] zeigt, alle der *Ethica vetus* entnommen, die hier, wie auch in der ungefähr gleichzeitigen Pariser Studienordnung des Kardinals Robert von Courson, ganz allgemein als *Ethica* bezeichnet wird. Es scheint, dass die *Ethica nova* zum erstenmal in der Schrift *De Virtutibus rerum naturalium* des Arnoldus Saxo (1220-1230) zitiert wird. Concetto Marchesi hält es nicht für ganz abwegig, wenn man die *Ethica vetus*, deren Text freilich durch die handschriftliche Ueberlieferung und den Gebrauch in der Schule sehr verunstaltet ist, auf Boëthius zurückführen würde, während dies bei der *nova* ausgeschlossen sei.[44] M. Cappuyns[45] dehnt diese Möglichkeit einer boëthianischen Uebersetzung noch weiter aus und hält es nicht für unmöglich, dass die *Metaphysica vetustissima*, die *Ethica vetus* wenigstens in einer ihrer Rezensionen, ferner die *translatio vetus* der Physik, und schliesslich auch die Uebersetzungen der beiden Werke *De Anima* und *De Generatione et corruptione* auf Boëthius zurückgehen, wie ja auch einige Handschriften und einzelne mittelalterliche Schriftsteller eine solche Zuteilung machen. Die alte griechisch-lateinische Uebersetzung des *De Generatione et corruptione* dürfte allerdings wohl aus dieser Liste ausscheiden, da sie, wie wir gesehen haben, aufgrund einer handschriftlichen Bezeugung von Henricus Aristippus herrührt. Die Frage, ob und in welchem Umfange diese Uebersetzungen wirklich dem Boëthius zugeschrieben werden können, wird man, falls nicht weitere handschriftliche Funde zu Tage treten, erst aufgrund einer kritischen Textausgabe ihrer endgültigen Lösung entgegenführen können.

---

[42] Darauf bezieht sich auch die Bemerkung des Kardinallegaten Robert von Courson vom Jahre 1215: Non legant in festivis diebus nisi philosophos et rhetoricas, et quadruvialia, et *barbarismum*, et *ethicam* si placet etc. Denifle, *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis* I (Paris, 1889), pp. 78, n. 20.

[43] *A.a.O.*

[44] Certo l'Ethica vetus, pervenutaci in codici del sec. xiii et xiv, presenta tracce di maggiore antichità chè non il primo libro, e non è eccessivamente arrischiato pensare che questa traduzione letterale dal greco, perturbata magari profondamente nella trasmissione manoscritta e nell'uso della scuola, ci rappresenti davvero una fatica smarrita dell'illustre senatore filosofo, in mezzo a quell'infinito smarrimento della lingua e della coscienza di Roma antica. Si osservi ancora come le parole di Bacone, *pauca de aliis transtulit in latinum*, pare si accordino mirabilmente allo stato ridotto dell'Ethica vetus. Ad ogni modo, se per l'Ethica vetus si può molto vagamente sospettare un'attribuzione boeziana, l'Ethica nova resta ugualmente esclusa dal conforto di qualsiasi congettura. Concetto Marchesi, *op. cit.*, pp. 31-32.

[45] *Loc. cit.*

In weitem Umfange wurden im 12. Jahrhundert aristotelische Schriften aus dem Arabischen ins Lateinische übersetzt. Das Zentrum einer auch die arabische Philosophie, Naturwissenschaft und Medizin, sowie ebenfalls die jüdische Wissenschaft (Avencebrol) umfassenden, tief in das 12. Jahrhundert hineingreifenden Uebersetzertätigkeit war die von Erzbischof Raymund von Toledo (1126-1151) an seinem Metropolitansitz eingerichtete Uebersetzungsschule.[46] Wir sind über diese arabisch-lateinischen Uebertragungen viel besser unterrichtet als über die grieschisch-lateinischen Versionen. Ich kann mich deshalb ganz kurz fassen und auf die Feststellungen der Praefatio des *Aristoteles latinus* verweisen. Der Aristotelesübersetzer war ein Lombarde, Gerhard von Cremona (*gest.* 1187). Das kurz nach seinem Tode von seinen Schülern und Studiengenossen verfasste Verzeichnis seiner Schriften mit einer kurzen *vita*, das zuerst von B. Boncompagni, dann mit wertvollen Erläuterungen und handschriftlichen Nachweisen von F. Wüstenfeld und zuletzt von K. Sudhoff ediert worden ist,[47] lässt ihn als den wohl fruchtbarsten aller mittelalterlichen Uebersetzer erscheinen. Von seinen Aristotelesübersetzungen kennen wir bereits die *Analytica Posteriora* und den Kommentar des Themistius zu dieser Schrift, ferner die drei ersten Bücher der *Meteorologica.* Wie ich in meinen *Forschungen über die lateinischen Aristotelesübersetzungen* dargetan habe und wie dies in der Praefatio zum *Aristoteles latinus* mit Anführung von Handschriften festgelegt ist, hat Gerhard auch die Physik, *De Generatione et corruptione* und *De Caelo et mundo* aus dem Arabischen ins Lateinische übersetzt. Desgleichen verdankt man ihm die Uebersetzung des von Alfarabi verfassten *Liber de causis*, der zum *corpus* der mittelalterlichen Aristotelesübersetzungen gerechnet wurde und erst von Thomas von Aquin dem Aristoteles definitiv abgesprochen worden ist.[48] Aristotelisches Gedankengut wurde im 12. Jahrhundert dem christlichen Abendland auch durch die Uebersetzung der Werke des Avicenna, Algazel, Alfarabi, Alkindi, Avencebrol u.a. vermittelt. Diese Uebersetzungen stammen auch aus Toledo, und als deren Verfasser sind Dominikus Gundissalinus, Johannes Avendeath (Hispanus) und Gerhard von Cremona bekannt.[49]

II

ARISTOTELESBENUETZUNG IM 12. JAHRHUNDERT

Wenn wir die Benützung der aristotelischen Logik, besonders auch der *Logica nova* im 12. Jahrhundert aufzeigen wollen, müssen wir der Verwertung zuerst auf dem Boden der Philosophie und dann auf dem theologischen Gebiet nachgehen. In philosophischer Hinsicht seien zuerst literarische Denkmäler, welche zusammenfassende Beschreibungen und Charakteristiken der aristotelischen Logik uns darbieten, kurz angeführt. Ein hochbedeutsames und wohl das älteste Dokument der Rezeption der ganzen aristotelischen Logik (mit Ausnahme der *Analytica posteriora*) ist das *Heptateuchon* des Thierry von Chartres, eine *ca.*

---

[46] A. Gonzalez Palencia, *El arzobispo don Raimondo de Toledo* (Barcelona, 1942).

[47] B. Boncompagni, *Della vita e delle opere di Gherardo Cremonese, traduttore del secolo duodecimo e di Gherardo da Sabbionetta, astronomo del secolo decimoterzo* (Roma, 1851), pp. 4-7; F. Wüstenfeld, 'Die Uebersetzungen arabischer Werke ins Lateinische seit dem 11. Jahrhundert,' *Abhandlungen der Kgl. Gesellschaft d. Wissensch. in Göttingen* XXII (1877), 58-81; K. Sudhoff, 'Die kurze *Vita* und das Verzeichnis der Arbeiten Gerhards von Cremona, von seinen Schülern und Studiengenossen kurz nach 1187 verfasst,' *Archiv für Geschichte der Medizin,* VIII (1914), 78-82.

[48] Vgl. neuestens H. Bédoret S. J., 'L'auteur et le traducteur du *Liber de causis,' Revue néoscolastique de philosophie,* XLI (1938), 519-533.

[49] H. Bédoret, 'Les premières traductions tolédanes de philosophie. Oeuvres d'Alfarabi,' *ibid.*, 80-97; Ders., 'Les premières versions tolédanes de philosophie. Oeuvres d'Avicenne,' *ibid.*, 374-400; M. Alonso S. J., 'Notas sobre los traductores toledanos Gundisalvo y Juan Hispano,' *Al-Andalus, Revista de las Escuelas de Estudios arabes de Madrid y Granada,* VIII (1943), 155-188.

1135-1141 fertiggestellte, in den *Codd.* 497 und 498 der Bibliothek von Chartres überlieferte Enzyklopädie der *artes liberales.* Wie mir mitgeteilt worden ist, ist diese überaus wertvolle Handschrift, die ein Unikum darstellt und noch nie ediert worden ist, im letzten Kriege mit der ganzen Bibliothek verbrannt, ein unersetzlicher Verlust für die Geschichte der Frühscholastik. J. de Ghellinck hebt die Bedeutung dieses Werkes also hervor:

> Pour l'histoire même de la pédagogie scolaire et des idées philosophiques et humanistes de Thierry, un autre de ses ouvrages, l'*Heptateuchon,* est extraordinairement précieux; car avec de copieux extraits, il contient la mention des principaux auteurs, quarante-cinq au moins, qui sont à la base de ses leçons. Nous y trouvons des oeuvres rares à ce moment-là dans les Philippiques, un Quintilien, avec les ouvrages des Arabes sur l'astronomie, la médecine et les autres sciences: vrai document encyclopédique, qui fait au *trivium* la part de lion, atteignant à peu près trois fois celle faite au *quadrivium.*[1]

Die Skulpturen, welche am westlichen Portal der Kathedrale von Chartres die sieben *artes liberales* und deren Repräsentanten, darunter auch Aristoteles, darstellen, lassen den Einfluss der Lehrer der Schule von Chartres, speziell des Thierry, des Verfassers des *Heptateuchon,* wahrnehmen. Das *Heptateuchon* sollte nach der Absicht des Verfassers ein grosses Handbuch des profanen Wissens der damaligen Zeit vorstellen und die für die Fächer des Triviums und Quadriviums zu Grunde gelegten Autoren übersichtlich zusammenstellen. Als Materialien der Logik sind hier vorgelegt: Die *Isagoge* des Porphyrius in der Uebersetzung des Boëthius, sodann die *Kategorien, Perihermeneias, Analytica priora, Topik* und *Elenchik* des Aristoteles, ein logischer Traktat eines Anonymus, sämtliche logische Abhandlungen des Boëthius und dessen Kommentar zur *Topik* Ciceros. Wir haben hier also das ganze aristotelische Organon mit Ausnahme der *Analytica posteriora* als Textgrundlage des philosophischen, speziell logischen Unterrichts in der Schule von Chartres vor uns. Das Fehlen der *Analytica posteriora* mag in später von Johannes von Salisbury hervorgehobenen inhaltlichen Schwierigkeiten begründet sein. Leider gibt das *Heptateuchon* keine selbständige inhaltliche Würdigung der logischen Schriften des Aristoteles.

Der erste Schriftsteller des 12. Jahrhunderts, der über das ganze aristotelische Organon eine selbständige Würdigung und Charakteristik gibt, ist Otto von Freising O. Cist., Bischof von Freising, der grosse Geschichtschreiber und Geschichtsphilosoph, der Oheim Kaiser Friedrich Barbarossas, der als Schüler des Gilbert de la Porrée auch mit der Schule von Chartres zusammenhängt.[2] In seinem im Entwurf zwischen 1143 und 1146 entstandenem *Chronicon seu historia de duabus civitatibus,* einer Weltchronik in acht Büchern (II, 6; MGH, SS XX, 147), kommt er in einem philosophiegeschichtlichen Exkurs auch auf die beiden grössten griechischen Philosophen, Platon und Aristoteles, zu sprechen. Aristoteles ist der Logiker. Er hat die Logik in sechs Büchern in die *Praedikamente, Perihermeneias, Analytica priora, Topik, Analytica posteriora* und die *Elenchik* eingeteilt. Otto von Freising gibt von jeder dieser Schriften eine prägnante Charakteristik. Die *Praedikamente* befassen sich mit den einfachen Termini; *Perihermeneias* behandelt die Sätze; die *Analytica priora* zeigen die Anordnung der Sätze zu den Syllogismen; die *Topik* hat die Methoden, den Weg des syllogistischen Verfahrens, zum Gegenstand; die *Analytica posteriora* enthalten die Lehre von dem mit Notwendigkeit vorangehenden wissenschaftlichen Beweisverfahren; die *Elenchik* stellt die Kautelen gegen die sophistischen

---

[1] J. de Ghellinck, *L'Essor de la littérature latine au XII^e siècle* I (Louvain, 1946), p. 163.

[2] J. de Ghellinck, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 104-11; M. Grabmann, *Die Geschichte der scholastischen Methode* II (Freiburg, 1911), SS. 68-70.

Trugschlüsse dar. Auf diese Weise rüstet Aristoteles den Philosophen mit einer Wissenschaft aus, die ihn nicht bloss zur Erkenntnis der Wahrheit, sondern auch zur Vermeidung des Irrtums befähigt. Besonders hebt Otto von Freising die Verdienste des Stagiriten, den er als *princeps* und *inventor* der Logik bezeichnet, um die Ausgestaltung des Syllogismus hervor. Aristoteles, sagt er, hat als erster die Anordnung der Syllogismen nach Materie und Form, welche eine logische Konsequenz ermöglicht, gelehrt. Es wurde vor Aristoteles auch das syllogistische Verfahren angewendet, jedoch nach keiner streng wissenschaftlichen, eine wirkliche Folgerichtigkeit gewährenden Methode, sondern mehr nach gelegentlichem Empfinden und Verfahren, das bald so, bald anders vorgeht und mehr durch Zufall das Richtige trifft. Aus all dem geht hervor, dass Otto von Freising zur aristotelischen Logik, besonders zu den bisher noch nicht bekannten Büchern derselben, zur *Logica nova*, in einem inneren wissenschaftlichen Verhältnis stand. Rahewin, der Kaplan und Biograph Ottos von Freising, rühmt es als eine wissenschaftliche Tat seines Bischofs, dass er die Subtilität der aristotelischen Bücher in der *Topik, Analytik* und *Elenchik* wohl zuerst in unsere deutsche Heimat brachte. Von Rahewin wissen wir auch, dass Bischof Otto in der Freisinger Domschule jedenfalls durch Verwertung der *Logica nova* die scholastischen Disputationen eingeführt hat (*grata disceptatio plures acuebat*) und auch allem Anschein nach sich selbst daran beteiligte (*Ipse dedit strepere logicum tumultum*). J. de Ghellinck bedauert mit Recht, dass die philosophischen Schriften und die Korrespondenz eines so originellen Schriftstellers uns nicht erhalten sind.

Die tiefste und allseitigste Würdigung und Beurteilung der aristotelischen Logik, besonders der *Logica nova*, tritt uns entgegen in dem 1159 vollendeten *Metalogicon* des Johannes von Salisbury, den J. de Ghellinck als *la personification la plus élévée de l'humanisme Chartrain* bezeichnet.[3] Ich habe im zweiten Band meiner *Geschichte der scholastischen Methode* die Darlegungen des Johannes Sarisberiensis in seinem *Metalogicon* über Wesen, Stellung und Zweck der Logik ausführlicher entwickelt und diese Schrift, die in einer ganz vorzüglichen Edition von Clemens C. I. Webb uns jetzt vorliegt, als Einführung in das aristotelische Organon aufgezeigt. Ich kann mich hier deshalb ganz kurz fassen. Das *Metalogicon* ist eine Schutzschrift für die Logik gegenüber einer unter dem Pseudonym Cornificius eingeführten Persönlichkeit, welche durch ihre lächerlichen Sophistereien die Logik zur Karikatur gemacht hatte. Die Ausführungen des Johannes von Salisbury über Wesen, Zweck und Funktionen der Logik haben einen ganz besonderen Wert, da sie die eingehendsten und gründlichsten Erörterungen dieser Art aus der Frühscholastik sind und unter dem Einfluss besonders der *Logica nova* geschrieben sind. Als Schüler des Petrus Heliae und auch Abälards sieht er den inneren Zusammenhang zwischen Grammatik und Logik und betont besonders die Sprachlogik. Seine Analyse des aristotelischen Organons eröffnet er mit einer Ausführung darüber, wie man den Porphyrius und andere Autoren lesen kann, wobei er sehr vernünftige Interpretationsgrundsätze entwickelt. Der logische Unterricht beginnt mit den *Kategorien* des Aristoteles, welche von den Begriffen, beziehungsweise deren sprachlichen Zeichen, welche gleichsam die Buchstaben des Denkens sind, handeln. Die folgende aristotelische Schrift, *Perihermeneias*, handelt von den Sätzen und wird, da die Sätze gewissermassen die Silben des Denkens sind, *liber syllabus* genannt. Die *Kategorien* und *Perihermeneias* haben nur die Bedeutung einer vorbereitenden Einführung in die Logik (*artes praeparatoriae*). Die eigentliche Substanz, das *corpus*, der Schwerpunkt der Logik liegt in der Kenntnis der *Topik*, der beiden *Analytiken* und der *Elenchik*, also der neuerschlossenen *Logica nova*. Mit ersichtlicher Vorliebe verweilt Johannes von

---

[3] J. de Ghellinck. *op. cit.*, I, pp. 127-32; M. Grabmann, *op. cit.*, II, SS. 438-52.

Salisbury bei der Analyse der aristotelischen *Topik* und betont deren Notwendigkeit und Nützlichkeit. Die sechs letzten Kapitel des 3. Buches (5-10) sind ganz der Zergliederung der acht Bücher der *Topik,* wobei mit besonderer Vorliebe das 8. Buch behandelt wird, gewidmet. Die Bedeutung dieses Buches für eine nach bestimmten Regeln vorangehende Disputation wird ausdrücklich ins Licht gestellt: *nam sine eo non disputatur arte, sed casu* (*Metalog.* III, 10; ed. Webb, p. 154). Damit ist der wesentliche und grundlegende Anteil gerade des 8. Buches der aristotelischen *Topik* an der Ausgestaltung einer kunst- und schulgerechten scholastischen Disputationsmethode ausgesprochen. Wir kennen bisher noch keinen Kommentar zur aristotelischen *Topik* aus dem 12. Jahrhundert. Die Topikkommentare des 13. Jahrhunderts, etwa des Adenulf von Anagni, Boëtius von Dacien und Heinrich von Brüssel, die ich näher kenne, bringen im 8. Buch eine lebendige Darstellung der Theorie und der Technik der Schuldisputation. Zu Beginn des 4. Buches des *Metalogicon* wird über die *Analytica Priora* gehandelt und deren Bedeutung für die Lehre vom Syllogismus rühmend hervorgehoben. Dabei wird auch auf die Verwertung der Lehre von den *modi* des Syllogismus für die Erklärung der Heiligen Schrift hingewiesen. Die *Analytica posteriora* sind nach dem Urteil des Johannes von Salisbury ein schweres Buch, das nur für wenige zugänglich und verständlich ist. Diese schwere Verständlichkeit ist teils in inhaltlichen und sprachlichen Momenten, teils in der schlechten Textüberlieferung *bzw.* fehlerhaften lateinischen Uebersetzung begründet:

> Liber quo demonstrativa traditur disciplina, ceteris longe turbatior est transpositione sermonum, traiectione litterarum, desuetudine exemplorum, que a diuersis disciplinis mutuata sunt. Et postremo, quod non attingit auctorem, adeo scriptorum deprauatus est uitio, ut fere quot capita tot obstacula habeat, et bene quidem ubi non sunt obstacula capitibus plura. Unde a plerisque in interpretem difficultatis culpa refunditur, asserentibus librum ad nos non recte translatum peruenisse.

Es erinnert uns dies an die uns schon bekannte Aeusserung im Prologus des *Cod.* 1714 der Kapitelsbibliothek zu Toledo: *Nam translatio Boetii apud nos integra non invenitur, et idipsum quod de ea reperitur vitio corruptionis obfuscatur.* Der Gegenstand der *Analytica posteriora* ist der demonstrative apodiktische Schluss, das wissenschaftliche Beweisverfahren. In prägnanter Darstellung entwickelt Johannes von Salisbury die aristotelische Lehre von der Natur und Funktion der *demonstratio* ἀπόδειξις und hebt als das wesentliche Element des wissenschaftlichen Beweises hervor, dass er von allgemeinen, notwendigen und unvermittelten Wahrheiten ausgeht. Die Erörterung der Frage, wie wir zur Erkenntnis dieser Prinzipien des Wissens gelangen, führt ihn zur Entwicklung einer für seine Zeit fortgeschrittenen Erkenntnispsychologie. Seine Würdigung des aristotelischen Organons schliesst mit zwei Kapiteln über die *Elenchik* (IV, 22-23). Die Kenntnis der Sophistik und Sophismen ist für den Wissenschaftsbetrieb wichtig und wertvoll, um Irrtümer und Trugschlüsse zu vermeiden und zu bekämpfen. Freilich bringt auch eine übertriebene Beschäftigung mit den Sophismen ihre Gefahren mit sich. Es gilt hier: *veritas, non verbositas.*

So sehr Johannes von Salisbury die Logik schätzt, so ist er doch der Auffassung, dass sie nicht Selbstzweck werden darf, sonst verliert sie alle Inhaltlichkeit und wird nutzlos:

> Sicut dialectica alias expedit disciplinas, sic, si sola fuerit, iacet exanguis et sterilis, nec ad fructum philosophie fecundat animam, si aliunde non concipit (*Metalog.* II, 9; ed. Webb, p. 83).

Wie vorher sein Lehrer Abälard, so findet auch Johannes von Salisbury warme anerkennende Worte für Aristoteles, wenn er auch mit seiner Kritik nicht zurückhält. Ich führe nur eine Stelle aus dem *Metalogicon* an, an welcher er die unsterblichen Verdienste des Aristoteles um die Logik preist: "Alle, welche das Banner dieser triumphierenden Kunst der Dialektik hochgehalten haben, ein Apulejus, Cicero, Porphyrius, Boethius, Augustinus, um von Eudemus, Alexander von Aphrodisias, Theophrastus und den anderen Aristoteleserklärern zu schweigen, sie alle rühmen sich, ehrfurchtsvoll den Spuren des Aristoteles zu folgen. Diesem kommt deshalb mit Auszeichnung der allen gemeinsame Name des Philosophen zu. Denn er wird *antonomastice i.e. excellenter* als der *philosophus* bezeichnet (*Metalog.* II, 16; ed. Webb, p. 90).

Die Aristotelesbenützung des 12. Jahrhunderts tritt besonders auch in Kommentaren zu den logischen Schriften des Stagiriten, zur *Isagoge* des Porphyrius und zu den logischen Monographien des Boëthius zu Tage. Vorbild und Quelle für diese kommentierende Tätigkeit sind die Auslegungen des Boëthius zur *Isagoge*, zu den *Kategorien* und zu *Perihermeneias* gewesen. Sie haben methodisch und inhaltlich das logische Schrifttum der Scholastik, namentlich der Frühscholastik, beeinflusst und befruchtet. Boëthius hat nicht bloss das logische aristotelische Gedankengut vermittelt, er hat auch vor allem in seinen Isagogekommentaren ausgiebig von den griechischen Kommentaren zu Aristoteles, wie häufige Zitate aus Porphyrius, Alexander von Aphrodisias, Syrianus Aspasius und Herminus bezeugen, Gebrauch gemacht. Auch Plato und von den lateinischen Klassikern Cicero, Makrobius und Marius Victorinus werden zitiert und benützt. Bidez bemerkt:

> Ainsi par la volonté de Boèce et de Cassiodore, tout le travail logique de la dernière école paienne d'Alexandrie allait faire autorité par les moines d'Occident qui en avaient oublié l'origine.[4]

Wenn wir von den Literalglossen, auf welche B. Geyer und A. Van de Vyver hingewiesen haben, absehen, so ist Peter Abälard der *Peripateticus Palatinus*, den Johannes von Salisbury als *clarus doctor et admirabilis*[5] feiert, der erste grosse Aristoteleskommentator der lateinischen Scholastik. *Cod. M. Sup.* 63 der Biblioteca Ambrosiana enthält die Kommentare Abälards zur *Isagoge* des Porphyrius, zu den *Kategorien* und zu *Perihermeneias*. Antonio Rosmini Serbati hatte diese Kommentare in der Mailänder Handschrift gefunden und in seinem opus posthumum *Aristotele esposto ed esaminato*[6] für die Universalienlehre bedeutsame Texte aus dem Isagogekommentar ediert. Diese Beschäftigung Rosminis mit der Mailänder Handschrift war ganz in Vergessenheit geraten. Ich habe, ohne davon etwas zu wissen, um Ostern 1915 diese Kommentare Abälards neu aufgefunden, wobei mir der damalige Prefetto der Ambrosiana, Monsignore Achille Ratti, der spätere Papst Pius XI, wertvolle Hilfe leistete. B. Geyer[7] hat dann diese Kommentare mit der ihm eigenen Gründlichkeit und Akribie ediert und einer eingehenden Untersuchung unterzogen. Aus der gleichen Handschrift hat Geyer aus der Schule Abälards anonyme Glossen zur *Isagoge* des Porphyrius ediert, denen ein verlorengegangener Kommentar des Abälard zugrundelag. Geyer hat ausserdem aus *Cod.* 6 der Stadtbibliothek zu Lunel einen anderen Isagogekommentar unseres Philosophen ediert. Ch. Ravaisson hatte aus dieser Handschrift schon Exzerpte gemacht, aber später vergessen, wo er die Handschrift gefunden hatte. Sie wurde von B. Geyer wieder entdeckt.

---

[4] J. Bidez, 'Boèce et Porphyre', *Revue belge de philol. et d'hist.*, II (1923), 189-201.

[5] *Metologicon* II, x, ed. Webb, p. 78.

[6] Antonio Rosmini, *Aristotele esposto ed esaminato a cura di Carlo Caviglione*, Parte I (Torino, 1930), p. 20. Rosmini hat Texte aus dieser Mailänder Handschrift in seiner Schrift *Delle Sentenze de' filosofi intorno alla natura dell'anima*, pp. 192-202 veröffentlicht.

[7] B. Geyer, *Peter Abaelards philosophische Schriften* (Münster, 1919, 1933).

Geyer bezeichnet auf Grund der Initia die Logikkommentare der Mailänder Handschrift als *Logica ingredientibus,* den Isagogekommentar von Lunel als *Logica nostrorum petitioni sociorum.* Im Herbst 1937, nachdem die Edition von B. Geyer schon abgeschlossen war, entdeckte ich im *Ms lat.* fol. 624 der Preussischen Staatsbibliothek (jetzigen Oeffentlichen Wissenschaftlichen Bibliothek) in Berlin, einer für die scholastische Logik hochbedeutsamen Handschrift, auf welche ich alsbald ausführlicher zurückkommen werde, anonym ein zweites Exemplar des Perihermeneiaskommentars Abälards (fols. 97^{r}-142^{r}). Während in der Mailänder Handschrift dieser Perihermeneiaskommentar unvollendet abbricht, bietet der Berliner Codex von fol. 138^{r}-146^{r} ein umfangreicheres Schlusstück von Abälards Perihermeneiaskommentar, das noch ein *Ineditum* ist.

Ich gehe hier auf eine Beschreibung und Würdigung dieser Kommentare Abälards nicht ein und verweise auf die Edition und Untersuchung Geyers. Diese Kommentare enthalten ein hohes Mass selbständiger Denkarbeit des grössten Philosophen der Frühscholastik und sind besonders für seine Sprachlogik und Erkenntnislehre aufschlussreich. Im weiten Umfang ist Boëthius benützt, während die *Logica nova* noch nicht zitiert ist. Die *Logica ingredientibus* stammt aus den Jahren 1113-1120, während die *Logica nostrorum petitioni sociorum* nach 1120 entstanden ist. Wahrscheinlich aus der Zeit vor 1113 rühren die Literalglossen zu einzelnen logischen Schriften her, die Abälard als *Introductiones parvulorum* bezeichnet und die bis auf einige von V. Cousin edierte Textstücke noch ungedruckt sind. B. Geyer[8] hat über diese Literalglossen, welche in der lateinischen Handschrift der Pariser Nationalbibliothek erhalten sind (*Codd. lat.* 7493 und 12368), eine gründliche Untersuchung angestellt, ohne, wie er sagt, diesen Rattenkönig von Glossen völlig entwirren zu können. Er macht dabei auch auf *Cod.* 266 (22) der Bibliothek von Orléans aufmerksam, der für die dialektische Glossenliteratur von grösster Bedeutung ist, da in ihm zahlreiche damalige magistri mit ihren Ansichten mit Namen zitiert werden. Abälard hat auch in seiner nach 1133 entstandenen *Dialectica,* die V. Cousin grösstenteils ediert hat, eine selbständige Bearbeitung der damals bekannten logischen Schriften gegeben. Bisher war noch eine zweite Dialectica aus dem 12. Jahrhundert bekannt, die von Adam du Petit-Pont (Adam Parvipontanus, *gest.* 1181), den Johannes von Salisbury[9] als *acutissimi virum ingenii* bezeichnet, verfasst ist. V. Cousin hat aus *Cod.* Paris, *lat.* 14700 die Einleitung und den Anfang der Darstellung ediert. Er datiert diese Schrift auf das Jahr 1133. Ich habe auf Grund von Photokopien diese Handschrift mit einer zweiten Handschrift der Pariser Nationalbibliothek, *Cod. lat.* 16581, in welcher diese *Dialectica* einem Alexander zugeschrieben ist, verglichen und eine grosse Textverschiedenheit wahrgenommen, die eine Edition sehr erschweren würde. Dieser magister Adam scheint sich eines hohen Ansehens erfreut zu haben. In einer Federzeichnung, die auf fol. 1^{v} von *Cod.* 2202 der Landesbibliothek zu Darmstadt (*saec.* XII-XIII), welche die *Isagoge*, die *Kategorien, Perihermeneias* und logische Abhandlungen des Boëthius enthält, ist eine sitzende gekrönte Frauengestalt mit der Aufschrift *Dialectica domina* dargestellt. An den vier Ecken sind die Bilder von Plato, Aristoteles, Sokrates und magister Adam, worunter jedenfalls Adam Parvipontanus zu verstehen ist, angebracht.

Zwischen den Aristoteleskommentaren des Abälard und der *Dialectica* des Adam von Petit-Pont, und zwischen den ersten bekannten Erklärern der aristotelischen Logik an der Pariser Artistenfakultät im 13. Jahrhundert (Johannes Pagus, Robert von Paris, Bernhard von Sanciza und Nikolaus von Paris) sowie den Verfassern von Lehrbüchern der Logik Wilhelm von Shyrewood, Petrus Hispanus und Lambert von Auxerre im 13. Jahrhundert, tritt uns ein grosser leerer Raum entgegen, während wir über die theologische Literatur, über die

---

[8] B. Geyer, *a.a.O.*, SS. 592-97.

[9] *Metalogicon* II, x; ed. Webb, p. 81.

Bibelkommentare, über die Sentenzen und Summen aus der zweiten Hälfte des 12. Jahrhunderts vorzüglich unterrichtet sind. Man braucht bloss einen Blick in das Werk von P. J. de Ghellinck S. J., *L'éssor de la litérature latine au XII*^{e} *siècle* (Louvain, 1946) und in die *Einleitung in die Geschichte der theologischen Literatur der Frühscholastik* von Bischof Artur Michael Landgraf (Regensburg, 1948) zu werfen. Ich habe nun vor allem durch Untersuchungen von Handschriften deutscher Bibliotheken diese philosophische Lücke etwas auszufüllen gesucht und in zwei Veröffentlichungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, in einer Schrift über die Sophismataliteratur des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts, und in einer in den *Mediaeval Studies* von Toronto erschienenen Abhandlung über logische *Inedita* des 12. Jahrhunderts die Ergebnisse dieser Forschungsarbeit niedergelegt.[10] Ich konnte eine grosse Fülle von Kommentaren zur aristotelischen Logik und eine stattliche Anzahl von Lehrbüchern der Dialektik aus dem 12. Jahrhundert feststellen. Ich gebe hier nur einen kurzen zusammenfassenden Bericht: zuerst über die Aristoteleserklärungen und dann über die Kompendien der Dialektik.

Die beiden Münchener Handschriften *Clm* 14458 und 14779 enthalten zahlreiche Kommentare zur *Isagoge,* zu den *Kategorien* und zu *Perihermeneias* und zu den logischen Abhandlungen des Boëthius. In dem Kommentar zu *De Differentiis topicis* des Boëthius in *Clm* 14779 (fols. 87^r-105^v) ist auf zwei Lehrbücher der *Dialectica* eines Robertus und eines Guido Lingonensis hingewiesen. *Cod.* O 5 der Stadtbibliothek zu Erfurt enthält eine Bearbeitung der beiden Isagogekommentare des Boëthius, welche einem magister Wl. zugeteilt ist. Im *Cod.* 833 der Stiftsbibliothek zu Sankt Gallen begegnen uns Quaestionen zu logischen Schriften des Porphyrius (*Isagoge*), Aristoteles und Boëthius. Im *Cod. lat.* 2486 der Wiener Nationalbibliothek befindet sich von fol. 45^r-60^v ein für die Universalienlehre sehr bedeutsamer Kommentar zur *Isagoge,* in welchem ich Verweise auf M. P. (*magister Petrus Abaelardus*) wahrnehmen konnte.

Ueberaus reichhaltig an Kommentaren zur aristotelisch-boëthianischen Logik ist eine Berliner Handschrift (*Ms lat.* fol. 624) der ehemaligen Preussischen Staatsbibliothek (jetzigen Oeffentlichen Wissenschaftlichen Bibliothek) zu Berlin. Diese Handschrift zählt zu den inhaltsvollsten und philosophiegeschichtlich interessantesten Sammelhandschriften aus der Scholastik, die mir je in die Hände gekommen ist. Sie wurde mir 1903 von dem damaligen auch um die mittelalterliche Aristotelesforschung hochverdienten Vorstand der Handschriftabteilung der königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin, Valentin Rose, aus der grossen Handschriftensammlung des Baronet Sir Thomas Philipps in Cheltenham angekauft und trägt auf dem ersten Blatt und am grünen Ledereinband das Wappen von Sankt Viktor. Der erste Teil der Handschrift (fols. 1^r-64^r) bietet uns Kommentare zu Büchern der *Logica vetus* aus dem 13. und frühen 14. Jahrhundert. Für uns kommt der zweite Teil (fols. 65^r-146^r) in Betracht. Derselbe enthält anonyme, *bzw.* pseudonyme Kommentare zu logischen Textbüchern, die inhaltlich dem 12. Jahrhundert angehören. Das erste Stück (fols. 65^r-73^v) ist ein Kommentar zur aristotelischen *Elenchik*. Dieser Kommentar, der jedenfalls noch im 12. Jahrhundert entstanden ist, nimmt in lebendiger Diskussion vielfach Stellung zur Aristotelesdeutung zeitgenössischer Aristoteleserklärer, die mit dem Anfangsbuchstaben eingeführt werden. Es werden genannt: *magister A.*, magister I., magister Al. Ein Hinweis auf magister Petrus Abaelardus ist mir nicht aufgefallen. Aus dem Kontext ergibt sich, dass die drei magistri *A., Al.* und *I.* auch Auslegungen der aristotelischen *Elenchik* geschrieben haben. Es ist mir leider nicht möglich gewesen, diese Autoren zu identifizieren. Wie ich schon früher bemerkt habe, beruft sich dieser Elenchikkommentar auf eine andere Uebersetzung: *vel secundum aliam translationem.* Im *Clm* 4643 habe ich einen auch aus dieser Zeit stammenden vollständigen *Tractatus de fallaciis*, eine selbständige systematische Bearbeitung der aristotelischen *Elenchik* nachgewiesen. Auch das nächstfolgende Stück (fols. 73^v-76^r), ein anonymer Kommentar zur *Isagoge*, bringt ausführliche Auseinandersetzungen mit Logikern des 12. Jahrhunderts mit *magister A.* und *magister P.* Unter *magister P.* müssen wir Petrus Abaelardus verstehen, da die betreffenden Zitate sich in dem Isagogekommentar Abälards in der Ambrosiana nachweisen lassen. Hierauf folgt (fols. 76^r-80^v) ein Kommentar zu *De Syllogismo hypothetico* des Boëthius. Hier sind als Vertreter von *opiniones* magister Petrus und magister Albericus ausgeschrieben angeführt. Magister Petrus ist Petrus Abaelardus. Magister Albericus ist nicht Albericus Remensis, Alberich von Reims, der von 1121-1136 die Domschule von Reims leitete und 1141 als Erzbischof von Reims gestorben ist. Es ist ein anderer Albericus, den Johannes von Salisbury als seinen Lehrer auf dem Genovefaberg nach dem Weggang Abälards beschreibt: *qui inter opinatissimos dialecticos existebat et erat revera nominalis secte acerrimus impugnator.*[11] Wir können uns nun die Frage vorlegen, ob wir die häufig vorkommende Abkürzung magister *A.* in anderen Stücken des zweiten Teiles der Berliner Handschrift mit magister Albericus auflösen dürfen. Wir dürfen dies wohl bejahen mit Ausnahme der Zitate von magister *A.* im Elenchikkommentar, bei dem es sich um einen jüngeren Philosophen handeln dürfte. Da nun in Kommentaren unserer Berliner Handschrift zur *Isagoge,* zu den *Kategorien*, zu *Perihermeneias* und zu *De Syllogismo hypothetico* des Boëthius sich Zitate aus magister *A.* (Albericus) finden, können wir mit hoher Wahrscheinlichkeit den Schluss ziehen, dass Albericus Kommentare zu all diesen Textbüchern geschrieben hat, die bisher unbekannt sind. Diese Zitate können bei einer systematischen Untersuchung der anonymen Kommentare zu den genannten logischen Textbüchern vielleicht als Wegweiser zur Auffindung dieses Schrifttums des Albericus dienen. Da er als *secte nominalis acerrimus impugnator* bezeichnet wird, würde die Auffindung dieser Kommentare des Albericus auch für die Kenntnis der Universalienlehre des 12. Jahrhunderts wichtig sein.

---

[10] M. Grabmann, 'Bearbeitungen und Auslegungen der aristotelischen Logik aus der Zeit von Peter Abaelards bis Petrus Hispanus. Mitteilungen aus Handschriften deutscher Bibliotheken', *Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften,* 1937, Phil. hist. Klasse 5 (Berlin, 1937); Derselbe, 'Kommentare zur aristotelischen Logik aus dem 12. und 13. Jahrhundert im *Ms lat.* fol. 624 der Preussischen Staatsbibliothek in Berlin. Ein Beitrag zur Abaelardforschung', *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften,* 1938, Phil. hist. Klasse 18 (Berlin, 1938); Derselbe, *Die Sophismataliteratur des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts mit Textausgabe eines Sophisma des Boëtius von Dacien. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Einwirkens der aristotelischen Logik auf die Ausgestaltung der mittelalterlichen philosophischen Disputation* (Münster, 1940); Derselbe, 'Ein *Tractatus de Universalibus* und andere logische Inedita aus dem 12. Jahrhundert im *Cod. lat.* 2486 der Nationalbibliothek in Wien', *Mediaeval Studies* IX (1947).

Das nächste Stück der Handschrift (fols. 80^v-87^r) ist ein anonymer Kommentar zu den *Kategorien*, der besonders reich an Zitaten aus magister *P.* und *A.* ist und einen Einblick in die Lehrverschiedenheit beider Dialektiker gewährt. Von fol. 87^v-96^r erstreckt sich ein anonymer Kommentar zu *Perihermeneias,* der unvollendet geblieben ist. In demselben treten uns wiederum Hinweise auf magister *A.* und *P.* und auch auf magister *Al.* entgegen. Magister *A.* bekämpft auch hier vielfach die Lehranschauungen von magister *P.* Das letzte Stück dieses zweiten Teiles der Handschrift (fols. 97^r-142^r) ist ein umfangreicher Kommentar zu *Perihermeneias*, den ich als ein zweites und dazu vollständiges Exemplar des Perihermeneiaskommentars der *Logica ingredientibus* Abälards durch Textvergleichungen nachweisen konnte. Der dritte Teil der Handschrift (fols. 159^r-242^v) enthält verschiedene Kommentare zur aristotelischen *Logica vetus*, sodann den Topikkommentar des Boëthius von Dacien und schliesslich den *Tractatus de modis significandi* des Martinus von Dacien, über welchen wir eine sehr wertvolle Untersuchung von H. Roos S. J. besitzen.[12] Von dem magister Albericus ist auch in einem Fragment eines Isagogekommentars im *Clm* 29185 die Rede:

---

[11] *Metalogicon* II, x, ed. Webb, p. 79.

> In tali sententia diu fuerunt preceptores nostri, etiam, ut dicunt, magister Albericus, licet inconveniens esset, ut tantus auctor tam imperfectam faceret doctrinam, ut posito uno membro divisionis daret duo subintelligi.

In dem Widerstreit der Meinungen, der uns in den dem 12. Jahrhundert entstammenden Kommentaren zur aristotelisch-boëthianischen Logik dieser überaus inhaltsreichen Handschrift entgegentritt, bekundet sich der Problemwille, die geistige Lebendigkeit der Philosophie des Aristotelismus im 12. Jahrhundert. Ich habe dieses Quellenmaterial nur literarhistorisch untersucht, ohne auf die inhaltliche Seite näher einzugehen. Ich habe aber keinen Zweifel, dass von diesen bisher unbekannten Texten, die in ihrer Gesamtheit eine ganz gewaltige Mehrung des philosophischen Quellenmaterials des 12. Jahrhunderts darstellen, auch reiches neues Licht auf die im damaligen philosophischen Denken behandelten und umstrittenen Probleme, besonders auf die Sprachlogik und die Universalienlehre sich ergiesst. Es tritt in diesem Widerstreit der Meinungen in der Art und Weise, wie die Einwände erhoben und gelöst, wie *quaestiones* formuliert und erörtert werden, uns auch konkret und lebendig der dialektische Schulbetrieb des 12. Jahrhunderts entgegen. Die am häufigsten zitierten Autoren sind magister *P.* und magister *A.*, in denen wir magister Petrus Abaelardus und Albericus sehen dürfen. Von magister Albericus wussten wir bisher ausser der Charakteristik bei Johannes von Salisbury nichts und besassen auch keine Texte. Durch die sehr zahlreichen und nicht selten recht umfangreichen Textstücke in der Berliner Handschrift sind wir in der Lage, in erheblichem Ausmasse auch die logischen Lehrmeinungen und Lehranschauungen und Sondermeinungen des Albericus kennen zu lernen. Möchten diese Zitate zur Auffindung des logischen Schrifttums des Alberich führen. Die wohl noch zahlreicheren Zitate aus Peter Abälard zeugen von dem gewaltigen Einfluss des logischen Schrifttums und auch der Persönlichkeit des *Peripateticus Palatinus* im 12. Jahrhundert. H. Denifle hat vor vielen Jahren in einer seiner bahnbrechenden Untersuchungen auf dem Gebiet der mittelalterlichen Scholastik[13] das Vorhandensein einer ausgedehnten theologischen Schule Abälards aufgezeigt. Diese Forschungen sind seither durch H. Ostlender, I. G. Sikes, J. Cottiaux und vor allem durch A. M. Landgraf durch Auffindung und Edition neuen Quellenmaterials weitergeführt worden. Weihbischof Landgraf hat namentlich auch die Einwirkung Abälards auf die Exegese des 12. Jahrhunderts durch umfassende Editionen erwiesen und in seiner *Einführung in die Geschichte der theologischen Literatur der Frühscholastik* die grosse theologische Schule Abälards in ihrer geschichtlichen Wirklichkeit ins Licht gestellt.[14] Die von Johannes von Salisbury bezeugte philosophische Schule Abälards, zu deren Kenntnis und Beurteilung die Untersuchungen B. Geyers ganz wesentlich beigetragen haben, findet durch die fortwährenden Hinweise auf den magister Petrus in den logischen Kommentaren des 12. Jahrhunderts unserer Berliner Handschrift eine reiche Bestätigung. Da in den Albericuszitaten sehr oft gegen die logischen Theorien Abälards polemisiert wird und auch von den anonymen Verfassern dieser Kommentare Kritik an Abälard geübt wird, ist der zweite

---

[12] H. Roos, 'Martinus de Dacia und seine Schrift *De Modis significandi.* Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der dänischen Sprachlogik im Mittelalter', *Classica et Mediaevalia* VIII, (1946), 87-115.

[13] H. Denifle, 'Die Sentenzen Abaelards und die Bearbeitungen seiner Theologie vor Mitte des 12. Jahrhunderts', *Archiv für Lit. u. Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters* I (1885), 404-68, 584-624.

[14] A. Landgraf, *Einführung in die Geschichte der theologischen Literatur der Frühscholastik* (Regensburg, 1948), SS. 62-73.

Teil der Berliner Handschrift für die Geschichte der Beurteilung der Logik Abälards in der Philosophie des 12. Jahrhunderts von Wert. Man wird sich vielleicht darüber wundern, dass in dieser an Kommentaren zu logischen Schriften des Aristoteles und Boëthius so überreichen Berliner Handschrift, soweit das 12. Jahrhundert in Betracht kommt, wenn man von der *Elenchik* absieht, keine Auslegung zu den *Analytiken* und zur *Topik* sich findet. Mir ist überhaupt bisher kein Kommentar zu diesen Teilen der *Logica nova* aus dem 12. Jahrhundert bekannt geworden. Es treten ja auch im 13. Jahrhundert die Kommentare zu diesen aristotelischen Schriften verhältnismässig spät auf. Ich habe die Topikkommentare des 13. Jahrhunderts zum Gegenstand einer eigenen Untersuchung gemacht. Allerdings wissen wir von der literarischen Tätigkeit der Professoren der Pariser Artistenfakultät in den ersten Dezennien des 13. Jahrhunderts soviel wie nichts. F. Van Steenberghen bemerkt:[15] *Pour les premières décades du siècle* (1200-1230) *l'activité des artiens de Paris est encore à peu près totalement inconnue.* In der von mir im *Cod.* 109 des Archivo de la Corona de Aragón entdeckten Quaestionensammlung, die in der Zeit von 1230 bis 1240 für Examinazwecke an der Pariser Artistenfakultät abgefasst worden ist, nehmen die *Analytica priora* und *posteriora*, die *Topik* und *Elenchik* einen entsprechenden Raum ein, wobei am ausführlichste die *Topik* berücksichtigt ist. Es besteht kein Zweifel, dass in dieser Zeit Kommentare dieser aristotelischen Schriften als der literarische Niederschlag von Vorlesungen entstanden sind.

Ich habe auch in Handschriften deutscher Bibliotheken ausser diesen Kommentaren zur aristotelisch-boëthianischen Logik, zur *Logica vetus* auch aus dem 12. Jahrhundert, eine stattliche Anzahl von systematischen Bearbeitungen der aristotelischen Logik, von Kompendien der Dialektik, die zwischen der *Dialectica* des Abälard und Adam du Petit-Pont und den Lehrbüchern der Logik des 13. Jahrhunderts liegen, feststellen können. In der Zeit der Hochscholastik treten uns vor allem drei Lehrbücher der Logik entgegen, die aus der Feder von Professoren der Artistenfakultät stammen. Das erste sind die *Introductiones in Logicam* des Engländers Wilhelm von Shyrewood (*gest.* nach 1267), die in der ersten Hälfte des 13. Jahrhunderts allem Anschein nach in Paris entstanden sind. Ich habe sie aus der einzigen Handschrift, *Cod. lat.* 16617, mit einer ausführlichen literarhistorischen Einleitung ediert.[16] Die *Dialektik* des Wilhelm von Shyrewood zerfällt in sechs Teile: 1) *De Propositione,* 2) *De Predicabili,* 3) *De Syllogismo,* 4) *De Locis dialecticis,* 5) *De Proprietatibus terminorum,* 6) *De Fallaciis.* Der Abschnitt *De Proprietatibus terminorum* gliedert sich in folgende Unterabteilungen: *De Suppositione, De Copulatione, De Appellatione.* Bei Wilhelm von Shyrewood begegnen wir zum ersten Male den bekannten Memorialversen *barbara celarent darii etc.*, als deren Autor man bisher Petrus Hispanus angesehen hat. Das zweite Logikkompendium sind die *Summulae logicales* des Petrus Hispanus, des späteren Papstes Johannes XXI (*gest.* 1277), das bis zum Beginn der Neuzeit in zahllosen Handschriften und dann auch zahlreichen Druckausgaben verbreitete, sehr häufig kommentierte scholastische Lehrbuch der Logik. Wir besitzen aus allerneuester Zeit zwei Ausgaben dieses Werkes: die eine von A. M. Mullally[17] und die andere von P. J. M. Bochenski.[18] Ich kenne nur die letztere, die auf einer guten handschriftlichen Grundlage einen sehr zuverlässigen Text bietet und auch eine inhaltsvolle Einleitung in die literarhistorischen Fragen enthält. Die *Summulae logicales* des Petrus Hispanus sind in Paris, wo er wahrscheinlich ein Schüler des Wilhelms von Shyrewood und dann bis 1245 Professor an der Artistenfakultät gewesen ist, entstanden. Nach der Ausgabe von Bochenski zerfallen die *Summulae logicales* des Petrus Hispanus in zwölf *Tractatus*: 1) *De Propositionibus*, 2) *De Predicabilibus*, 3) *De Predicamentis*, 4) *De Syllogismis*, 5) *De Locis*, 6) *De Suppositionibus*, 7) *De Fallaciis*, 8) *De Relativis*, 9) *De Ampliationibus*, 10) *De Appellationibus*, 11) *De Restrictionibus*, 12) *De Distributionibus*. Das dritte ausführlichere Logiklehrbuch sind die *Summulae logicales* des Lambert von Auxerre. B. Geyer setzt als *terminus ad quem* der Abfassungszeit das Jahr 1253 fest.[19] Diese *Dialectica*, deren Edition recht wünschenswert wäre, zerfällt in fünf Hauptteile: 1) *De Propositione*, 2) *De Predicabilibus*, 3) *De Syllogismo*, 4) *De Locis dialecticis*, 5) *De Proprietatibus terminorum*.

---

[15] F. van Steenberghen, *Siger de Brabant d'après ses oeuvres inédites II: Siger dans l'histoire de l'Aristotélisme* (Louvain, 1942).

[16] M. Grabmann, 'Die *Introductiones in Logicam* des Wilhelm von Shyrewood (*gest.* nach 1267). Literarhistorische Einleitung und Textausgabe', *Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften,* 1937, Phil. hist. Klasse Abt., 10 (München, 1937).

[17] J. P. Mullally, *The Summulae Logicales of Peter of Spain* (Mediaeval Studies of the University of Notre Dame, VIII, Notre Dame, Ind., 1945).

[18] *Petri Hispani Summulae Logicales quas e codice manu scripto Reg. lat.* 1205 *edidit* I. M. Bochenski O. P. (Rome, 1947).

Ich habe den Inhalt dieser drei Logikkompendien des 13. Jahrhunderts angegeben, um zu sehen, ob in früheren ungedruckten Lehrbüchern der Dialektik wenigstens teilweise diese Gegenstände schon behandelt sind. Die schon erwähnte Münchener Handschrift (*Clm* 14458) enthält von fol. 29^r-44^v eine *Dialectica*, die wir noch ins 12. Jahrhundert verlegen dürfen. Wie bei Wilhelm von Shyrewood, Petrus Hispanus und Lambert von Auxerre reihen sich auch hier an die Einleitung Darlegungen über *sonus, vox, nomen, verbum, oratio, propositio*, über die Eigenschaften, Einteilung und *oppositio* der Sätze, also alles was die drei genannten Logiker in dem Traktat *De Propositionibus* behandeln. Hierauf folgt die Lehre von den *Predicabilia* oder *Universalia*, von der *quaestio, conclusio, argumentum* und *argumentatio* und vom Syllogismus, ohne dass die Figuren des Syllogismus näher erörtert werden. Sehr eingehend werden die *loci dialectici* und die *fallaciae* behandelt. Hierauf folgt in der Handschrift ein eigener *Traktat über die Fallaciae* (fols. 37^r-41^r). Auf. fol. 41^r beginnen von einer Hand schon des 13. Jahrhunderts geschriebene Darlegungen *De Suppositionibus, De Appellationibus* und *De Obligationibus*, also über Gegenstände, welche in den drei genannten Logikkompendien des 13. Jahrhunderts in den Abschnitte *De Proprietatibus terminorum* behandelt werden. Die *Dialectica* selbst ist, wie die Erwähnung von *rothomagenses, parisienses, aurelianenses* bezeugt, in Frankreich, in Paris entstanden. In der gleichen Handschrift findet sich noch eine zweite *Dialectica* (fols. 45^r-56^r), die auch noch im 12. Jahrhundert, wie die ziemlich häufigen Zitate aus magister *P.*, worunter wir Petrus Abaelardus verstehen dürfen, beweisen, enstanden ist. Sie behandelt die gleichen Gegenstände wie die vorhergehende *Dialectica* und dazu noch die Figuren und Modi des Syllogismus. Der Rest der Handschrift ist mit einem ganzen Komplex von Kommentaren zu logischen Textbüchern der *Logica vetus* angefüllt.

Eine andere Münchener Handschrift (*Clm* 4652) enthält u. a. einen *Tractatus de suppositionibus* (fols. 73^r-78^v), der am Ende des 12. oder Anfang des 13. Jahrhunderts geschrieben ist, einen noch dem 12. Jahrhundert angehörenden unvollendeten *Tractatus de fallaciis* (fol. 91^r-92^v) und vor allem (fol. 104^r-116^r) eine wiederum noch in das 12. Jahrhundert zu verlegende *Dialectica*, die als *Introductorie dialectice* betitelt ist. Aehnlich wie die Logik des Wilhelm von Shyrewood in der Pariser Handschrift die Ueberschrift: *Introductiones magistri Guilelmi de Shyrewode in logicam trägt.* Es ist in dieser *Dialektik* besonders eingehend die Lehre von den Figuren und Modi des Syllogismus mit Beibringung eines reichen Quellenmaterials behandelt.

In einer weiteren Münchener Handschrift (*Clm* 14763) steht von fol. 90^r-121^r ein Kompendium der *Dialektik*, welches dem 13. Jahrhundert angehört und ausführlicher ist als die parallelen Werke des Wilhelm von Shyrewood und Petrus Hispanus. Die Lehre von den *Proprietates terminorum* beschränkt sich auf die Kapitel: *De Suppositionibus, De Appellationibus* und *De Restrictionibus.* Auch finden sich hier schon die Memorialverse: *barbara celarent darii* etc. Es müsste durch Vergleich erst festgestellt werden, ob dieses Kompendium der *Dialektik* vor den betreffenden Schriften des Wilhelm von Shyrewood und Petrus Hispanus oder nachber entstanden ist. Jedenfalls haben wir ein bisher unbekanntes Lehrbuch der Logik aus dem 13. Jahrhundert vor uns.

---

[19] B. Geyer, 'Zu den *Summulae logicales* des Petrus Hispanus und Lambert von Auxerre', *Philosophische Jahrbuch* L (1937), 511-13.

Eine für die Geschichte der Logik des 12. Jahrhunderts hochbedeutsame Handschrift ist *Cod.* 56. 20. *Aug.* 8vo der Herzog-August-Bibliothek zu Wolffenbüttel, welche zwei Kompendien der Dialektik und einen dialektischen Traktat, alles aus dem 12. Jahrhundert, enthält. Die erste *Dialectica,* welche unvollendet ist und in der Lehre von der Subalternation und Opposition der Sätze abbricht, steht von fol. 147^{v}-149^{v}. In der Einleitung ist Albericus zitiert. Unmittelbar darauf folgt (fols. 149^{v}-155^{v}) ein dialektischer Traktat, eine Sammlung von Uebungsbeispielen zur Theorie und Technik der syllogistischen Beweisführung, wobei die Sophistik eine grosse Rolle spielt. Die Art und Weise, wie hier Abälard unter dem Namen *Baiolardus* eingeführt ist, legt es nahe, diesen Traktat der Schule Abälards zuzuweisen. Hieran reicht sich ein zweites, gleichfalls unvollendetes Kompendium der Dialektik, welches in der Art und Weise wie Einwände erhoben und gelöst werden, und in der ganzen Lebhaftigkeit der Diskussion den damaligen Schulbetrieb im Logikunterricht widerspiegelt. Diese Dialektik führt auch Dialektiker des 12. Jahrhunderts mit Namen an, aber nur mit dem Anfangsbuchstaben: magister *A., P., Wl.* Nur ein *Guilelmus,* den wir wegen der Häufigkeit dieses Namens nicht gut identifizieren konnen, ist ausgeschrieben. Mit *P.* wird Petrus Abaelardus, mit *A.* Albericus gemeint sein, während sich über Wl. nichts feststellen lässt.

Cod. lat. oct. 262 der Preussischen Staatsbibliothek (jetzt Oeffentliche Wissenschaftliche Bibliothek) in Berlin, enthält von fol. 1^{r}-7^{r} ein Kompendium der Dialektik, das vollständig ist und noch im 12. Jahrhundert entstanden ist. Diese Dialektik, in welcher die Kapitel über die *Predicamenta,* die *Predicabilia* sowie über die *loci dialectici* und die *sophistici* fehlen, dafür aber die Figuren und Modi ausführlich dargestellt werden, dürfte, da die Memorialverse: *barbara celarent darii* etc. fehlen, schon aus der Zeit vor Wilhelm von Shyrewood und Petrus Hispanus stammen.

Cod. 27773 der Bibliothek des Germanischen Museums in Nürnberg bietet uns zwei Lehrbücher der Dialektik aus dem 12. Jahrhundert. Die erste Dialektik (fols. 41^{r}-54^{v}) weist gewisse Aehnlichkeit mit Wilhelm von Shyrewood auf. Die zweite Dialektik (fols. 55^{r}-72^{v}) ist zwar dem Schriftcharakter nach jünger als die vorhergehende, berührt sich aber inhaltlich mit den Dialektiken des 12. Jahrhunderts. Bemerkenswert ist hier die ausführliche Behandlung der *loci dialectici* und der Figuren und Modi des Syllogismus. In den *regulae* und in dem reichen Material an Beispielen zeigt sich die Fühlung mit der Disputationstechnik und mit dem praktischen Logikunterricht. Die Memorialverse *barbara celarent darii* etc. kennt unsere Dialektik noch nicht. Eine spätere Hand hat bei den einzelnen Modi am Rand die betreffenden Worte *barbara celarent* u.s.w. vermerkt. Diese *Dialectica* ist eben älter als die des Wilhelm von Shyrewoood und Petrus Hispanus. Philosophiegeschichtlich ist die auf rein logische Ausführungen im Texte sich beziehende Randnotiz von Interesse: *Hic confirmatur sententia magistri Petri Manducatoris* (fol. 61^{v}), da wir bisher von einer literarischen Tätigkeit des *magister historiarum* auf rein philosophischem, logischem Gebiet nichts wussten.

Schliesslich seien noch zwei Dialektiken kurz erwähnt, die sich in Wiener Handschriften finden. Im *Cod. lat.* 2486 der Wiener Nationalbibliothek, einer für die Philosophie und Sprachlogik des 12. Jahrhunderts sehr beachtenswerten

Handschrift, begegnet uns (fols. 38ᵛ-45ʳ) ein unvollendetes Kompendium der Dialektik, in welchem der Reihe nach von *sonus, vox, nomen, verbum, oratio* und besonders von der *propositio* gehandelt wird. In diesem Dialektikkompendium finden sich auch zahlreiche Hinweise auf Philosophen des 12. Jahrhunderts, die meist nur mit den Anfangsbuchstaben angeführt werden: magister *P.* (magister Petrus Abaelardus), magister *A.* (wahrscheinlich magister Albericus), magister *Guilelmus, magister noster.* Auch von *quidam Waldicelli* ist die Rede. Es lässt sich schwer entscheiden, ob damit ein einzelner Philosoph Waldicellus gemeint ist oder ob es sich um einen Anhänger eines Philosophen Waldicellus handelt, wie man etwa von Porretanus spricht. Die zweite Wiener Handschrift, *Cod. lat.* 2499 der Wiener Nationalbibliothek enthält (fols. 23ʳ-42ᵛ) die Dialektik eines magister *Wilgelmus* welche auch über *sonus, vox, nomen, oratio, propositio,* über die Einteilung der Sätze u.s.w. handelt. Auf fol. 29ʳ ist von der gleichen Hand, welche die *Dialectica* geschrieben hat, der Verfasser angegeben: *Hec predicta consequentia sunt introductiones secundum Wilelmum.* Von den zehn Kompendien der Dialektik aus dem 12. Jahrhundert, die ich kurz behandelt habe, ist diese die einzige, bei der ein Verfasser genannt ist, wobei wir freilich nicht wissen, wer dieser Wilelmus gewesen ist. Alle anderen Dialektikbücher sind anonym. Im *Clm.* 14779 zu Beginn eines anonymen Kommentars zu der boëthianischen Schrift *De Differentiis topicis* (fol. 87ʳ) ist auf zwei Verfasser von Lehrbüchern der *Dialectica* aus dem 12. Jahrhunderts hingewiesen: Robertus und Guido Lingonensis. Es lässt sich freilich nicht sagen, ob sich unter diesen anonymen Dialektikkompendien die Werke dieser beide Logiker befinden.

Ausser systematischen Darstellungen der aristotelischen Logik begegnen uns in den Handschriften auch Traktate über einzelne Gebiete der Logik. Ich habe auch auf zwei noch dem 12. Jahrhundert angehörende *Tractatus de fallaciis* in zwei Münchener Handschriften (*Clm.* 4652 und 4643) hingewiesen. Aus *Cod. lat.* 2486 (fols. 1ʳ-4ʳ) der Wiener Nationalbibliothek habe ich einen für die Universalienlehre der Frühscholastik interessanten *Tractatus de universalibus* ediert.[20]

Ich habe für die systematische Bearbeitung der aristotelischen Logik im 12. Jahrhundert, speziell für die Kompendien der Dialektik, nur auf eine Fülle neuen ungedruckten Materials hinweisen können, ohne in eine nähere ideengeschichtliche Untersuchung einzutreten. Es handelt sich auch hier um einen Ausschnitt, da nur Handschriften des deutschen Sprachgebiets, und diese nicht vollständig, herangezogen sind. Für die Theologie und Philosophie des 12. Jahrhunderts können allerdings die lateinischen Handschriften der Münchener Staatsbibliothek eine überragende Bedeutung beanspruchen. Eine weitere Durchforschung der Münchener Handschriften, auch der Handschriften der Wiener Nationalbibliothek, der Stiftsbibliothek von Sankt Florian, der Stadtbibliothek von Erfurt, auch Schweizer Bibliotheken wie der Stadtbibliothek von Bern, der Universitätsbibliothek von Basel, dürfte noch neues Material zu Tage fördern. Die französischen Bibliotheken, besonders die Pariser Nationalbibliothek, sind in dieser Hinsicht von V. Cousin, Ch. Thurot, B. Hauréau durchforscht worden. Doch wird auch hier sich noch manches Ineditum finden. Die von mir oben ausgewertete Berliner Handschrift (*Ms lat.* fol. 624), deren wenigstens teilweise Edition die Geschichte der scholastischen Logik in hohem Grade beleuchten könnte, stammt ja auch aus Paris, aus der Bibliothek von Sankt Viktor. Die italienischen, belgischen, englischen und spanischen Handschriftensammlungen, aus denen ich in meinen zahlreichen Veröffentlichungen zur Geschichte des mittelalterlichen Aristotelismus wertvolles Material schöpfen konnte, werden gleichfalls wertvolles Material für die Geschichte der

---

[20] M. Grabmann, *Mediaeval Studies,* IX (1947), 56-70.

Logik des 12. Jahrhunderts liefern können. Hoffentlich kann auch der zweite Band des *Aristoteles Latinus* der Inventarisierung der Handschriften der mittelalterlichen Aristotelesübersetzungen bald erscheinen. Eine spätere grosse Aufgabe für die Erforschung des scholastischen Aristotelismus wäre auch eine Inventarisierung der mittelalterlichen lateinischen Aristoteleskommentare, wofür das Werk von L. Thorndike und P. Kibre, *A Catalogue of Incipits of Mediaeval Writings in Latin* (Cambridge, Mass., 1937), eine überaus wertvolle Vorarbeit darstellt.

Um wieder auf die Dialektikkompendien des 12. Jahrhunderts zurückzukommen, so ergeben sich für die philosophie- und ideengeschichtliche Forschung eine Reihe von Aufgaben. Es ist vor allem zu untersuchen, auf welche Weise und in welchem Umfange hier die aristotelisch-boëthianische Logik systematisiert ist. Speziell muss festgestellt werden, ob und inwieweit die Bücher der *Logica nova,* die beiden *Analytiken,* die *Topik* und die *Elenchik* benützt sind. Bei dem Abschnitt über die *loci dialectici* ist darauf zu sehen, ob hier die boëthianische Schrift *De Differentiis topicis* oder die aristotelische *Topik* die Grundlage bildet, wie auch in den Teilen, die vom Syllogismus handeln, die Art und Weise der Verwertung der *Analytiken* und bei der Behandlung der *fallaciae* die Verarbeitung der aristotelischen *Elenchik* ins Auge zu fassen ist. Es ist dies um so wichtiger, als wir ja bisher keine Kommentare zu den *Analytiken* und zur *Topik* aus dem 12. Jahrhundert kennen. Einen Kommentar zur *Elenchik* konnte ich, wie oben bemerkt, in der grossen Berliner Sammelhandschrift von Sankt Viktor feststellen.

Ein weiterer Gesichtspunkt, unter welchem diese Dialektikbücher zu betrachten sind, ist der Zusammenhang mit Abälard und seiner Schule. Wir konnten ja in mehreren dieser Dialektiken Hinweise auf Abälard, der in einem der beiden Göttinger Dialektikkompendien als Baiolardus bezeichnet wird, wahrnehmen. In Verbindung mit den ungedruckten logischen Kommentaren des 12. Jahrhunderts kann die reiche geistige Bewegung und Lebendigkeit in der philosophischen Schule des *Peripateticus Palatinus* untersucht werden. Die Rekonstruktion der logischen Anschauungen des magister Albericus aus dem Zitatenmaterial würde auch Licht auf den Streit um Abälard auf dem logischen Gebiet fliessen lassen.

Fernerhin ist zu erwarten, dass die Erforschung dieses ungedruckten Materials auch für die Geschichte von Einzelproblemen der Logik, etwa für die Geschichte der Modalsätze, über die P. Bochenski eine Untersuchung angestellt hat,[21] einen Ertrag abwirft. Diese Lehrbücher der Dialektik stehen in innigster Verbindung mit dem Logikunterricht. Sie sind aus demselben hervorgegangen. Man kann dies auch aus den Beispielen, die zur Erläuterung der Theorien benützt werden, und auch aus der Verwertung von Sophismata entnehmen. Man kann aus diesen Dialektikkompendien wie auch aus den Kommentaren sich ein Bild von dem Logikunterricht und den damit verbundenen Disputationsübungen machen.

Von besonderem philosophiegeschichtlichem Interesse ist die Untersuchung des Verhältnisses, das zwischen diesen im 12. Jahrhundert entstandenen Lehrbüchern und den parallelen Werken des Wilhelm von Shyrewood, Petrus Hispanus und Lambert von Auxerre besteht. Wir haben schon aus den kurzen Inhaltsangaben, die wir gegeben haben, sehen können, dass eine weitgehende Uebereinstimmung zwischen den behandelten Gegenständen hier besteht. Die Lehre von *sonus, vox, nomen, verbum* und *propositio*, von den *predicamenta* und *predicabilia*, vom Syllogismus und der Beweisführung, von den *loci dialectici* und den *fallaciae* sind den Dialektikkompendien des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts gemeinsam. Die geschichtlichen Wurzeln der Logikkompendien des Wilhelm von Shyrewood, des Petrus Hispanus und Lambert von Auxerre und auch der Darlegungen über die *proprietates terminorum,* speziell der Suppositionslogik des 13. Jahrhunderts liegen im 12. Jahrhundert. Eine Einzeluntersuchung müsste den Uebereinstimmungen in den Begriffsbestimmungen, in den Einteilungen, in der Auswahl der Beispiele, nachgehen. Wenn die für seine Darstellung der scholastischen Logik so verhängnissvolle These C. Prantls, dass die *Summulae logicales* des Petrus Hispanus ein Plagiat von einem ins Lateinische übertragenen, angeblichen Logikkompendium des byzantinischen Philosophen Michael Psellos sei, nicht durch unwiderlegbare äussere Argumente als haltlos und unrichtig erwiesen wäre, würde sie endgültig durch die Tatsache, dass in zahlreichen Dialektikkompendien des 12. Jahrhunderts die gleichen Gegenstände wie in dem Werk des späteren Papstes Johannes XXI behandelt sind, als ein ungeschichtliches Phantom erwiesen. Im Schlussband der monumentalen Gesamtausgabe der Werke des Georgios Scholarios ist die von diesem hervorragenden byzantinischen Theologen und Patriarchen im 15. Jahrhundert hergestellte griechische Uebersetzung der *Summulae logicales* des Petrus Hispanus auf Grund von nicht weniger als drei Autographen ediert und damit die von R. Stapper, K. Krumbacher und auch von mir abgelehnte und widerlegte Konstruktion von C. Prantl, dass die *Summulae logicales* von Petrus Hispanus ein Plagiat aus einem griechischen Logikkompendium des Michael Psellos sei, endgültig aus der Welt geschafft. Uebrigen haben, wie ich anderwärts gezeigt habe,[22] Quétif-Echard schon dargetan, dass die *Summulae logicales* des Petrus Hispanus lateinischen Ursprunge sind und erst später ins Grieschische übersetzt worden sind. C. Prantl hat, wie Geyer mit Recht bemerkt,[23] das Bild der Entwicklung der Logik im 12. Jahrhundert wesentlich verzeichnet. Ihm fehlte die Kenntnis des reichen handschriftlichen Materials der Münchener Staatsbibliothek. Er hat meines Wissens eigentlich nur die Pariser Handschrift der *Introductiones in logicam* des Wilhelm von Shyrewood eingesehen und da wimmeln die von ihm beigebrachten Texte von falschen Lesungen. Der Hauptwert seiner als Gesamtleistung auch jetzt noch nützlichen *Geschichte der Logik im Abendland* liegt, was die Scholastik anbelangt, für das 14. und 15. Jahrhundert, in der ausgedehnten Benützung der Incunabelliteratur.

---

[21] I. M. Bochenski, 'Notes historiques sur les *Propositiones modales*', *Rev. des sc. phil. et théol.*, XXVI (1937) 673-92; Derselbe, *Z historii logiki zdan modalnych* (Lwow, 1938).

In den Bereich der Aristotelesverwertung im 12. Jahrhundert fällt neben den Kommentaren und den Dialektikkompendien auch die Entstehung der scholastischen Sprachlogik, für welche ja die Schriften des Aristoteles und Boëthius so reiche Ansätze und Anregungen darbieten und die Ausgestaltung der Sophismataliteratur unter dem Einfluss der aristotelischen Elenchik. Was die Entstehung der Sprachlogik betrifft, so kann ich mich kurz fassen und mich auf meine früheren Arbeiten über die Entwicklung der mittelalterlichen Sprachlogik, über Thomas von Erfurt, und die Sprachlogik des mittelalterlichen Aristotelismus, über die Entstehung der Sprachphilosophie im Mittelalter berufen.[24] Grundlegend wegen seiner Fülle handschriftlichen Materials ist auch jetzt noch das monumentale Werk von Ch. Thurot über die grammatikalischen und sprachlogischen Studien im Mittelalter aus dem Jahre 1868.[25] Das Werk von G. Wallerand über Siger von Courtrai kommt mit seinen Texten und Untersuchungen zwar zunächst für das 13. und frühe 14. Jahrhundert in Betracht, greift aber auch auf die Entstehung der Sprachphilosophie in der Frühscholastik zurück.[26]

---

[22] M. Grabmann, 'Handschriftliche Forschungen und Funde zu den philosophischen Schriften des Petrus Hispanus, des späteren Papstes Johannes XXI (*gest.* 1277)', *Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften,* 1936, Phil. hist. Klasse, 9 (München, 1936), 9. Quétif-Echard, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum* I, pp. 485-86.

[23] B. Geyer, *Abelards philosophische Schriften,* S. 591.

[24] M. Grabmann, *Mittelalterliches Geistesleben* I (München, 1926), SS. 104-46; Derselbe, 'Thomas von Erfurt und die Sprachlogik des mittelalterlichen Aristotelismus', *Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften,* 1943, Phil. hist. Klasse, 2 (München, 1943); Derselbe, 'El Desarrolle historíce de la Filosofía y Logica medievales del Lenguaje (sinopsis)', *Sapientia* III (1948), 11-22.

[25] Ch. Thurot, *Notices et Extraits* XXII, deuxième partie (Paris, 1868).

Die Entstehung der Sprachlogik in der Frühscholastik ist an zwei grosse Denker des 12. Jahrhunderts geknüpft, an Petrus Abaelardus und an Petrus Heliae. Die Kommentare Abälards zur *Isagoge,* zu den *Kategorien* und *Perihermeneias* weisen ein ausgesprochen sprachlogisches Gepräge auf. Er unterscheidet zwischen *vox* als physischem Laut und *sermo* als dem etwas bezeichnenden, etwas bedeutenden Wort. Er beleuchtet den Bedeutungscharakter ganzer Sätze und unterzieht Wörter wie *omnis, nullus, aliquis, quidam, uterque* einer sprachlogischen Untersuchung. Petrus Heliae, dessen wissenschaftliche Bedeutung durch Ch. Thurot und G. Wallerand ins Licht gestellt worden ist, kann als der eigentliche Begründer der scholastischen Sprachlogik angesprochen werden. Er hat in seinem ungedruckten Kommentar zur *Institutio grammatica* des Priscianus die aristotelische Logik auf die Grammatik in Anwendung gebracht. Ich komme vielleicht später, wenn einmal die beiden Münchener Handschriften (*Clm.* 3515 und 14424) wieder benützt werden können, ausführlicher auf diesen hervorragenden Philosophen zurück. Für jetzt bringe ich im wesentlichen, was Ch. Thurot über ihn auf Grund von Pariser Handschriften mitteilt. Petrus Heliae, über dessen Leben wir wenig Sicheres wissen, lehrte um die Mitte des 12. Jahrhunderts in Paris. Das einzige sicher authentische Werk, das wir von ihm besitzen, ist sein Kommentar zu Priscianus (*Priscianus maior* und *Priscianus minor*). Er nimmt aus der Grammatik des Priscian nur die Definitionen, die Regeln und Schlussfolgerungen. Hingegen lässt er fast das ganze Beispielsmaterial beiseite. Die Definitionem und allgemeinen Erwägungen werden ausführlich entwickelt, der Rest wird resumiert. Oft unterbricht er die Darlegung, um Einwände zu lösen oder um Fragen zu diskutieren, die der Text nahelegt. Er hat ohne Zweifel reichlich aus den früheren und auch unmittelbar vorangehenden Autoren, von denen er einen Anselmus anführt und die er als *antiqui* zusammenfasst, reichlich geschöpft. Wenn er eigene Gedanken bringt, so macht er eigens darauf aufmerksam. Bei der Durchsicht des Prisciankommentars zeigt sich, dass er die *Kategorien* und *Perihermeneias* nach der Uebersetzung und den Kommentaren des Boëthius kennt und benützt. Nach Thurot sind dies die einzigen Schriften des Stagiriten, die uns bei ihm begegnen. Ich habe auch bei einer allerdings ziemlich kursorischen Durchsicht von *Clm.* 3515 keine Benützung der *Logica nova* wahrgenommen. Thurot bringt auch einige Belege für diese Aristotelesbenützung. Petrus Heliae untersucht, ob der artikulierte Laut eine der zehn Kategorien sei. Er stellt sich die Frage, in welchem Subjekt die Akzidentien der Buchstaben und der Satzteile inhärieren. Er sucht überhaupt die Behauptungen des Priscians mit den Kategorien des Aristoteles in Einklang zu bringen. Auch untersucht er die Frage, ob der Satz *taceo* in dem Moment, in dem er ausgesprochen wird, richtig sei. Er beruft sich bei der Analyse des Modalsatzes: *Necesse est Socratem esse animal* auf die Auktorität des Aristoteles. Bei der Definition des *verbum* spielt die Erwägung, dass dasselbe eine *affirmatio* ausdrückt, eine Rolle. Aus dem boëthianischen opusculum sacrum *Liber de una persona et duabus naturis contra Eutychen et Nestorium* entnimmt er die Begriffsbestimmung von *persona* und den Unterschied von drei Bedeutungen von *substantia.* Ich möchte hierzu aus *Clm.* 3115 noch die Darlegungen *De Tempore* (fol. 64ᵛ), *De Substantia* (fol. 69ᵛ und 93ᵛ hinzufügen. Ich kann hier auf den grossen Einfluss, den Petrus Heliae, dessen Kommentar zu Priscian im 13. Jahrhundert an der Pariser Artistenfakultät kommentiert wurde, auf die Folgezeit ausgeübt hat, nicht eingehen. Ich habe in meiner Akademieabhandlung über Thomas von Erfurt und die Sprachlogik des mittelalterlichen Aristotelismus darauf hingewiesen. Was Abälard für die Dialektik, Petrus Lombardus für die Theologie, Gratian für das kanonische Recht gewesen ist, das war Petrus Heliae für die Sprachlogik, für die spekulative Grammatik. Wie Averroes für Aristoteles, so wird Petrus Heliae für Priscian als *Commentator* schlechthin bezeichnet. Bisher war aus dem 12. Jahrhundert nur dieser Kommentar des Petrus Heliae zu Priscianus als grosse sprachlogische Leistung bekannt. Ich konnte nun im *Cod. lat.* 2486 (fols. 17-36^v) der Wiener Nationalbibliothek einen zweiten unvollendeten Prisciankommentar sprachlogischer Einstellung feststellen. Derselbe trägt in viel höherem Grade als das Werk des Petrus Heliae ein dialektisches Gepräge an sich. Fortwährend begegnen uns die Wendungen *hic queritur, modo queritur, sed si obiciatur, opponitur, si opponitur, solutio* etc. Es werden Aristoteles, Boëthius und Makrobius zitiert. Eine Vergleichung beider Kommentare, die zur Zeit nicht möglich ist, wird die Bedeutung dieses Stückes des Wiener Codex ins Licht stellen können.

---

[26] G. Wallerand, *Les Oeuvres de Siger de Courtrai. Etude critique et textes inédits* (Les Philosophes belges, III, Louvain, 1913).

Der Einfluss der *Logica nova,* speziell der *Topik, bzw.* auch der *Elenchik,* auf den Logikunterricht und das logische Schrifttum des 12. Jahrhunderts kommt besonders deutlich in der Sophismataliteratur, die schon im 12. Jahrhundert entstanden ist und im 13. Jahrhundert und dann in der Spätscholastik zur Entfaltung gekommen ist, zur Geltung. Ich kann mich hier kurz fassen und auf meine Monographie über die Sophismataliteratur des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts verweisen.[27] Die *Sophismata* sind nicht Sophistik, nicht eine Häufung von Spitzfindigkeiten, sondern ernste wissenschaftliche Arbeit auf logischem Gebiete. Es werden oft etwas bizarr klingende Sätze zum Ausgangspunkt der Diskussion über eine These, die zu beweisen ist, oder auch als Grundlage für die Erläuterung der logischen Theorien von den *figurae* und *modi* des Syllogismus, von den *loci dialectici,* von den *fallaciae* und den *proprietates terminorum* benützt. G. Wallerand hat über die Technik und Theorie der Sophismataliteratur der Hochscholastik gründlich gehandelt. Wie in den *Quodlibeta* uns lebendig der Quaestionenbetrieb im theologischen Unterricht entgegentritt, so spiegelt sich in den *sophismata* schon im 12. Jahrhundert die Lebhaftigkeit der Diskussion und Disputation im Logikunterricht. Ein besonderer Nachdruck wurde auch auf die Grammatik, auf die Sprachlogik gelegt, wie denn auch im 13. Jahrhundert Robert Kilwardby *Sophismata grammaticalia* und *logicalia* verfasst hat. Ein Ergebnis meiner Schrift über die Sophismataliteratur ist die Feststellung, dass es schon im 12. Jahrhundert Sammlungen von *Sophismata* gegeben hat. Ich habe schon oben auf ein Stück im *Cod.* 56. 20. Aug. 8vo der Herzog-August-Bibliothek in Wolffenbüttel (fols. 149^v-155^v) hingewiesen, welches eine Sammlung von Uebungsbeispielen zur Theorie und Technik der syllogistischen Beweisführung mit besonders starker Betonung der *Elenchik,* wobei auch zweimal Abälard zitiert ist, darstellt. Ich habe auch in zwei Wiener Handschriften förmliche Sophismatasammlungen nachweisen können. Im *Cod. lat.* 2459 der Wiener Nationalbibliothek folgt auf den Prisciankommentar des Petrus Heliae ein mit *Logica* überschriebener Text (fols. 101^r-114^r), der eine Zusammenstellung von Sätzen darbietet, über deren Richtigkeit in dialektischer Form Fragen gestellt und gelöst werden. Ohne Zweifel ist damit der Zweck grammatikalischer, logischer und sprachlogischer Uebungen ins Auge gefasst. Hieran reiht sich (fols. 115^r-117^v) ein mit *Dialectica* betiteltes Fragment einer freien Bearbeitung der *Elenchik,* eines *Tractatus de fallaciis,* in welchem die einzelnen *paralogismi* mit einer Fülle von Beispielen erläutert werden. Ich habe früher schon in zwei Münchener Handschriften (*Clm.* 4643 und 4652) solche *Tractatus de fallaciis* aus dem 12. Jahrhundert festgestellt. Ich kann hier nicht die *Tractatus de*

---

[27] M. Grabmann, *Die Sophismataliteratur des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts mit Textausgabe eines Sophisma des Boëtius von Dacien* (Münster, 1940).

fallaciis mit dem von mir aufgefundenen *Tractatus maiorum fallaciarum* des Petrus Hispanus und mit dem opusculum *De Fallaciis* des hl. Thomas von Aquin vergleichen. Die zweite Wiener Handschrift (*Cod. lat.* 2499) der Nationalbibliothek, die uns schon bei der Behandlung der *Introductiones dialectice* eines magister Wilgelmus begegnet ist enthält im Anschluss an diese Dialectica zuerst Quaestionen theologischen Inhalts (fols. 42ᵛ-47ʳ), dann von fol. 47ᵛ an theologische Sätze, namentlich kurze Bibeltexte, die zum Gegenstand grammatikalischer, logischer und sprachlogischer Diskussion gemacht werden. Der grammatikalische Gesichtspunkt ist die *locutio congrua* und die *locutio incongrua*. Hier und dann auch von fol. 48ʳ ab bei Sätzen auch nicht theologischen Charakters sucht die *oppositio* einen Satz als *locutio incongrua* zu erweisen, wogegen die *solutio* diesen Einwand widerlegt und den Satz als *locutio congrua* dartut. Von fol. 53ʳ-67ᵛ sind Sätze aneinander gereiht, welche als Uebungsbeispiele in der dialektischen und auch sophistischen Beweisführung dienen. Zuerst wird ein sonderbar klingender Satz aufgestellt, der mit kurzen, mit *item* aneinander gereihten Argumenten, bewiesen wird. Die regelmässig wiederkehrende Wendung: *Si concesserit, sic procede,* zeigt, dass diese Sätze und die daran geknüpften dialektischen Uebungen im Dienste der Disputation und auch der sophistischen Beweisführung stehen. Es handelt sich um eine praktische Anleitung zur Handhabung der dialektischen Kunst in der Disputation, wobei auch sophistische Kunstgriffe angewandt werden, um den Gegner in die Irre zu führen. Ich habe in meiner Schrift über die Sophismataliteratur aus beiden Wiener Handschriften die Titelüberschriften dieser Quaestionen und auch Textbelege veröffentlicht.

Ich habe mich mit der Aristotelesbearbeitung und Aristotelesverwertung im 12. Jahrhundert auf philosophischem Gebiet ausführlicher befasst, da ich hier neue Ergebnisse der Handschriftenforschung in erheblichem Masse vorlegen konnte. Ich will daran nur eine kurze Uebersicht über die Aristotelesverwertung in der Theologie der Frühscholastik reihen. Ich habe schon in meiner *Geschichte der scholastischen Methode* hierüber eingehender gehandelt und seither ist durch die Forschungsarbeit von J. de Ghellinck, dessen bald nach dem zweiten Band meiner *Geschichte der scholastischen Methode* erschienenes Werk: *Le mouvement théologique du XIIᵉ siècle* in neuer Bearbeitung erscheint, von Weihbischof A. Landgraf, R. Martin O. P., H. Weisweiler S. J., O. Lottin O.S.B., L. Ott *u.a.* eine Fülle neuer Erkenntnisse erworben worden. Da im 12. Jahrhundert die Professoren der Theologie vielfach vorher die *artes liberales* studiert und auch doziert hatten, war es naheliegend, dass sie auch auf theologischem Gebiete von der *Dialektik,* von der aristotelischen *Logik* mehr oder minder ausgiebig Gebrauch gemacht haben. In der Schule des Anselm von Laon und Wilhelm von Champeaux, der Wiege der Systematik der scholastischen Theologie, tritt dieses aristotelisch-dialektische Element noch zurück. Die Viktorinerschule hat in ihren grossen Repräsentanten, Hugo von Sankt Viktor und Richard von Sankt Viktor, den Beweis dafür erbracht, dass ein tiefes Eindringen in den Organismus und Pragmatismus der Offenbarungswahrheiten auf Grund der hl. Schrift und der patristischen, speziell augustinischen Theologie möglich ist, auch ohne besondere Verwertung und Betonung der aristotelisch-boëthianischen Logik. Hugo von Sankt Viktor war freilich, wie sein *Didascalion* und seine Schriften über Geometrie und Grammatik beweisen, mit den *artes liberales* sehr vertraut.

Peter Abälard hat die Anwendung der Dialektik auf theologisches Gebiet, für die sich schon in der vorhergehenden Theologie, z.B. bei Lanfrank Anfänge zeigen, zum Prinzip erhoben und ausführlich begründet. Diese Aristotelesverwertung, welche in der Frühscholastik fast ausschliesslich formaler und methodischer Art ist, konzentriert sich hauptsächlich auf die Ausgestaltung der *quaestio*, welche A. Landgraf als "die Blüte der Dialektik" bezeichnet,[28] und auf die Weiterbildung der *Sic-et-non* Methode zur scholastischen Disputationsmethode mit dem Schema: Argument-Gegenargument-Hauptteil (solutio) -Kritik der für die abgelehnte Meinung angeführten Argumente. P. R. Martin hat eine sehr gute Uebersicht über die Ausgestaltung der *quaestio*, die neben der *lectio* eine Hauptform des scholastischen Unterrichtsbetriebs war, unter dem Einfluss der aristotelischen Logik, besonders auch der neu übersetzten Bücher der *Topik* und der *Elenchik*, wozu auch noch die beiden *Analytiken* für die syllogistische Beweisführung kommen, gegeben:[29]

> Ce qu'on peut appeller l'évolution de la *Quaestio* se fait à partir de la première moitié du douzième siècle, à la suite de l'introduction dans l'Ecole des *Topiques* et des *Raisonnements sophistiques* d'Aristote. Sous l'influence de ces écrits, la *Quaestio*, dont les parties essentielles demeurent, est nouvellement organisée. La dialectique lui imprime sa forte marque et sa ferme allure. La position du problème est flanquée d'arguments pour et contre, dans la forme syllogistique; et la solution consiste, non plus seulement à donner une simple réponse à déterminer le sens d'une citation d'auteur, mais à refuter en outre les arguments qui s'opposent à l'avis de l'auteur. La *Quaestio* se présente avec une structure toute nouvelle. L'*auctoritas* y a toujours sa place, mais elle est intégrée dans un système, le raisonnement dialectique, dont souvent elle constitue un des termes.

Für die syllogistische Formierung der Argumente *pro et contra*, für die Gestaltung der Einwände gaben die beiden *Analytiken*, die *Topik* und die *Elenchik* neue methodische und technische Gesichtspunkte und wertvolle Handhaben. Gilbert de la Porrée und Clarembaldus haben an der Spitze ihrer Kommentare zur boëthianischen Schrift *De Trinitate* eine Theorie und Technik der *quaestio* entwickelt. Bei den Unterscheidungen, welche sowohl in der *solutio* wie auch bei der Widerlegung von Argumenten zu machen waren, spielten auch terminologische und sprachlogische Gesichtspunkte eine Rolle. Quaestionen waren vielfach in systematische und exegetische Werke eingeflochten. Wohl das erste Beispiel von selbständigen theologischen Quaestionen, in denen wir den Einfluss der *Logica nova* wahrnehmen, sind die von Kardinal Pitra herausgebenen Quaestionen des Abälardschülers und Pariser Professors Odo von Ourscamp, der später Abt des Zisterzienserklosters Ourscamp war und 1171 als Kardinalbischof von Frascati gestorben ist.[30] Wie wir es bei *sophismata* auf dem philosophischen Gebiet gesehen haben, so spiegelt sich auch in diesen Quaestionen der scholastische theologische Unterrichts- und Disputationsbetrieb. Man merkt unschwer bei diesen in lebhaften Diskussionen sich bewegenden Quaestionen, bei denen auch die Sprachlogik zur Geltung kommt, den Einfluss der *Logica nova*, besonders der *Topik* und der *Elenchik*, heraus und nimmt einen kräftigen Ansatz zur regelrechten theologischen Disputation wahr. Mit scharfem Auge werden sophistische Scheinbeweise auch mit Benennung der betreffenden *fallacia* beobachtet und zerpflückt. Ein zweites, noch viel mehr ausgebildetes Beispiel solcher theologischen Quaestionen sind die von J. Warichez edierten *Disputationes* des Simon von Tournai[31] der in Paris allem Anschein nach ein Schüler und dann ein Mitarbeiter des Odo von Ourscamp gewesen ist. J. Warichez hat den methodischen Fortschritt, den diese *Disputationes* gegenüber den *Quaestiones* des Odo von Ourscamp bedeuten, unterstrichen und seine Aristotelesbegeisterung hervorgehoben. Er führt auch meine Aeusserung, dass die Theorie des *Credo ut intelligam* durch Simon von Tournai ein aristotelisches Kolorit erhalten habe, zustimmend an. Die Quaestionenmethode und Quaestionentechnik der scholastischen Theologie hat in den *Quodlibeta,* von denen die *Disputationes* des Simon von Tournai ein gewisses Vorspiel sind, in den *Quaestiones disputatae* und in den Sentenzenkommentaren des 13. Jahrhunderts ihre volle Ausgestaltung gefunden.

---

[28] A. Landgraf, *Einführung in die Geschichte der theologischen Literatur der Frühscholastik*, S. 14.

[29] R. Martin, *Oeuvres de Robert de Melun I: Quaestiones de divina pagina. Texte inédit.* (Spic. S. Lov., 13, Louvain, 1932), pp. XXXIV-XLVI.

[30] M. Grabmann, *Geschichte der schol. Methode* I, SS. 20-7.

[31] J. Warichez, *Les Disputationes de Simon de Tournai* (Spic. S. Lov. 12, Louvain, 1932), pp. XXIII-XXVI, XLIII-LII.

Mit einer Entwicklung der *quaestio* auf theologischem Gebiet geht Hand in Hand (und ist im Schlussergebnis dasselbe) die unter dem Einfluss der aristotelischen *Logik,* speziell der *Logica nova* erfolgte Ausgestaltung der *Sic-et-non* Methode. Dieselbe ist kanonistischen Ursprungs, schon bei Bernold von Konstanz, Bonizo von Sutri und Yvo von Chartres wahrnehmbar und besteht in dem Verfahren, sich widersprechende *auctoritates,* Aussprüche der Väter oder von *canones* der Kirchenrechtsquellen durch Wahrnehmung bestimmter Anweisungen, Regeln und Interpretationsgrundsätze auszugleichen und als nur scheinbar sich widersprechend zu erweisen. Es ist dies die Arbeitsweise der *concordia* oder *concordantia discordantium* wie sie im *Decretum Gratiani* ihre klassische Form gefunden hat. Abälard hat im Prolog zu seiner Schrift *Sic et Non* diese Konkordanzmethode mit einer starken dialektischen Nuance weitergebildet. Der primäre Zweck, den der *Peripateticus Palatinus* bei Abfassung seine Buches *Sic et Non* verfolgte, war ein dialektischer. Er wollte ein umfassendes und anregendes Material für dialektische Uebungen auf theologischem Gebiete geben und hierdurch eine systematische Anwendung der Dialektik auf theologisches Gebiet erzielen. An sich hat die *Sic-et-non* Methode noch nicht die eigentliche Disputationsmethode in die Theologie eingeführt. In der von mir in meiner *Geschichte der scholastischen Methode* analysierten[32] und jetzt von R. Martin ganz edierten *prefatio* zu den Sentenzen des Robert von Melun,[33] welche den theologischen Unterrichtsbetrieb der damaligen Zeit einer eingehenden Kritik unterzieht, ist von der *lectio,* der kommentierenden Tätigkeit des Theologieprofessors die Rede und die mechanische Glossentheologie, welche die tieferen und schwierigeren Fragen der Bibel umgeht, abgelehnt. Von der *disputatio* als Bestandteil des theologischen Unterrichts ist noch nicht die Rede. Die Ausgestaltung der *Sic-et-non* Methode wie auch der *quaestio* zur scholastischen Disputationsmethode in dem oben erwähnten Schema ist unter dem Einfluss der *Logica nova,* besonders der *Topik,* vorgenommen worden. Ich wiederhole hier den schon früher angeführten Ausspruch des Johannes von Salisbury: *Sine eo* (i.e. *libro Topicorum octavo*) *non disputatur arte sed casu.* Im *Verbum abbreviatum* des Petrus Cantor ist die *disputatio* als Bestandteil des theologischen Unterichts angeführt. Die *lectio* ist das Fundament, die *disputatio* die Wand und die *predicatio* (das 13. Jahrhundert sagte *sermo*) das Dach des geistigen Gebäudes der Theologie. Nichts kann voll und ganz verstanden und getreu und wahr gepredigt werden, wenn es nicht zuvor durch die *disputatio* gründlich verarbeitet worden ist.[34]

Ich greife noch ein paar Theologen des späteren 12. Jahrhunderts heraus, in welchen der Einfluss der aristotelischen *Logik* in der Handhabung der *questio* und *disputatio* sich zeigt. An sich ist dies bei all den Quaestionen und theologischen Summen dieser Zeit wie des Simon von Tournai, Martin von Cremona, Petrus von Poitiers, Petrus Cantor, Prepositinus, Petrus von Capua, Stephan Langton, Robert Courson, die teilweise noch ins frühe 13. Jahrhundert hineinreichen, der Fall. A. Landgraf hat auch eine Reihe von anonymen Quaestionensammlungen festgestellt.[35] Die Sentenzen des Petrus von Poitiers, eines Schülers des Petrus Lombardus, geben uns eine Vorstellung davon, wie man damals an den Pariser Schulen unter dem Einfluss des ganzen aristotelischen Organons lehrte und lernte.[36] *Questio* und *solutio* sind die Angelpunkte der theologischen Lehrmethode. Der Weg zur richtigen Lösung von Fragen, zu denen eine Glaubenswahrheit im Zusammenhang mit den Anschauungen früherer Theologen Anlass gibt, ist die dialektische Rede und Gegenrede, die schulmässige Disputationsmethode. Die Häufung von Einwändungen und die Art und Weise ihrer Widerlegung bekundet die Schlagfertigkeit und Lebhaftigkeit der Schuldisputation. Die Einwände werden eingeführt mit: *Sed contra obicitur sic* etc. Die Antwort darauf beginnt gewöhnlich mit: *Ad quod dicendum.* Die Lösung von Fragen und Einwänden vollzieht sich in der Regel auf dem Wege der distinctio, von Unterscheidungen, die sich vornehmlich auf terminologische und und sprachlogische Feststellungen stützen. Sehr häufig wird ein Einwand als *sophisma* erklärt und zwar mit dem betreffenden *terminus technicus* charakterisiert. Die meisten der in der aristotelischen *Elenchik* behandelten Arten des sophistischen Schlussverfahrens begegnen uns bei Petrus von Poitiers, so die Sophismen der Aequivocation, der Amphibolie, des Fehlens der Verbindung und der Trennung, des Fehlers der Frage u.s.w.

---

[32] M. Grabmann, *a.a.O.,* SS. 341-58.

[33] R. Martin, *Oeuvres de Robert de Melun III: Sententie* (Spic. S. Lov., 21, Louvain, 1947), pp. 3-56.

[34] Sieh die Texte bei M. Grabmann, *a.a.O.,* SS. 480-81.

[35] Landgraf, *a.a.O.,* pp. 117-28.

Eine ganz unbekannte theologische *Summa* eines weiter nicht bekannten Hubertus, welche *Fragmenta questionum magistri Huberti et in cophinis articulorum reposita* betitelt ist,[37] setzt sich aus Quaestionen zusammen, welche zuerst die mit *Item* oder *Propterea* aneinandergereihten Einwände bringen, denselben im *Sed contra* eine Reihe gleichfalls mit *Item* aneinandergereihte Argumente gegenüberstellen, eine kurze *solutio* geben und hierauf mit *Ad illud* u.s.w. die Widerlegung der Einwände anfügen. Im Vorwort spricht unser Scholastiker die Absicht aus, das Gesamtgebiet der theologischen Wahrheiten unter dem Gesichtspunkt der drei bekanntesten Prinzipien der Dinge, namlich der vier Arten der Ursachen, der vier Arten der Bewegung und der zehn Praedikamente zu behandeln. Die aristotelische Philosophie wird also hier nicht bloss in methodisch-formaler Hinsicht, sondern auch für die inhaltliche Einteilung und Behandlung verwertet. Soviel ich bei rascher Durchsicht sah, ist ausser magister Petrus Longobardus, auch magister Robertus Melodunensis zitiert. Ich konnte diese sehr schön geschriebene Summe, welche sich im Privatbesitz befindet, leider nur ein paar Stunden einsehen.

Die handschriftlich weitverbreitete *Summa theologie* des hochangesehenen Pariser Kanzlers Prepositinus von Cremona[38] ist, obschon derselbe in seinen *sermones* sich über die *infecunda phylosophorum loquacitas*, über die *in philosophicis facultatibus subtilitas inutilis et inutilitas subtilis* sich so geringschätzig äussert, durch und durch dialektisch ausgerichtet. Das genannte theologische Material ist in Fragen, welche mit *queritur, item queritur, solet queri* aneinandergereiht werden, zerlegt. Die Lösung der Einwände erfolgt *per distinctionem* oder auch *per interemtionem.* Der Einfluss der aristotelischen *Elenchik* zeigt sich auch in der Charakterisierung von kritisierten sophistischen Beweisgängen mit deren technischer Benennung. So wird auf Aequivocationen, auf das *sophisma secundum accidens* ausdrücklich hingewiesen. Die in den Schulen geübte theologische Disputation kommt auch darin zum Ausdruck, dass Prepositinus förmliche Anweisungen gibt, wie man den Gegner packen, ihm bei seinen Antworten, mögen sie auf Ja oder Nein lauten, beikommen könne. Es zeigt sich dies in Wendungen wie *Potes impedire opponentem si vis cum dicat . . . Sed si*

---

[36] M. Grabmann, *a.a.O.*, SS. 516-20 und Landgraf, *a.a.O.*, SS. 105-9.

[37] M. Grabmann, 'Notes sur la Somme théologique de magister Hubertus', *Rech. de théol. anc. et med.*, I (1929), 238.

[38] M. Grabmann, *a.a.O.*, SS. 552-36. Handschriftenangabe bei Landgraf, *a.a.O.*, SS. 112 ff. Das Hauptwerk über Prepositinus ist G. Lacombe, *Praepositini Cancellarii Parisiensis (1206-1210) Opera Omnia* (Bibl. thomiste, XI, Le Saulchoir, 1927).

alicui videtur subterfugium, concedat propositionem et sic instet argumentando etc. Auch das Schema: Fragestellung-Argumente-Gegenargumente-Lösung-Kritik der für die abgelehnte Meinung angeführten Argumente tritt uns in ziemlich fertiger Form entgegen. In der ganzen Darstellungsmethode dieser *Summa* zeigt sich ganz deutlich der Einfluss der aristotelischen *Analytiken, Topik* und *Elenchik.* G. Lacombe, dessen allzufrüher Tod die von ihm beabsichtigte Edition dieser *Summa* nicht zustande kommen liess, bemerkt zutreffend:[39] *Bien qu'il professe un grand mépris pour les dialecticiens, il est tout impregné de la doctrine de la Logica vetus et nova d'Aristote.*

Es ist nur eine kleine Auslese, die ich hier über die Verwendung der aristotelischen *Logik* auf dem Gebiet der Theologie der Frühscholastik geboten habe. Da die Vertreter anderer Wissenzweige vor ihrer Fachausbildung auch eine gründlichere Kenntnis der aristotelischen *Logik* sich aneigneten und in der Handhabung der *questio* und *disputatio* dialektisch geschult wurden, tritt uns dieser Einfluss des Stagiriten auch im Lehrbetrieb der Medizin und Rechtswissenschaft entgegen. Ich kann darauf hier nicht näher eingehen und will darum nur kurz darauf hinweisen, dass in neuester Zeit Untersuchungen über dialektisches Verfahren in der Anwendung der *questio,* der *distinctio,* der *disputatio* in der Rechtswissenschaft bei den Kanonisten und Legisten angestellt worden sind. Ich habe schon in meiner *Geschichte der scholastischen Methode* auf die engen Beziehungen zwischen Kirchenrecht und scholastischer Methode in der Frühscholastik hingewiesen.[40] Von seiten der Vertreter der Rechtswissenschaft, des kanonischen und römischen Rechts, sind in der letzten Zeit sehr ergebnisreiche Untersuchungen von E. Genzmer, U. Niccolini, H. Kantorowicz, Stephan Kuttner, U. Lewald *u.a.* angestellt worden.[41]

Nur ganz kurz will ich die Frage berühren, ob und inwieweit in der Wissenschaft des 12. Jahrhunderts das schon im gleichen Jahrhundert teils aus dem Arabischen, teils aus dem Griechischen übersetzte Schrifttum das man als "neuen Aristoteles" bezeichet (*Libri naturales, Metaphysik, Ethik*) Erwähnung und Verwertung gefunden hat. Denifle ist im Anschluss an die Aristotelesverbote von 1210 und 1215 den ersten Spuren dieser neuerschlossenen aristotelischen Werke bei den Theologen des 12. Jahrhunderts nachgegangen.[42] Die ersten Metaphysikzitate findet Denifle in der ungedruckten Glosse des Petrus von Poitiers zu den Sentenzen des Petrus Lombardus und in der theologischen *Summa* des Simon von Tournai. Die Schrift *De Anima* soll zu Beginn des 13. Jahrhunderts in einem *sermo* des sonst aristotelesfeindlichen Abtes Absolon von Springkirchbach zitiert sein. Cl. Baeumker,[43] der diese Zitate näher untersucht hat, kommt zum Ergebnis, dass es sich hier mehr um Anklänge als um wörtliche Zitate handelt, und dass diese Texte sich auch auf logische Schriften des Aristoteles beziehen können. Was nun speziell die Bezeugung der aristotelischen *Metaphysik* in der Sentenzenglosse des Petrus von Poitiers betrifft, so hat schon Baeumker die Echtheit dieser Schrift in Zweifel gezogen und es steht jetzt ihre Unechtheit fest. Nach A. Landgraf[44] ist diese Pseudo-Poitiers Glosse, die handschriftlich am meisten verbreitete Sentenzenglosse, teilweise vor 1173 und wahrscheinlich vor 1160-1165 geschrieben. Da nun an der betreffenden Stelle dieser Glosse der Satz steht: *Asserunt quidam hoc ar.* (*Aristotelem*) *dixisse in metaphi., sed qui diligenter inspexerunt hoc negant,* können wir schliessen, dass damals (um und nach 1160) die Möglichkeit bestand, eine Uebersetzung der aristotelischen *Metaphysik* einzusehen. Es handelt sich jedenfalls um die als *Metaphysica vetustissima* bezeichnete, im 12. Jahrhundert hergestellte Teilübersetzung.

---

[39] Lacombe, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

[40] M. Grabmann, *Die Geschichte der schol. Methode* II, SS. 579 f. Sachregister: Kanonisches Recht und scholastisches Methode.

[41] E. Genzmer, *Die justinianische Kodifikation und die Glossatoren* (Atti del Cong. Internazionale di Diritto Romano, I, Bologna-Roma, 1934), pp. 343 ff.; Derselbe, *Vorbilder für die Distinktionem der Glossatoren* (Acta Congr. Juridici Internat., I, 1935), pp. 345 ff.; U. Niccolini, *Pillii Medicinensis Quaestiones Sabbatinae* (Modena, 1933); H. Kantorowicz 'The *Quaestiones disputatae* of the Glossators', *Rev. d'hist. du droit* XVI (1937-38), 1-67; St. Kuttner, *Repertorium der Kanonistik (1140-1234)* (Studi e Testi, 71, Città del Vaticano, 1937), pp. 243 ff.; U. Lewald, *An der Schwelle der Scholastik: Bonizo von Sutri und das Kirchenrecht seiner Zeit* (Weimar, 1938), S. 198.

[42] H. Denifle, *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis* I, p. 71, n. 11.

[43] CL. Baeumker, 'Die Stellung des Alfred von Sareshal und seiner Schrift *De Motu cordis* in der Wissenschaft des beginnenden 13. Jahrhunderts', *Sitzungsberichte der Königl. Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaft*, 1913, Phil. hist. Klasse, 9 (München, 1913), 35, A, 3, 44-6.

Ein ungleich reicheres Zitatenmaterial führt Weihbischof Landgraf in einem ausführlichen Referat über meine Schrift über die Aristotelesverbote in der Theologischen Revue auf.[45] Hinweise auf Aristoteles finden sich in den Schriftkommentaren des Petrus Cantor und in seinem *Tractatus de tropis loquendi* und in der von Simon von Tournai, Prepositinus *u.a.* abhängigen *Summa* des *Cod.* Vat. *lat.* 10754. Auch im Schrifttum der der zweiten Hälfte des 12. Jahrhunderts angehörenden Schule des Odo von Ourscamp finden sich Aristoteleszitate, allerdings vornehmlich aus der *Logik.* Die Quaestionen des *Cod. lat.* 964 der Bibliothek von Troyes bringen ein Zitat aus *Ethica nicomachea* II, 1. Noch früher findet sich ein Zitat aus *Ethica nicomachea* II, 6 in einem *Non, queso, arrogantie* beginnenden Traktat einer Fritzlarer, jetzt in der Fuldaer Seminarbibliothek befindlichen Handschrift. Dieses Zitat findet sich übrigens schon in der der Schule Abälards angehörenden, von Landgraf edierten *Ysagoge* Odonis. Die auch der Schule Abälards angehörigen *Sententie parisienses* zitieren einmal *De Anima 15* und bieten auch ein Metaphysikzitat. Wenn man die einzigartige Vertrautheit des Weihbischof A. Landgraf mit dem ungedruckten theologischen Schrifttum der Frühscholastik ins Auge fasst und damit dieses Zitatenmaterial in Beziehung bringt, wird man die Verwertung des "neuen Aristoteles" in der Theologie des 12. Jahrhunderts als eine sehr mässige bezeichnen müssen. Man wird wohl auch keine wesentliche Vermehrung durch weitere Forschungen erwarten können. Ich habe in meinem Buche über die kirchlichen Aristotelesverbote unter Innozenz III und Gregor IX auch auf einen Zusammenhang zwischen diesen Verboten und der ablehnenden Stellungnahme der konservativen Pariser Theologieprofessoren gegenüber dem "neuen Aristoteles" hingewiesen.[46] Auch Landgraf hat bemerkt, dass gegen Ende des 12. Jahrhunderts bei den Theologen eine wachsende Abneigung gegen die Benützung profaner, insbesonders heidnischer Literatur sich bemerkbar gemacht hat.

Was nun die Benützung des "neuen Aristoteles" in der Philosophie des 12. Jahrhunderts betrifft, so beweisen Gedanken und Textanklänge noch nicht, dass wir mit einer unmittelbaren Einsichtnahme etwa der Uebersetzung der *Physik* zu rechnen haben. Es ist ein beträchliches Gedankenmaterial aus diesen aristotelischen Schriften durch Boëthius, Chalcidius, Makrobius u.a. dem Mittelalter übermittelt worden. Es bedarf deshalb einer genauen Untersuchung, ob eine solche Aristotelesbenützung in der Philosophie des 12. Jahrhunderts, etwa in der Schule von Chartres, auf einer unmittelbaren Einsicht in die neu übersetzten aristotelischen Schriften oder auf einer indirekten Ueberlieferung beruht. Es haben hierüber M. Baumgartner und A. Schneider sehr gute Beobachtungen gemacht.[47] P. Duhem hat in der Schule von Chartres z.B. in der

---

[44] A. Landgraf, *a.a.O.*, S. 99 f. O. Lottin, 'Le premier commentaire connu des Sentences de Pierre Lombard', *Rech. de théol. anc. et méd.*, XI (1939), 64-71; P. S. Moore, *The Works of Peter of Poitiers* (Washington, 1936), pp. 148-151.

[45] A. Landgraf, 'Zur Geschichte der Einführung des Aristoteles in den theologischen Lehrbetrieb', *Theol. Revue* (1943).

[46] M. Grabmann, *I Divieti ecclesiastici di Aristotele sotto Innocenzo III e Gregorio IX* (Roma, 1941), pp. 57-66.

[47] M. Baumgartner, *Die Philosophie des Alanus de Insulis* (Münster, 1896); A. Schneider, *Die abendländische Spekulation des 12. Jahrhunderts in ihrem Verhältnis*

Schrift *De Opere six dierum* des Thierry von Chartres Lehranschauungen der aristotelischen *Physik* wahrgenommen. Aber er hat nicht nachgewiesen, dass diese Kenntnis der *Physik* und von *De Coelo et mundo* auf einer unmittelbaren Einsicht in die lateinsiche Uebersetzung dieser aristotelischen Werke beruht. Der Englander Daniel von Morley, ein Schüler des Gerhard von Cremona, zitiert in seiner zwischen 1175 und 1185 entstandenen kosmologischen Schrift *De Naturis inferiorum et superiorum* vier aristotelische Schriften: die *Physik, De Generatione et corruptione, De Coelo et mundo* und *De Sensu et sensato* und drei pseudo-aristotelische Arbeiten. Wie aber A. Birkenmajer bemerkt, hat derselbe einzig und allein *De Generatione et corruptione* in einer griechisch-lateinischen Uebersetzung eingesehen, während er die Kenntnis der drei anderen aristotelischen Schriften der Paraphrase des Avicenna zu *De Coelo et mundo* verdankt.[48] Aus der gleichen Zeit (1177) stammt die in *Cod.* 1041 der Stadtbibliothek zu Trier enthaltene *Microcosmographia* eines nicht näher bekannten Willelmus, auf welche zuerst Ch. H. Haskins aufmerksam gemacht hat.[49] Dieser ausgedehnte philosophische Traktat behandelt ausführlich Fragen der Naturphilosophie, der Psychologie und Ethnik und bringt einige Hinweise auf Aristoteles. Aber von einem eigentlichen inhaltlichen Einfluss der hierfür in Betracht kommenden neu übersetzten aristotelischen Schriften kann man nicht reden. J. R. Williams,[50] der dieses Werk auch quellenmässig untersucht hat, nimmt zwar zunächst den Einfluss der aristotelischen *Logik* wahr, hält es aber auch für möglich, dass ausser dem *Organon* auch noch andere aristotelische Schriften diesem Philosophen bekannt gewesen sind. Ich habe den Text aus der Trierer Handschrift abgeschrieben und bereitete eine Edition dieses für die Philosophiegeschichte des 12. Jahrhunderts wertvollen und der Schule von Chartres nahestehenden Werkes vor. Das Gesamtbild dieser *Microcosmographia* trägt das Gepräge der Schule von Chartres, besonders der Werke des Wilhelm von Conches an sich und macht nicht den Eindruck einer bemerkenswerten Beeinflussung durch den neuen Aristoteles. Man wird nicht annehmen können, dass die neu übersetzten Aristotelesschriften in der zweiten Hälfte des 12. Jahrhunderts in Paris Gegenstand der Vorlesungen und des Unterrichts gewesen sind. Wenn in den von Ch. Haskis entdeckten und edierten und mit guten Gründen dem Alexander Neckham zugewiesenen Traktat *Sacerdos ad Altare*,[51] einem Verzeichnis der in den Schulen verwendeten Lehrbücher, die *Metaphysik, De Generatione et corruptione* und *De Anima* erwähnt werden, so braucht man dies nicht auf Paris zu beziehen. Es kann dieser Traktat auch erst am Schluss des 12. Jahrhunderts oder zu Beginn des 13. Jahrhunderts entstanden sein. Ich habe in meinem Buche über *Forschungen über die lateinischen Aristotelesübersetzungen des 13. Jahrhunderts*[52] auf den Studienbericht in der *Chronik* des Emo (*gest.* 1237) hingewiesen und ich wiederhole hier diesen Hinweis. Emo hatte mit seinem Bruder Addo zu Paris, Orléans und Oxford studiert und ist um 1209 in das Prämonstratenserkloster Bloemhof bei Groningen eingetreten. Er schrieb dort eine *Chronik* über die Zeit von 1204-1237. Emos Ordensgenosse Menke führte diese *Chronik* weiter und brachte an der Spitze dieser Fortsetzung ein Lebens- und Charakterbild Emos. Er berichtet hier auch über den Studiengang Emos und seines Bruders Addo und stellt all das zusammen, was beide in Paris, Orléans und Oxford an Wissensgut sich angeeignet hatten. Ich

---

zur aristotelischen und jüdischen Philosophie (Münster, 1915), SS. 19-70.

[48] M. De Wulf, *Histoire de la philosophie médiévale* I (Louvain-Paris, 1934), p. 66.

[49] Ch. H. Haskins, *Studies in the History of Mediaeval Science* (Cambridge, Mass., 1924), p. 91 f.

[50] R. Williams, 'The *Microcosmographia* of Trier *Ms* 1041', *Isis*, XXII (1934-35), 106-135.

[51] Ch. H. Haskins, *op. cit.*, p. 356, verlegt diese Schrift vor 1194. Hingegen setzt (nach einer Mitteilung von D. A. Callus) R. W. Hunt in einer noch nicht gedruckten Oxforder Dissertation dieselbe in der ersten Dekade des 13. Jahrhunderts an.

[52] M. Grabmann, *Forschungen über die Aristotelesübersetzungen des 13. Jahrhunderts*, S. 21.

bringe diesen Text:

> Unde contigit ut omnes auctores, videlicet ethnicos, Ovidianos, Virgilianos, satiricos et alia opera poetarum et metrica opera theologie ut Auroram, Sedulium, Theopistam et similia, Priscianum maiorem et minorem et Petrum Heliae ac alios libros et Summas artis grammatice necnon et Summas dyalectice cum fratre suo bone memorie Addone plene conscriberet. Quos omnes ipsi ambo Parisius, Aurelianis et Oxonie audierunt et ex ore magistrorum glosaverunt et etiam glosas diversas et bursarios retulerunt. Oxonie etiam Decreta, Decretales, Librum Pauperum necnon alios libros canonici iuris et legalis vigilias dividendo scripserunt, audierunt et glosaverunt.[53]

In dieser Aufzählung ist von den *Libri naturales,* von der *Metaphysik* und *Ethik* des Aristoteles mit keiner Silbe die Rede. Und doch hätten diese lernbegierigen Brüder ohne Zweifel auch Vorlesungen über diese aristotelischen Bücher in Paris gehört, wenn solche dort gehalten worden wären. Emo zitiert in seiner eignenen *Chronik* Petrus Cantor, Alanus de Insulis, Simon von Tournai, einen magister Robertus (Robert Courson) und einen Bertoldus, die augescheinlich seine Lehrer gewesen sind. Am Schluss seiner *Chronik* stellt er einen Abriss der Psychologie zusammen, in welchem wir keine Einwirkung der aristotelischen Psychologie wahrnehmen. Ich habe in meiner Schrift über Aristotelesverbote[54] an Hand von Quellenberichten dargetan, dass in Paris an der Artistenfakultät erst kurz vor den Aristotelesverboten von 1210 und 1215 mit Vorlesungen über die *Libri naturales* und die *Metaphysik* begonnen worden ist. Der erste Scholastiker, der Erklärungen der naturphilosophischen Schriften des Aristoteles geschrieben hat, ist Alfred von Sareshel, der Freund des Alexander von Neckham, mit seinem *Kommentar zu den Meteorologica,* zu *De Generatione et corruptione* und zur pseudo-aristotelischen Schrift *De Vegetalibvs* (von Nikolaus von Damaskus) gewesen, wie überhaupt in Oxford, wo die Aristotelesverbote keine Geltung hatten, die Erklärung des "neuen Aristoteles" viel früher als in Paris eingesetzt hat. Ich kann hier auf die eine Fülle neuer Ergebnisse bietende ausgezeichnete *Introduction of Aristotelian learning to Oxford* von Dr. D. A. Callus O.P. Proceedings of the British Academy, XIX, London, 1943) verweisen.

Die Benützung der neuerschlossenen *Libri naturales* hat, wie A. Birkenmajer[55] nachgewiesen hat, im 12. Jahrhundert zuerst bei den Medizinern in Salerno eingesetzt. Um 1170 kennen Urso von Lodi und Maurus, zwei Professoren in Salerno, in einem ziemlichen Umfange die neu übersetzten *Libri naturales* und zwar in griechisch-lateinischer Uebersetzung. Urso, der nur selten eigentliche Zitate bringt, ist in seiner Schrift *De Effectibus qualitatum* von *De Generatione et corruptione* und vom 4. Buch der *Meteorologica* beeinflusst. In seiner Schrift *De Commixtione elementorum* beruft er sich ausdrücklich auf Aristoteles. Er hat wahrscheinlich die *Physik, De Generatione et corruptione* vor sich gehabt. Maurus zitiert in seinem *Kommentar zur Isagoge* des Johannitius wiederholt Aristoteles und eines der Zitate erwähnt ausdrücklich *De Generatione et corruptione.* Ausserdem kennt er ganz sicher die *Physik.* Die weitere Erforschung des medizinischen Schrifttums im 12. Jahrhundert wird vielleicht noch weitere Zeugen für die Kenntnis und Benützung des "neuen Aristoteles" auffinden wie auch für die Geschichte des Aristotelismus der Hoch- und Spätscholastik die Durchforschung des gedruckten und ungedruckten medizinischen Schrifttums neues Material in erheblichem Umfang zu Tage fördern dürfte.

---

[53] MGH, SS XXIII, 524.

[54] M. Grabmann, *I Divieti ecclesiastici,* p. 57 ff.

[55] A. Birkenmajer, *Le Rôle joué par les médecins et les naturalistes dans la réception d'Aristote au XII-XIII^{e} siècle* (Varsovie, 1930), pp. 4-5.

Abelard's Letter of Consolation to a Friend (*Historia Calamitatum*)

J. T. MUCKLE C.S.B.

Introduction

THIS work is commonly known today as *Historia Calamitatum,* a title which is not found in any of the manuscripts in the first hand and in only one in a second hand, *Ms* Rheims 872 (see note 2, page 175), and then only as an alternative title.

In the first editions of the works of Abelard by Amboesius (François d'Amboise) and Quercetanus (André Duchesne) in 1616, and in those of Orelli (1841), Cousin (1849) and of Migne (1855), the title is: *Epistola prima quae est Historia Calamitatum Abaelardi ad Amicum scripta.* The name *Historia Calamitatum* was probably taken from a sentence in the last paragraph of the work (p. 210) where Abelard says: *Haec . . . de calamitatum mearum historia . . . me . . . scripsisse sufficiat.* We know it was so called as early as the time of Petrarch,[1] for he speaks of the work as *historia suarum calamitatum.* It does not adequately designate the contents of the letter, much of which is devoted to an account of Abelard's triumphs and also to consideration of the value of a quiet life for a student.

I have retained the title found in the first hand in the two best manuscripts: Troyes 802 and Paris, B.N. *lat.* 2923: *Abaelardi ad Amicum suum consolatoria* (Epistola). It was not likely given as a title by Abelard himself.

Nothing is known of the identity of the friend to whom the letter was addressed. Various guesses have been made, while some scholars think the epistolary form itself of the work is simply a literary device of Abelard to afford a setting and occasion. He had precedents enough for this in Cicero's dialogues, not to mention those of Plato wherein treatises are represented as records of discussions between friends on special occasions. Whatever theory one may adopt, it is plain that apart from the first and last paragraphs there is scarcely a word referring to a friend. On the other hand, Heloise in her first letter to Abelard considers that this work was a letter written to some particular person.

In several of the previous editions the work is divided into fifteen chapters. This division into chapters is found in the edition of d'Amboise, but I have not retained it as it is not found in any of the manuscripts.

A. *Manuscripts*

We possess only nine manuscripts of this letter, and of these all but two are of French provenance. It is quite possible some others may turn up with further research in small libraries. We have good reason to suppose that there was at least one other of the fourteenth century. On July 2, 1395, Coluccio Salutati wrote from Florence to Jean de Montreuil asking for a copy of Abelard's letters:

> Te rogatum velim quod epistolas Petri Abaialardi, si non habes, inquiri facias, et ex tuis vel repertis studeas meo nomine quanto correctius poterit exemplari; sed si de antiqua littera habere possent libentius acciperem; nulle quidem littere sunt meis oculis gratiores.[2]

---

[1] *De vita solitaria* II, vii, 1.

[2] Francesco Novati, *Epistolario di Coluccio Salutati* III (Rome, 1896), p. 76.

And it is probable that the manuscript was sent for in a letter written on July 14, 1396; he writes again:

> Epistolas optatas Abaialardi Bonacurrso tradas; gaudeo nomen ejus, quod nesciebatur in Gallia, tibi forte et multis aliis renovasse, quod Italis etiam tradam.[3]

The nine manuscripts used in the preparation of this edition are:

1. *T* Bibliothèque de Troyes, *Ms* 802. This manuscript is a collection of several works, written in various centuries, bound together. Vellum, in quarto, 241 folios, two columns, each of thirty-one lines; the hand is good Gothic of late thirteenth or early fourteenth century. On fol. 55^{v} there is a change in the script. A different ink was used and there is some change at times in the formation of the letters, e.g. the letter *a* is written more frequently with both loops closed. It might suggest a later hand but I am inclined to believe that it was written by the same scribe as before and that the change of pen and ink accounts for the difference in the script. This manuscript came from the College of the Oratory at Troyes; at the foot of fol. 1^{r}, in a later hand, is written: *ex libris Oratorii Collegii Trecensis*. On fol. 103^{v} there is this notice: *Hunc librum emit Robertus de Bardis, cancellarius parisiensis, anno 1346, in die beati Benedicti abbatis, cum 4 aliis libris de capitulo parisiensi.* A few of the initial letters of paragraphs are illuminated.

It contains, fols. 1^{r}-18^{r}, this letter; fols. 18^{r}-42^{r}, the five personal letters of Abelard and Heloise; fols. 42^{r}-59^{v}, the treatise *De origine sanctimonialium* addressed to Heloise; fols. 59^{v}-88^{v}, the *Institutio seu regula sanctimonialium*; fols. 89^{r}-94^{r}, a work which d'Amboise and Cousin published under the title *Excerpta e Regulis Paracletensis Monasterii*, attributed by d'Amboise to Heloise; fols. 94^{v}-102^{v}, a second treatise entitled *Regula Sanctimonialium* preceded by a preface and table of paragraph headings. The *Incipit* of the preface reads:

> In isto libello quem sanctorum patrum sacer conventus Christianissimo ac gloriosissimo Ludovico atque religiosissimo semper augusto ammonente quandam institutionis formulam veluti ex diversis pratis quosdam flosculos excerpsit . . .

fol. 102^{v}, on palimpsest and in a later hand, the second stanza of the *Epitaph of Abelard* beginning *Petrus in hac petra latitat* . . .; the *Epitaph of Heloise* beginning *Hoc tumulo abbatissa*, and the *Absolution of Abelard* by Peter of Cluny. These three short pieces are found in Cousin, *Petri Abaelardi Opera* I (Paris, 1849, pp. 717, 719; fols. 103^{r}-241, three treatises written, according to the catalogue, in ninth-tenth century script, *Quinti Julii Hilarionis de Mundi duratione libellus*, the *Hieronymi Chronica* and *B. Dionysii Areopagitae Opera* (*interprete Sarraceno*) *sic*.

The first part of this manuscript at any rate which contains this work and the five personal letters of Abelard, furnishes a good text, well written and quite carefully corrected in the first hand. There are, however, a few corruptions as the variants will show. D'Amboise certainly used this manuscript or one of the same tradition in preparing his text.

2. *A* Paris, Bib. Nat., Ms lat. 2923, 177 folios in two columns, each of 42 lines, with fols. A-E at the beginning, 218 by 156 mm.; parchment, early fourteenth century. Four of the initial letters of paragraphs are small representations of persons; on fol. 1^{r}, likely that of Abelard and Heloise with the face of Heloise blotted out; fol. 51^{r} of Theodoric; fols. 43^{r} and 94^{r} of a monk. E. Oddoul, *Lettres d'Abailard et d'Héloise* I (Paris, 1839), p. 1, reproduces the first retouched and

---

[3] *Op. cit.*, p. 146.

with the face of the woman filled in. It contains: fols. 1^r-14^r, this letter; fols. 14^r-42^v, the five personal letters, the *De origine sanctimonialium* and the preface to the *Regula Sanctimonialium*; then follow: fol. 43, *Incipit Apologia Berengarii Pictauensis pro magistro Petro Abaelardo*; fol. 45 [eiusdem], *Patri et domino suo G. Mimatensi episcopo*; fol. 47 [eiusdem], *Fratribus Cartusie*; fol. 47^v, *Dixit A. P. Dixit P.A. Dixit eidem idem*; fol. 48^v, *Uniuersis Ecclesie sancte filiis Petrus* [Abaelardus]; fol. 50, *Petri Abaelardi epistola* [Ad Parisiensem episcopum]; fol. 51, *Incipit primus liber uariarum Thedorici regis* [sic]; fols. 51^{bis}: *Magni Aurelii Cassiodori senatoris v.c. ill . . . uariarum liber primus incipit*; fol. 91, Fragments of *Ars dictatoria*; fol. 94, *Incipiunt epistole magistri Stephani Aurelianensis Tornacensis episcopi*; fol. 172, *Alexander episcopus servus servorum Dei venerabilibus fratribus universis archiepiscopis et episcopis per regnum Francie constitutis.*[4]

This manuscript is of peculiar interest to students of Petrarch, as it once belonged to him. Leopold Delisle[5] says it was one of the seventeen manuscripts brought by Louis XII to France from Pavia. On fol. B^v and continuing to C^r there is a table of contents and then in a later hand: *putantur hec scripta manu D. F. Petrarchae*. At the beginning, there is written *Di Francischi Petrarche* and then in a later hand *fuit.*[6] On fols. 178^r-179^r, there are dates and notes in code written by Petrarch. They are supposed to be a record of the state of his conscience and disturbance of mind.[7] De Nolhac in his 1892 edition of *Pétrarque et l'humanisme* gives, following 439, a photographic representation of these notes as found on fol. 178^v. Some of the marginal notes for the text covering this letter and the first four personal letters are considered by scholars of Petrarch to have been written by him.[8] Those pertaining to this text are: in the margin beside the sentence on p. 199, *Ego itaque ad solitudinem . . .* there is written *solitudo*; beside the sentence on p. 200, *sed et ipse Plato . . .* there is written *Plato;* beside the sentence on p. 204, *saepe in orationibus meis illud revolvebam: a finibus terrae . . .* there is written *efficaciter et pie.*[9] By the sentence on p. 206 . . . *eis eunuchos adhibeant,* there is written *eunuchi*; by the sentence on p. 207 . . . *plus ex detrimento famae quam ex corporis crucior diminutione*, there is written *proprie*; on p. 210, beside the sentence *forte me die quadam de nostra lapsum equitatura . . .* there is written, *et me nocte*, likely referring to his own fall from a horse February 23, 1345.

There is only one correction by Petrarch, that of *ei* to *egi*; I am surprised that he did not notice other corruptions in the text.

This manuscript gives chapter headings and is well written, with some corrections in the first hand. It gives a fairly good text but not so good as *Ms* Troyes 802, as the variants listed in this edition show. There are several corruptions and bad readings.

3. *B* Paris, Bib. Nat., *Ms lat.* 2544, fols. 5^r-14^r. In the recently published *Catalogue général des manuscrits latins* II (Paris, 1940), pp. 509-10, there is this notice:

> F. 1 et v. Tables pascales pour les années 1200 à 1359 avec notes historiques de 1252 à 1274 (*Rec. Hist. France*, XXIII, 142)-- f. 41. Note sur les dates mortuaires d'Héloïse et d'Abélard.
>
> XIII^e s. Initiales en couleur à filigranes. Rubriques--Les ff. 2 et 42 sont blancs--Au f. 43v: "Restituatur magistro Jacobo de Gantis iste liber, quia recepi eum in precario" et notes (xiv^e s.).--Au f. 3r: "Pa. Petavius. Habui

---

[4] Cf. *Pétrarque et l'humanisme* II (Paris, 1907), pp. 217-18.

[5] *Le Cabinet des manuscrits* I, p. 138.

[6] Cf. Delisle, *op. cit.*, p. 139.

[7] Cf. de Nolhac, *op. cit.*, *Excursus* VI, pp. 287-91.

[8] De Nolhac lists them, *op. cit.*, pp. 220-22.

[9] Brial in his edition mentioned later wrongly incorporates this into his text.

> a Bateliero, domino Avironis, Ebrocensi" (Aviron, Eure).--(Colbert 4284; Regius 4353.
> Parch. 43 ff. à 2 col. 245 x 165 mm.--Demi-rel. chagr. rouge au chiffre de Louis-Philippe.

I think it is fourteenth century, not thirteenth as stated in the above notice. Only the preface of the *Regula Sanctimonialium*, the last work in the manuscript, is given; then follows in the same hand: *anno Domini MCLXIIII Heloysa obiit paracliti abbatissa; anno Domini MCXLII obiit Petrus Abahelardi* (*sic*) *perypateticus.* There are headings for nearly all the paragraphs. At the top of fol. 1^r, there is in a late hand: *Vita Magistri Petri Abahelardi* (other words were cut off by the binder). The notice at the bottom of fol. 3^r given above is in a later hand; after *habui* there is a small space.

There was a Paul Petau who was born in Orleans in 1568 and who died in Paris in 1614. He was a bibliophile and described many of the manuscripts in his possession in a work: *Antiquariae supellectilis partiuncula* published in 1610. There was also a James Batelier of Aviron who was a jurisconsult of the sixteenth century and an advocate of the High Court of Evreux.[10]

This manuscript gives a poor text as I state below.

4. *R* Bibliothèque de Reims, *Ms* 872 (J. 751), 162 fols. vellum, bound in boards with strings; two columns of thirty-seven lines each, 278 by 200 mm. Gothic script of the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century, the first part contains the *Letters to Licilius* of Seneca; on fol. 112^r there follows this work and from 125^v, the letters of Abelard and Heloise. Only the Preface of the *Regula Sanctimonialium* is given. The initial letters of sections or paragraphs are illuminated in blue and red with lines. There are no headings of paragraphs. On fol. 120 is a library note *Bibliotheca venerabilis capituli Remensis Lit. C. ord.* 4 *No.* 73. It belongs to the same manuscript tradition as *Ms* B.N. 2544 but gives even a worse text.

5. *D* Bibliothèque de Douai, *Ms* 797. This manuscript consists of four volumes nearly all of which are taken up with the *Speculum historiale* of Vincent of Beauvais. Towards the end of the fourth volume, marked fols. 321^r-328^v (it should be 341^r-348^v) is this work and the beginning of the first letter of Heloise. It breaks off in the middle of a sentence with the words: *quid tuae debeas attende qui sic curam impendis alienae.*

This manuscript came from the abbey of St. Rictrude of Marchiennes. At the end of the fourth volume there is written:

> Sanctae Rictrudis est liber Marchianensis.
> Per quem servatus fuerit, maneat benedictus.
> At per quem raptus, anathema sit et maledictus.
> Dextera scriptoris benedicta sit omnibus horis.
> Sum Rogerus ego de sancto dictus Amando.

—a rather stately colophon if compared to the value of the text. So far as this letter goes, the text is so corrupt as to be all but useless.

It is written in good, small Gothic of the fourteenth century; 350 by 250 mm., one column to the page. For the folios containing this work, there is a space for an illuminated letter at the beginning of each paragraph.

6. *Y* Oxford, Bodleian, *Ms* ADD. C. 271. This manuscript contains this letter, fols. 85^v-97^v; the first letter of Heloise, fols. 97^v-100^r; Abelard's reply, fols. 100^r-102^r and the second letter of Heloise, fols. 102^r-106^v. It is written in good fourteenth century Gothic. It is closely related to *Ms* Douai 797 but is not quite so corrupt. Numerous words are omitted; some of these have been inserted from

---

[10] Cf. *Larousse du XX^e siècle* V, pp. 595, 510.

conjecture by a later hand and often the word written in is not the same as the corresponding word in the other manuscripts, e.g. for *valerent* of the true text, *possent* is inserted. Many words are misreadings or corruptions, e.g. *simul* for *scilicet, super* for *semper, saltem* for *salutem, quidam* for *quidem*. In only two places does it help to establish a good reading.

7. *C* Paris, Bib. Nat. *Ms n. acq. lat.* 1873, 217 fols.; 295 by 205 mm.; paper, single column, 32 lines to the page; Gothic script of the second half of the fifteenth century. This letter begins on fol. 136^r. Then follow in order the first four letters of Abelard and Heloise. The last three, *Ep.* VI, VII, VIII are mixed up in the manuscript. Letter VI is found on fols. 171^r-172^v, 184^r-188^v, 191^r; Letter VII *de Origine Sanctimonialium* on fols. 191^r-195^v, 183^{rv}, 189^{rv}, 173^r-176^v; Letter VIII *Regula Sanctimonialium* on fols. 176^v-182^v, 190^{rv}, 196^r-207^v. There are many lacunae, corruptions and omissions of one word. Some times two words are written as one, v.g. *metam, ase*. It gives a very poor text, being the least helpful of the three latest manuscripts.

8. *E* Paris, Bib. Nat. *Ms lat.* 2545. The *Catalogue Général* (1940), mentioned above, gives on p. 510, vol. 2, the following notice of this manuscript:

> F. 1-53v. Epistolae;--F. 56v-57v. Apologia seu confessio fidei (Cousin, II, 719-723)--F. 53v. Note sur les dates de religion et de décès d'Abélard.--F. 54. FULCO, prior de Diogilo, Epist. ad P. Abaelardum (PL, CLXXXII, nos. clxxxviii 1, xcxi 1 incompl.)--F. 56 Condemnatio errorum P. Abaelardi (PL CLXXVIII, 79-80)--F. 56 INNOCENTIUS II papa, Epist. fragm., cf. Jaffé-L., no. 8148. XVIe s.--(Baluze 346; Regius 5492).
>
> Parch. 57 ff. 280 x 200 mm.--Demi-rel. mar. rouge au chiffre de Louis-Philippe.

Single columns of thirty-nine lines; late fifteenth or early sixteenth century. This letter is contained on fols. 1-14^v; then the seven letters of Abelard and Heloise follow; the *de origine sanctimonialium* starts on fol. 32^r and the *regula* on fol. 40^r; fols. 54^r to 56^r contain the Letter of Fulco; fols. 56-57, the condemnation of the errors of Abelard and a fragment of a letter of Innocent II. It is a fairly good manuscript, but there are a few lacunae and corruptions. Some corrections have been made, usually in the margin and by a later hand. It belongs to the same tradition as *C* above, but gives a better text.

9. *F* Paris, Bib. Nat., *Ms n. acq. lat.* 13057; paper with parchment cover, 198 by 230 mm., 206 pages. This letter is found on pages 121-180. Each page is a single column of twenty-seven lines. It is written in an imitative humanistic hand with cursive influence. I have not personally inspected this manuscript, but from the reproductions which I have, I should not put it earlier than 1600, and it may well be later. It is of particular interest as it gives many of the readings and variants listed by d'Amboise. In a few instances for this letter and more frequently in the correspondence between Abelard and Heloise, there are variants in the margin (*p.m.*), marked *al.* The scribe either had two manuscripts before him or else one which gave variants. In the list of variants I have noted these as Fv. On the margins there are written in a later hand numerous references, and explanatory and informative notes, *v.g.* on page 126, opposite the last line where Anselm of Laon is mentioned, there is a note to the effect that he wrote commentaries on the Canticle of Canticles and the Apocalypse and that they were published at Paris in 1550.

The references to the works of St. Jerome and some other authors have been apparently taken from printed editions of their works; and the quotations come closer to the editions of those authors today than in the other manuscripts. It belongs to the same tradition as *C* and *E* but it gives a somewhat better text than *C*.

B. *Some Previous Editions*

1. What might be called a double edition of this letter was published in 1616 One is that of Francis d'Amboise (Amboesius), the other that of André Duchesne (Quercetanus), but the text in both is the same. The title page of d'Amboise's edition reads:

> Petri Abaelardi, Filosofi et Theologi, abbatis Ruyensis et Heloisae conjugis ejus, primae Paracletensis, abbatissae, Opera, nunc primum edita ex mss. codd. v. illust. Francisci Amboesii, Equitis Regis in sanctiore consistorio consiliarii Bononis Chartrae etc. Cum ejusdem Praefatione Apologetica et censura Doctorum Parisiensium Parisiis, sumptibus Nicolae Buon, via Iacobaea, sub signis sancti Caludii, et Hominis Silvestris, 1616, cum privilegio Regis.

It is in one volume and contains the epistles, sermons and several treatises including the spurious *adversus hereses*, but not *Theologia Christiana*, *Expositio in Hexameron*, *Ethica*, or the works published first by Cousin (*Ouvrages inédits d'Abélard*, Paris, 1836). Strange to say it contains the *censura* of the Doctors of Paris. At the end of the text follows (page 1141 ff.) the notes written by Duchesne on the *Historia Calamitatum*.

The Duchesne edition of the same text has on the title page:

> Petri Abaelardi, sancti Gildasii in Britannia abbatis et Heloisae conjugis ejus quae postmodum prima coenobii paraclitensis abbatissa fuit, Opera. Nunc primum ex mss. codd. eruta et in lucem edita, studio ac diligentia Andreae Quercetani, Turonensis. Parisiis, etc, the same as for d'Amboise's volume.

After the text of the works of Abelard follow (pp. 1141-1197) notes on the *Historia Calamitatum*. These are reprinted in d'Amboise's edition and also in that of Cousin and Migne (see below). Beginning on p. 1197, follow eleven pages of a good index to the volume (the pages are not numbered) and then a page of *errata et obmissa* (*sic*). The editors of *Histoire litt. de la France* (XII, p. 150) say that through carelessness some copies of this edition are dated 1606, others 1616, others 1626. But the edition of d'Amboise in 1616 carries the *censura* of the doctors of Paris against some statements in an edition. There must then have been a previous edition.

While the texts are the same, the introductory parts of the two volumes differ to some extent.[11] We do not know exactly why there were two printings of the same text under two different names. There have been various conjectures. Bayle[12] gives a memorandum from a letter sent him by Lancelot, an assistant librarian of the Mazarine Library, but it throws no light on this question.

A question of greater interest is what manuscripts were used for the text of the present treatise commonly known as the *Historia Calamitatum*. There are found on the margins numerous variants marked *al*. Practically all of these are readings in *Mss T E* or *F*; occasionally d'Amboise adds with a *vel* the reading of *T*. In his preface, d'Amboise tells us: *accidit ut in manus meas inciderint aliquot epistolae doctissimi Petri Abaelardi et Heloissae ejus uxoris* . . . and that his interest was thereby aroused in them and in the other works of Abelard. He began a search for manuscripts and for the *epistolae* he found:

> unum exemplar Epistolarum nactus sum in Armorica [Brittany] . . . alterum ex Filippo Portaeo abbate Tyronio . . . qui affirmabat se accepisse ab

---

[11] Cf. *Hist. litt. de la France* XII, pp. 149-50; Pierre Bayle, *Dictionnaire*, *s.v.* Amboise; Mlle. Charlotte Charrier, *Héloïse dans l'histoire et dans la légende* (Paris, 1933),p . 404.

[12] *Op. cit.*, p. 490, *s.v.* Amboise.

> haeredibus Stefani Germeleni Curiosolitae . . .; tertium ex monasterio Paracletensi ad quod profectus sum.

So it seems that he had at least four manuscripts of this work; which they were is not known with certainty. He used *Ms* Troyes 802 or one of the same tradition. He also used *Ms* B.N. 1873 and *Ms* B.N. 13057 or manuscripts very like them; I am not quite sure that the latter is as early as 1616. So far as this letter is concerned, he gives very few readings not found in one manuscript at least of those now extant and listed above, none of any importance. I am convinced that he had no manuscript of any greater value than those which we possess. Some of the variants proper to him are undoubtedly misreadings on his part of words or abbreviations *v.g. infamis* makes no sense and is clearly a wrong reading of *insanus* written with the tall *s*; *individualiter* is a wrong reading of the abbreviation. Two or three times in his text a verb will be in the mood or tense which is more in accordance with classical syntax. My experience with early editions of Latin texts forces upon me the conclusion that all too often editors emended the reading of a manuscript without indicating a change. Time and again I have found texts, based on named manuscripts, which contain readings not found in those manuscripts and yet not marked as emendations. Both Brial (Delisle) and Cousin in the editions mentioned below certainly followed such a practice. Textual criticism in the strict sense is quite recent.

The text of this edition of d'Amboise is not at all flawless; there are omissions, faulty expansions of abbreviations and retentions of readings found in one manuscript but making no sense. I have given in the variants all instances of variations in his text from my own. The text is indicated by *Amb*; his variant by the letter *G*.

2. In 1718 Richard Rawlinson of Oxford published an edition of the letters of Abelard and Heloise including this treatise. The title page reads:

> Petri Abaelardi abbatis Ruyensis et Heloissae Abbatissae Paracletensis Epistolae a prioris Editionis Erroribus purgatae, et cum Cod. ms. Collatae, Cura Ricardi Rawlinson . . . Londini impensis E. Curll et W. Taylor.

A second edition was published at Oxford in 1728. The volume is in 8°, 279 pages. It contains this treatise, the seven letters of Abelard and Heloise, the last of which is the *Regula Sanctimonialium*; also the letters of Peter of Cluny to Heloise and her reply, Abelard's letter *de Studio Litterarum*, the *Epistola Berengarii Apologetica* and that of Fulco to Abelard.

The last sentence of the two-page preface reads:

> Amico Claudiocestriensi hic gratias publicas solvimus qui pro singulari humanitate nobis ms^{tum} Codicem mutuo dedit, nomen vero viri de me bene meriti malus pudor celat.

Rawlinson says that he corrected the errors of d'Amboise's edition, collated the text with a manuscrpit lent to him by a friend from Gloucester whose false modesty makes Rawlinson conceal his name.

As a matter of fact, the text of Rawlinson so far as this treatise goes is exactly the same, including punctuation, as that of d'Amboise. I have checked the first ten pages of d'Amboise's text against that of Rawlinson and have found absolutely no difference except that Rawlinson has changed *literis* to *litteris* and omitted the division into chapters. He gives at the bottom of each page readings which he says were found in the manuscript lent to him and marks them *ms.* He also gives, with an occasional mistake or omission, the variant readings found in the margins of d'Amboise's edition and marks them *Ms. Fr. Amb.*

The readings he gives from this manuscript loaned to him are of various kinds. Most of them are attempts to express the corresponding word or phrase of the text in more classical language; others are explanatory notes; a few read like glosses so often found in the margins of manuscripts. Let us give a few examples. I give first the words of d'Amboise's text and then the 'variants' of Rawlinson: *illectus, allectus; armaturam, armarium; conflictus, certamina; perambulans, peragrans; conscholares, condiscipulos; posterior (aetatis), inferior; crebriores, frequentiores; repatriare, in patriam revertere; intentione, mente; patentissimis, manifestis, et maxime perspicuis; impudenter, fronte perfricta; idem facere disponebat, se vitae sanctioris rationi dicare disposuit; continentissime, castitate severissima et plusquam Eremetica; et in toto regno nominatissimam fecerat, et per totum Gallorum regnum fama indolem suam mirificam disseminavit.* It is very clear from these examples that these are not true variants. Rawlinson says he corrected errors in d'Amboise's text; he did no such thing. He says he got a manuscript from a friend whom he is not free to name. Perhaps so. I consider that the new readings which he gives in his edition he made up himself and that he pretended he got them from a manuscript to sell his book; and he evidently accomplished his purpose since a second edition was published in ten years.

I have taken no notice in this edition of his supposed variants.

3. John Caspar Orelli published an edition of this letter and the first four letters exchanged between Abelard and Heloise (Turici, 1841). He adds a *Commentatio Theologico-critica de Petri Abaelardi Doctrina Dogmatica et Morali* by Joh. Henr. Frider. Frerichs which was first published at Jena in 1829. In his one-page preface, Orelli, after mention of the edition of d'Amboise, says:

> Posteriores aliquot editiones recentiores, quae item Parisiis prodierunt, curiose inspexi; sed is quoque qui novissimam eamque admodum splendidam curavit (Paris, E. Houdaille 1839, 2 vol. 8 max.) Codices Regios conferre neglexit.

E. Oddoul published *Lettres d'Abailard et d'Heloise, traduites sur les Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Royale* (Paris, E. Houdaille, 1839). Orelli implies that this was an edition of the Latin text. It is a French translation only and the author says that it is based on the manuscripts of the Bib. Royale (Nat.). Further, Orelli implies that he himself used these manuscripts. What he did was to substitute in the text some of the variants from the margins of d'Amboise's edition and put the corresponding readings of d'Amboise as variants at the bottom of the page, marked *ed.* There are only seven words in his text to which this does not apply. Of these, two are the spelling of names of towns; one is the substitution of a Vulgate reading; one is a correction from *studii* to *studio*, and here Orelli is wrong; one is an attempt to correct a bad text; Orelli changes *liberare* to *liberate* with no manuscript authority, though he does not say so; the true reading is *liberante.* Only once have I found a reading of another manuscript and that is from *Ms* Douai, the worst of the lot. Orelli also puts at the bottom of the page the 'variants' from Rawlinson.

4. *Petri Abaelardi Opera* by Victor Cousin *adiuvantibus C. Jourdain et E. Despois* I (Paris 1849) pp. 3-37. Cousin tells us in his Preface (p. 2) that, besides the text of d'Amboise, he used four manuscripts: B.N. 2544, 2545, 2923 and the Troyes *Ms.* He also got some notes from B.N. 7273 which contains Jean de Meung's translation. He says that he read some pages of two other late manuscripts of the *Bibliotheca regia* but gave them up as useless; no doubt these are the manuscripts I denote by the letters *C* and *F*. His text is better than that in Migne's Latin Patrology 178, which was published several years later. He does not give all the variants from the manuscripts he used, but limits himself to more important words. In his introduction he mentions that his helpers (Jourdain and Despois) were young men. He must have accepted their work too often without checking it. In some instances, he attributes a variant to a manuscript

in which it is not found—an easy thing to do, as any editor of texts knows well. In other cases, he simply misreads the manuscript, *v.g. opus clarum* is retained from d'Amboise while all the manuscripts which *Cousin* used read clearly *opusculum* (referring to the *De Unitate et Trinitate* of Abelard).

5. In Volume 178 of Migne's Latin Patrology, published in 1855, this treatise is printed, columns 113-182. The text is the same as that of d'Amboise except for one correction from Cousin and in two places the substitution of the variants of d'Amboise for the word in his text, without giving the reading of d'Amboise's text. The variants of d'Amboise are given in Migne, not in the margin but each in parentheses after its corresponding word in the text, and marked *al.* The *argumentum* or summary of d'Amboise is at the beginning. The chapter division is kept, each with the heading of d'Amboise. The notes of Duchesne are printed at the foot of the pages; the preface of d'Amboise precedes the text. Other notes of the editors, mostly historical, are added.

6. In the *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France*, new edition, published under the direction of Delisle (Paris, 1877) vol. XIV, pp. 278-294, there is an extract of this letter edited by Brial covering about two-thirds of the whole. The title is: *Ex Epistola Petri Abaelardi ad Amicum seu libello de calamitatibus suis. Inter editas ad* (*sic*) *And. Quercetano prima . . . et ex cod. 2923 Bibl. nat. Paris.* The editor substitutes readings from the Paris *Ms* 2923 for that of d'Amboise eighteen times and with one exception he thereby improves the text. It is the best of all previous editions for the part it covers. The chapter division is kept and the variants of d'Amboise are given in the margin along with brief notes of his own summarizing the text. At the foot of the pages he gives Rawlinson's 'variants' and a few good notes, several of them quotations from the Epistle of Fulco of Deuil to Abelard.

7. Mlle. Ch. Charrier in her edition of Jean de Meung's translation of this work (Paris, 1934) prints the Latin text of *Ms* Troyes 802. I must confess that in some places her readings of this manuscript differ from mine.

8. F. C. Turlot in his *Abailard et Héloïse avec un aperçu du XII^e siècle* (Paris, 1822) reprints the text of d'Amboise.[13]

C. *Use of Manuscripts for this Text*

The two best manuscripts are Troyes 802 and Paris, B.N. 2923; the former gives a little better text. *Ms* 2923 I consider is removed by one exemplar from the original text. *Mss* B.N. 2544, Rheims 872, Douai 797 and Oxford, Bodleian ADD. C. 271 belong to the same tradition; but as the last two are so corrupt, they also are further from the original than *Ms* 872 and certainly than *Ms* 2544. The last is the best of the four, but even it does not give a good text. The three late manuscripts, Paris, B.N. 2545, 13057 and 1873 belong to the same family. They are too late to be of much value except that they help greatly in accounting for readings and variants listed in d'Amboise's edition; *Ms* 1873, although it may be the earliest of three, is the most imperfect and of the least value. All three derive ultimately from the same manuscript tradition as *A*.

Sigla

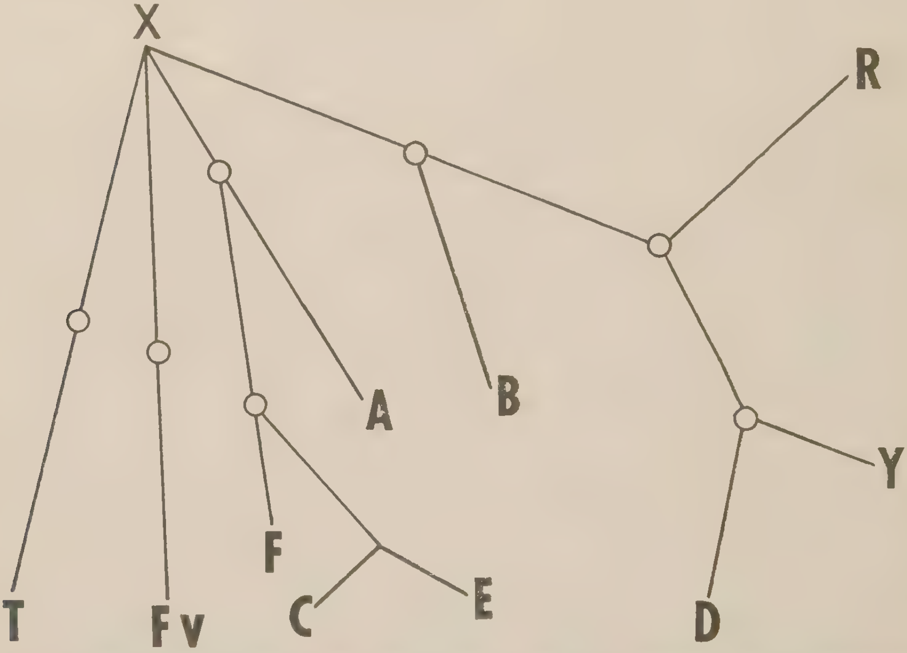
A = Bibliothèque Nat., *Ms lat.* 2923.
B = Bibliothèque Nat., *Ms lat.* 2544.
C = Bibliothèque Nat., (*n. acq. lat.*) 1873.
D = Bibliothèque de Douai, *Ms* 797.
E = Bib. Nat., (*Fonds lat.*) *Ms* 2545.

---

[13] For the translations into various languages of this letter and also for *traductions fantaisistes,* cf. Charrier, *op. cit.*, pp. 601 ff.

F = *Ms* Bib. Nat., (*n. acq. lat.*) *Ms* 13057.
Fv = *Ms* variants in *F*.
R = Bib. de Reims, *Ms* 872.
T = Bib. de Troyes, *Ms* 802.
Y = Oxford, Bodleian *Ms* ADD. C. 271.
Amb = Edition of d'Amboise (1616).
G = Variants given by d'Amboise.
MGH = *Monumenta Germaniae Historica.*
CSEL= *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum.*
PL = Migne, *Patrolgia Latina.*

I append the stemma I have constructed:



At the foot of each page of my text, I have noted all variants, even corruptions of *Ms* Troyes 802, but not unimportant inversions of word order involving only two words; I have done the same for *Ms* B.N. 2923 except that I have not reproduced a few of the corruptions. I have given only a few variants from *Mss* Douai 797 and Oxford, Bodleian ADD. C.271 which are not supported by another manuscript; to have given all would have greatly increased the list of variants and would have served no useful purpose. For the other manuscripts, I have given all variants except the worst corruptions and some omissions. I have not noted unimportant inversions of two words in any of the manuscripts. The spelling has been changed to conform to modern usage: v.g. *e* to *ae*, *cio* to *tio*, etc.

D. *Authenticity*

The authenticity of this letter has never been called into question. Six of the manuscripts give positive evidence that it was written by Abelard; a title attributing the work to him is found in the two best manuscripts,[14] *viz. Ms T* and

---

[14] A note at the top of fol. 1^r in *Ms T* has almost all been cut off by a binder; what is left becomes illegible. At the bottom of the same page is a title in a second hand which reads *Epistolae et alia opera Abaelardi*, etc.

Ms A (the one used by Petrarch) in the first hand and in *Mss BDFR* in a second hand. *Mss CEY* carry no title. No manuscript therefore attributes the work to anyone else.

It is surprising, however, that, while the work was undoubtedly composed sometime between 1131 and 1136,[15] we have no manuscript written before late thirteenth century at the earliest, approximately one hundred and fifty years after the date of the work. But Jean de Meung certainly had a manuscript of this work when he composed the second part of *Roman de la Rose* (1265-70) and also translated this letter. It is quite possible that other early manuscripts as well as this one have been lost. Some of these may, of course, yet be discovered.

Further light may be thrown on this question when the manuscript tradition of all of Abelard's extant works becomes known. So far, there is a critical edition of only a few. But the early date of the manuscripts for these is remarkable.

Bernard Geyer has edited Abelard's logical works[16] and used only two manuscripts containing them in whole or in part. One of these, the Milan Manuscript, he says, is late twelfth or early thirteenth century;[17] the other, the Lunel Manuscript, he puts as early thirteenth.[18] Also, for the edition of a fragment of Abelard's *Apologia*,[19] only one manuscript was used, and that of the twelfth century. Heinrich Ostlender for his edition[20] of the *Theologia summi boni* likewise found only two manuscripts. One is twelfth and the other late twelfth century.[21]

All of these are much earlier, some by a century at least, than the earliest manuscript which has come to light for this letter and those between Abelard and Heloise. Of course, we do not know the date of the one used by Jean de Meung. One would expect that the letters would be more widely read and so copied more than the philosophical works. One explanation to account for the dearth of early manuscripts might possibly be that the letters were not put into circulation at the time of their composition; but of course this is a conjecture supported only by negative evidence. It is also noteworthy that, as noted above, Petrarch is the first author to mention this work by name.

I intend in a subsequent issue of *Mediaeval Studies* to publish a critical edition of the correspondence between Abelard and Heloise. As the literary tradition of this work is interwoven with that of the correspondence, I shall defer tracing it until then.

While this letter is undoubtedly from the pen of Abelard, the historicity of the passage (pp. 185-189) in which Heloise gives her reasons for attempting to dissuade Abelard from advising their marriage, presents some difficulty.

Let us examine it and see the parallels contained in it and in other works of Abelard. Heloise, in a few lines at the beginning, says that the canon will not thereby be placated, and that she should not claim for herself him whom nature had made for mankind. She then goes on to show the difficulties and impropriety of marriage, especially for a philosopher. She quotes St. Paul:[22] "*Art thou freed from a wife? Do not seek a wife. But if thou takest a wife, thou hast not sinned* (*peccabit* in the text of Abelard) . . . *Yet such will have tribulation of the flesh. But I spare you that . . . I would have you free from care.* Now in the twenty-eighth sermon of Abelard, *On the Dedication of a Church*, Abelard says[23] that a consecrated virgin is especially a temple of God and quotes verses 32, 33 from this same chapter of the *Corinthians*, and in his *Theologia Christiana*,[24] he eulogizes the continence of pagan philosophers and then marshals the texts from St. Paul favouring continence, quoting from this same chapter at some length. Heloise goes on to refer to the writings of the philosophers and summarizes a passage from Theophrastus, *de Nuptiis*, quoted by St. Jerome *Contra Iovinianum* and also the reply of Cicero to Hirtius, who had asked Cicero to marry his sister. This passage from Theophrastus and the reply of Cicero are quoted by Abelard in the *Theologia Christiana*.[25] Heloise then goes on to show how looking after a household with young children is foreign to the pursuit of philosophy. This is, both in tenor and vocabulary, suggested to her by St. Jerome's letter to Eustochium.[26] There follows a short quotation from Seneca,[27] which I do not find in Abelard's other works. She then summarizes the thought of St. Jerome,[28] that the ancient philosophers and sons of the prophets in the Old Law led a life of continence and solitude corresponding to monks in the Church. Abelard expresses the same thought in an earlier part of the *Historia Calamitatum* (p. 182):

---

[15] On p. 205 of the text, Abelard mentions that Innocent II confirmed the cession of the Paraclete to Heloise as prioress. The brief is dated Nov. 28, 1131. Cf. Jaffé, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum* I (ed. sec. Lipsiae, 1885), p. 852. No. 7513. Abelard implies on p. 210 of this text that he was still abbot of St. Gildas when he composed this work. We next hear of him at Paris in 1136 when John of Salisbury was his pupil. Cf. Clemens Webb, *Ioannis Saresberiensis . . . Metalogicon* (Oxford, 1929), 2, 10, 867b.

[16] *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters* XXI (1919).

[17] *Op. cit.*, p. X.

[18] P. XI.

[19] *Ein neuangefundenes Bruchstück der Apologia Abaelards*, Paul Ruf and Martin Grabmann (München, 1930).

[20] *Beiträge z. Geschicte d. Phil. d. Mittelalters* XXXV (1939).

[21] *Op. cit.*, pp. XI, XII.

[22] *I Cor.*, vii, 27, 28, 32.

> Constat quippe philosophos, nedum divinos, id est sacrae lectionis exhortationibus intentos, continentiae decore maxime polluisse

but he repeats the words of St. Jerome in *Ep.* VII,[29] *Ep.* VIII,[30] *Ep.* XII, Contra quemdam canonicum.[31] The rest of her argument is made up mostly of a reference to Josephus, *Antiquities*, a quotation from St. Augustine, the *City of God* VIII, and the story of Socrates and Xanthippe from St. Jerome, *Against Jovinianus* I. The reference to *Antiquities* and the story of Socrates are found in Theologia Christiana.[32]

It is a striking fact that at least one half of the argument of Heloise against their marriage is a mosaic of references and quotations which are found in other works of Abelard, especially from the second book of *Theologia Christiana*. While it is true that this book had likely been written about ten years before, and it is quite likely she had read it, it would require a remarkable feat of memory to recall the texts in order. Of course, it is Abelard who is reporting her argument. Their conversation apparently took place at the home of Abelard's sister in Brittany.

It appears probable that Abelard, in writing this work, expanded somewhat Heloise's arguments as she actually gave them and gave precise quotations, etc.

I have not made much use of the notes of Duchesne. They are chiefly on names of places and persons and the substance of most of them is accessible in histories and printed texts. The reproduction of them in Cousin and Migne put them within reach of specialists.

I express with gratitude my indebtedness for the many suggestions I have received from my colleagues of the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, especially to Professor Etienne Gilson who first aroused my interest in the correspondence of Abelard and Heloise, to Reverend J. R. O'Donnell C.S.B., for his valuable assistance in the reading of the manuscripts and for references suggested by him. Two of the notes (31, 32) were written by Reverend T. P. McLaughlin C.S.B., and are marked by his initials.

---

[23] PL 178, 551D.

[24] II, 1195CD.

[25] II, 1198D-1200C.

[26] *Ep. XXII*, 2; PL 22, 395. CSEL 54, I, 1, p. 146.

[27] *Epp. ad Lucilium* 72.

[28] *Ep. CXXV*, 7; PL 22, 1076. CSEL 56, I, 3, p. 125. *Ep. LVIII*, 5; PL 22, 583. CSEL 54, I, 1, p. 533.

[29] 225D.

[30] 262A.

[31] 347D.

[32] 1187B, 1198A.

(*ABAELARDI*[1] *AD AMICUM SUUM CONSOLATORIA <EPISTOLA>*)[2]

Saepe humanos affectus aut provocant aut mitigant amplius exempla quam verba. Unde post nonnullam sermonis ad praesentem habiti consolationem, de ipsis calamitatum mearum experimentis consolatoriam ad absentem scribere decrevi ut in comparatione mearum tuas aut nullas aut modicas tentationes recognoscas et tolerabilius feras.

(*DE LOCO NATIVITATIS EIUS*)[3]

Ego igitur[4] oppido quodam oriundus quod[5] in ingressu minoris[6] Britanniae[7] constructum[8] ab urbe Nannetica[9] versus orientem octo,[10] credo,[11] miliariis[12] remotum proprio vocabulo Palatium appellatur, sicut[13] natura terrae meae vel generis animo levis ita et ingenio exstiti et ad litteratoriam disciplinam facilis.[14] Patrem[15] autem habebam litteris aliquantulum imbutum antequam militari cingulo insigniretur. Unde postmodum tanto litteras amore complexus est ut quoscumque filios[16] haberet litteris antequam armis instrui disponeret. Sicque profecto actum est. Me[17] itaque primogenitum suum quanto cariorem habebat, tanto diligentius erudiri curavit. Ego vero quanto amplius et facilius in studio litterarum profeci, tanto ardentius[18] eis inhaesi, et in tanto earum amore illectus[19] sum ut, militaris gloriae pompam cum hereditate et praerogativa primogenitorum meorum fratribus derelinquens, Martis curiae penitus abdicarem ut Minervae gremio educarer. Et quoniam dialecticarum rationum armaturam omnibus philosophiae documentis praetuli, his armis alia commutavi et trophaeis bellorum conflictus praetuli disputationum. Proinde diversas disputando perambulans provincias ubicumque[20] huius artis vigere studium audieram, peripateticorum aemulator[21] factus sum.[22]

---

[1] I have followed the spelling of the name as it is found in *Mss ABCERT* in the salutation of the first letter of Abelard to Heloise which is written in the first hand. In *Ms D* it is written *Abaielardus* in the title of this letter and *Abelardus* in the salutation of that of Abelard to Heloise. It is in a second hand in both places in *F*. For the spelling of the name in manuscripts of Chroniclers, etc. cf. R. L. Poole, *Illustrations of the History of Medieval Thought and Learning* (2nd ed., New York, 1920), p. 116, note. Also for the fanciful derivation of a corrupted form, *Baiolardus*, see the short biography found in a Munich manuscript printed in Poole, *op. cit.*, p. 315.

[2] Abaelardi . . . consolatoria] Epistola prima Petri Abelardi seu Historia Calamitatum (*s.m.*) *R*] Vita Magistri Petri Abaelardi (*s.m.*) *B*] Epistola magistri Petri Abaielardi ad amicam (*sic*) suam de temptationibus et calamitatibus in suis eventibus habitis, et qualiter suam Heloysam sibi copulavit, primitus in amorem, et postmodum in uxorem (*p.m.*) *D*] Epistola venerabilis magistri Petri Abaelardi (*s.m.*) F] *om. CEY*.

[3] *Om. CDEFRY*. This and the other headings are put in parentheses as they could not have been written by Abelard since they are in the third person.

[4] *add.* in *DY*.

[5] *om. BDRY*.

[6] To distinguish Brittany from Great Britain.

[7] *add.* est *CEF*.

[8] *add.* quod *D*.

[9] Nantes.

[10] Le Pallet is about twelve miles east and a little south of Nantes.

[11] circiter *F*.

[12] miliarum *EY*] miliaria *F*.

[13] sed *CEF*.

[14] Cf. Ottonis Frisingensis Episcopi, *Gesta Frederici Imperatoris,* I, 47: est enim praedicta terra clericorum acuta ingenia et artibus applicata habentium, sed ad alia negocia paene stolidorum ferax. . . MGH, SS XX, 376. See the description of the monks at Gildas which Abelard gives on pp. 203-204 of this work.

[15] Berengarius as Abelard tells us later on. He also tells us that his mother's name was Lucia.

[16] There is some documentary evidence that Berengarius had at least four sons of which Peter was the eldest. In Abelard's *Dialectica,* Pars secunda, *Analytica Priora* I, ed. Cousin, *Ouvrages inédits d'Abélard,* p. 229, we read: . . . paenitet, frater Dagoberte, petitionibus tuis assensum praestitisse . . . sed cum lasso mihi jam et scribendo fatigato tuae memoria caritatis ac nepotum disciplinae desiderium occurrit. From this we gather that Abelard had a married brother, Dagobert.

Dom Morice, *Mémoires pour servir . . . à l'histoire . . . de Bretagne I* (Paris, 1742), col. 587, quotes an entry from the *Chronica Archiepiscoporum Sens,* noting the death of Abelard and then adds: Il y a dans le cartulaire de Buzé un acte où il parle de Porcarius, chanoine de Nantes et d'Astralabe, son neveu, aussi chanoine au même lieu. . .

In the *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France, obit. de la prov. de Sens* IV, p. 422, we read: Radulphus magistri Petri germanus. Abelard refers to a sister later on. The above obituary, p. 428, gives an entry: Dionysia, magistri nostri Petri germana.

[17] sic Amb.

[18] *add.* in *CEFY*.

[19] illesus *T*] illexus *BR*.

(*DE PERSECUTIONE MAGISTRI SUI GUILLELMI IN EUM*)[1]

Perveni tandem Parisius,[2] ubi iam maxime disciplina haec florere consueverat, ad Guillelmum scilicet Campellensem[3] praeceptorem meum in hoc tunc magisterio re[4] et[5] fama praecipuum; cum quo aliquantulum moratus primo ei acceptus, postmodum gravissimus, exstiti cum nunnullas scilicet eius sententias refellere[6] conarer et ratiocinari[7] contra eum saepius aggrederer et nonnunquam superior in disputando[8] viderer. Quod quidem[9] et ipsi qui inter conscholares[10] nostros praecipui habebantur tanto maiori sustinebant indignatione, quanto posterior habebar aetatis et studii tempore. Hinc calamitatum mearum quae nunc usque perseverant coeperunt exordia et, quo amplius fama extendebatur nostra, aliena in me succensa est invidia.[11]

Factum tandem est ut, supra vires aetatis meae[12] de ingenio meo praesumens, ad scholarum regimen adolescentulus aspirarem et locum, in quo id agerem, providerem[13] insigne videlicet tunc temporis Meliduni[14] castrum et sedem regiam. Praesensit hoc praedictus magister[15] meus et, quo longius posset scholas[16] nostras a se removere conatus, quibus potuit modis, latenter machinatus est ut, priusquam a suis recederem scholis,[17] nostrarum praeparationem scholarum[18] praepediret et provisum mihi locum auferret. Sed quoniam de potentibus terrae nonnullos ibidem habebat aemulos, fretus eorum auxilio, voti mei compos[19] exstiti et plurimorum mihi assensum ipsius invidia manifesta conquisivit. Ab[20] hoc autem scholarum nostrarum tiricinio[21] ita in arte dialectica nomen meum dilatari coepit ut non solum condiscipulorum meorum, verum etiam ipsius magistri, fama contracta paulatim exstingueretur. Hinc factum est ut, de me amplius ipse praesumens ad castrum Corbolii,[22] quod Parisiacae urbi vicinius est, quantocius[23] scholas nostras transferrem ut inde videlicet crebriores disputationis assultus nostra[24] daret importunitas.[25] Non multo autem interiecto tempore, ex[26] immoderata studii afflictione correptus[27] infirmitate coactus sum repatriare, et per annos aliquot a Francia[28] remotus,[29] quaerebar ardentius ab iis quos dialectica sollicitabat doctrina.

---

[20] ubique *RY*.

[21] ambulator *G*. This was probably written as a gloss on *peripateticorum*. John of Salisbury, *Metalog.* I, 5, and others refer to Abelard as *peripateticus palatinus*. Perhaps this passage first suggested the sobriquet *peripateticus; palatinus* was derived from Palatium, his birthplace, no doubt with the implication of its classical associations.

[22] In this one sentence, Abelard covers his early years away from home. This work was not meant to be an autobiography.

[1] *om. CDEFRY*.

[2] Parisios *EF* Amb.

[3] William of Champeaux.

[4] *add.* quoque *F*.

[5] re et] reque *C*.

[6] refelleret *CY*.

[7] rationari *A*.

[8] disputanto *T*.

[9] que *CEFY*.

[10] scolares *DRY*.

[11] *add.* De Initio Magistri (*sic*) sui *A*.

[12] *om. ABRTY*.

[13] om. *C*.

[14] Meleduni *BRY*] Meliduni *G*] Meldunum *CE*Amb] Meledunense *F*. The classical form is Melodunum (Caesar, *Bell. Gall.* VII, 58, 2), modern Melun. It was one of the several places of residence of Philip I. We do not know the exact year in which Abelard opened his school there. Some think it was in or about 1102. Cf. Rémusat, *Abélard* I (Paris, 1855) p. 15; Tosti, *Storia di Abelardo* (Roma, 1887), p. 35. We know that Philip was in Paris in the summer of 1102 and in Bourges in October (cf. Maurice Prou, *Recueil des Actes de Philippe Ier, roi de France* (1059-1108) (Paris, 1908), pp. 355-358; 358-367. He probably passed through Melun to reach Bourges. Of course Abelard does not say that the king intervened against William. It was several years before 1108 when William established the Canons Regular in the Abbey of St. Victor and shortly entered himself. *Cf.* E. Michaud, *Guillaume de Champeaux et les Ecoles de Paris* (Paris, 1867), p. 245. Abelard left Melun, moved his school to Corbeil, and then spent several years at home building up his health. Upon his return to Paris, he found William had become a Canon Regular at St. Victor's. But we do not know how long he remained at Melun or at Corbeil or just how many years he was at home.

Abelard seems to be purposely vague in this and in the following sentence. It does not appear that he got permission from any ecclesiastical authority to open the school. How far was the *licentia docendi* required in the diocese of Paris at that time? Was there a *magister scholarum* in Paris that early? These are questions regarding which we have very few contemporary documents and the chief one is this treatise of Abelard. It seems that Abelard received the moral support of the temporal authorities and other men of influence and that he opened his school in the shadow of a royal castle to strengthen his position and to discourage any interference from church authorities.

[15] In the letters of Abelard and Heloise this term means the teacher of a school. In France, at any rate, down to Abelard's time, schools were either monastic or cathedral. The monk or cleric in charge of either class was called *magister*. But once Abelard started a school of his own, a third class emerged independent of a monastery or cathedral. Some decades later, the term has a stereotyped meaning; it denotes the diocesan officer who ruled over the schools of a city or diocese and who granted the *licentia docendi*. He was also called *scholasticus* and *Cancellarius*. But the period from 1100-1150 was one of rapid development and transition. At the same time there are few contemporary documents pertaining to education. I know of no evidence to support the statement that by 1120 the chancellor was 'master of the schools of Paris' (Gaines Post, 'Alexander III, The licentia docendi and The Rise of the Universities,' *Anniversary Essays*

Elapsis autem paucis annis, cum ex infirmitate iamdudum convaluissem, praeceptor meus ille Guillelmus Parisiensis[30] archidiaconus[31] habitu pristino

---

in Mediaeval History by Students of Charles Homer Haskins [New York, 1929], p. 256, note 1). Care has to be exercised not to give this term the meaning in 1120 that it had later on. There is no mention of the authority of such an official when Abelard set up his schools in Melun, Corbeil and at St. Genevieve. William of Champeaux would, it seems to me, have appealed to him against Abelard if there had been any such official authority at that time. It should be remembered too that William was archdeacon of Paris, an officer with jurisdiction but whether over schools or not at that time is not known. He may well have been archdeacon when Abelard first studied under him.

[16] The term *schola* is a Greek word translitterated into Latin. It is used by Cicero several times with reference to education; under the late empire, the term denoted a guild or college of officials of army or civil life under a chief official and in the time of St. Gregory of Tours it means the household of clerics attached to a bishop's residence. Cf. the term *Palace School* of Charlemagne.

But it came to mean an intellectual discipline, an institution of teaching or a place of teaching. Abelard uses the term in this treatise and elsewhere, usually in the plural in the sense of a course of lectures given by a master or in the sense of our term school, i.e. a teaching institution. From this treatise we cull the following phrases: *ad scholarum regimen; ab hoc autem scholarum nostrarum tiricinio scholas ibi nostras . . . constitui; publicas exercuit scholas* (the monastic schools were the private schools); *scholis vacare; a regimine scholarum cessari.* For these and for citations from other works, cf. G. Paré, A. Brunet, P. Tremblay, *La Renaissance du XII*^{e} *siècle, les écoles et l'enseignement* (Ottawa, 1933), pp. 57-58; H. Denifle, *Die Universitäten des Mittelalters* (Berlin, 1885), p. 9.

[17] scholis . . . provisum] scholas (scholis *F*) nostras praepediret et provisum *CEF*.

[18] *om. A.*

[19] *om. R.*

[20] ob. *R.*

[21] exordio *E* Amb.] corrupt *C*] tyrocinio *G.*

[22] Corbeil, between Paris and Melun. Louis the Fat made it a royal fief just about this time and perhaps Abelard was again placing himself under the quasi-protection of the king, Cf. Remusat, *op cit.*, p. 16, note.

[23] quanto *BR*] quanto cito *Y*] quam cito *D.*

[24] nostras *BDR*] nostras with *s* erased *Y.*

[25] opportunitas *FG.*

[26] *om. E.*

[27] corporis *EF.* corrupt *C*] correctus *R.*

[28] Brittany did not become a part of the kingdom of France until late in the fifteenth century. It was ruled by a duke at this time.

[29] *add.* quasi *F*. Amb. quasi remotus *B.*

[30] parisiacensis *AT.*

[31] The archdeacon, originally a deacon and helper of the bishop of the diocese, came in the course of time to be a priest possessing extensive powers which he exercised often independently of the bishop. From the tenth century until the decline began in the thirteenth century these powers were constantly increasing and varied from place to place so that it is impossible to define the archdeacon's rights just at this date (*ca.* 1120) since they were not based on written legal sources. Moreover it has now become customary to have several archdeacons in each diocese, each claiming jurisdiction over a fixed territory. Some light is thrown on the subject by a dispute which arose in 1126 between Stephen, bishop of Paris, and Theobald, his archdeacon. Appealed to by the archdeacon, Pope Honorius III appointed three cardinals to examine the affair. The decision which they rendered defining the archdeacon's rights is found in the *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France* XV, p. 331. Concerning his jurisdiction over the schools of Paris it contains this sentence (Art. 6): De scholis vero uti (unde) inter episcopum et canonicos Parisienses emersit discordia adversus et contra voluntatem episcopi ullatenus veniet. Si vero pacem hanc non observaverit archidiaconus, et si semel aut secundo admonitus erratum suum non emendaverit, aut justitiam facere contempserit, tunc licebit episcopo, sicut prius, debitum omne suum requirere. For a brief history of the archdeacon a useful

commutato ad regularium[32] clericorum ordinem se convertit ea, ut referebant,[33] intentione ut quo religiosior crederetur ad maioris praelationis gradum[34] promoveretur sicut in proximo contigit, eo Catalaunensi[35] episcopo facto. Nec tamen hic suae conversionis[36] habitus aut ab urbe Parisius[37] aut a[38] consueto philosophiae studio eum[39] revocavit, sed in ipso quoque monasterio, ad quod se causa religionis contulerat, statim more solito publicas exercuit scholas. Tum[40] ego, ad eum reversus ut ab ipso rhetoricam audirem, inter cetera[41] disputationum nostrarum conamina antiquam eius de universalibus sententiam[42] patentissimis[43] argumentorum[44] rationibus[45] ipsum commutare, immo destruere compuli. Erat autem[46] in ea[47] sententia de communitate universalium ut eamdem essentialiter rem[48] totam simul singulis suis inesse astrueret individuis,[49] quorum quidem nulla esset in essentia[50] diversitas, sed sola multitudine accidentium[51] varietas. Sic autem istam[52] tunc suam correxit sententiam ut deinceps rem[53] eamdem non essentialiter sed indifferenter[54] diceret. Et,[55] quoniam de universalibus in hoc ipso praecipua semper est apud dialecticos quaestio ac tanta, ut eam Porphyrius quoque in Isagogis suis cum de universalibus scriberet, definire non praesumeret dicens:[56] "Altissimum enim est huiusmodi negotium", cum hanc ille correxerit,[57] immo coactus dimiserit[58] sententiam, in tantam lectio eius devoluta[59] est negligentiam ut iam ad cetera[60] dialecticae vix admitteretur, quasi in hac scilicet de universalibus sententia tota huius artis[61] consisteret summa. Hinc[62] tantum roboris et auctoritatis nostra suscepit disciplina ut ii,[63] qui antea vehementius magistro illi nostro adhaerebant et maxime nostram infestabant doctrinam, ad nostras convolarent scholas et ipse, qui in scholis Parisiacae sedis magistro successerat nostro, locum mihi suum offerret ut ibidem cum ceteris nostro se traderet magisterio, ubi antea suus ille et noster magister floruerat. Paucis itaque diebus ibi me dialecticae studium regente, quanta invidia tabescere, quanto dolore aestuare coeperit[64] magister noster, non est facile exprimere. Nec conceptae

---

reference is the article by A. Amanieu, 'Archidiacre', *Dictionnaire de droit canonique* I, 948-1004. See also, A. H. Thompson, *Diocesan Organisation in the Middle Ages; Archdeacons and Rural Deans* (Oxford, 1944). [T.P.M.]

[32] During the eleventh and early twelfth century a spirit of reform and a fervent desire on the part of many of the secular clergy to lead a more apostolic and perfect life led to the foundation of communities of regular canons distinct on the one hand from the monks and on the other from the secular canons. Their manner of life comprising the practice of individual poverty was based in a general way on the *decreta Patrum* and was intended to be a return to what was considered the primitive clerical tradition in the Church. The teaching of Saint Augustine especially as contained in the *regula beati Augustini* gradually came to play a role of increasing importance in the organization of this way of life so that many writers of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries identify the regular canons with the order of St. Augustine. Consult the excellent article with recent bibliography by Father Charles Dereine, 'Vie commune, règle de saint Augustin et chanoines réguliers', *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, XLI (1946), 365-406. [T.P.M.]

[33] ut asserebat in parentheses *F*] referebant Fv.

[34] gradus *C*.

[35] Cataulasenensi *AT*] catholaunensi *CE*. Châlons-sur-Marne.

[36] conversationis *C*.

[37] parisiaca *E*.

[38] *om. DRY*] expunged *T*.

[39] *om. ABCDERT*] *s.s. Y*.

[40] tunc *BDRY*. *add.* exemplo *F*. Tum exemplo *E*.

[41] eum *R*] causae *D*] est *B*] *blank Y*.

[42] *BRDY* reads scientia for sententia very frequently.

[43] paucissimis *DRY*.

[44] auctorum *F*.

[45] disputationibus *E* Amb.

[46] *add.* prius *BDRY*.

[47] eadem *CEF*] hac. *DY*.

[48] esse *BDR*.

[49] et dividuis *C*.

[50] esse *CF*.

[51] actionum *F*.

[52] rem *DR*. *om. EC* Amb.] rem expunged *Y*.

[53] esse *DRY*.

[54] individualiter Amb.

[55] ceterum *F*.

[56] Cf. Translation of Porphyry in Boethius, *In Porphyrium Commentariorum* I; PL 64, 82A.

[57] correxisset Amb.

[58] dimisit *AD*] dimisisset Amb.

[59] devolata *T*.

[60] cet. dial.] dialecticae lectionem *CEF* Amb.

[61] *om. A*.

[62] *om. C*.

[63] hi *CF*] hii *ABDERTY*. In manuscripts of this time the forms *hii*, *hiis* are often found. It is difficult to say whether they stand for *ii* or *hi*, *iis* or *his*.

[64] coepit *T*.

miseriae aestum diu sustinens, callide aggressus est me tunc etiam removere. Et quia in me quid[65] aperte ageret non habebat, ei scholas auferre molitus est pessimis[66] obiectis criminibus qui mihi suum concesserat magisterium, alio quodam aemulo meo ad[67] officium eius substituto. Tunc ego Melidunum[68] reversus scholas ibi[69] nostras sicut antea constitui et, quanto manifestius eius me persequebatur invidia, tanto mihi auctoritatis amplius conferebat iuxta illud poeticum:[70] Summa petit livor, perflant altissima venti.

Non multo[71] autem[72] post,[73] cum ille intelligeret omnes fere discretos[74] de religione eius plurimum haesitare, et de conversione ipsius[75] vehementer susurrare[76] quod videlicet a[77] civitate minime recessisset, transtulit se et conventiculum fratrum cum scholis suis ad villam quamdam ab urbe remotam. Statimque ego Meliduno[78] Parisius redii, pacem ab illo ulterius sperans. Sed, quia, ut diximus, locum nostrum ab aemulo nostro fecerat occupari, extra civitatem[79] in monte Sanctae Genovefae scholarum nostrarum castra posui, quasi[80] eum obsessurus qui locum occupaverat nostrum. Quo audito magister noster statim ad[81] urbem impudenter rediens, scholas quas tunc habere poterat et conventiculum fratrum ad pristinum reduxit monasterium, quasi militem suum quem dimiserat[82] ab obsidione nostra liberaturus. Verum, cum illi prodesse intenderet, maxime nocuit. Ille quippe antea aliquos habebat qualescumque discipulos, maxime propter lectionem[83] Prisciani in qua[84] plurimum valere credebatur. Postquam autem magister advenit omnes penitus amisit[85] et sic a regimine scholarum cessare[86] compulsus est. Nec post multum[87] tempus,[88] quasi iam ulterius de mundana desperans gloria, ipse quoque ad monasticam conversus[89] est[90] vitam.

Post reditum vero magistri nostri ad urbem, quos conflictus disputationum scholares nostri[91] tam cum ipso quam cum discipulis eius habuerint,[92] et quos fortuna eventus in his bellis dederit nostris immo mihi ipsi[93] in eis te quoque res ipsa[94] dudum edocuit. Illud[95] vero Aiacis, ut[96] temperantius loquar, audacter proferam:

. . . . . . si quaeritis huius
Fortunam pugnae, non sum superatus ab illo.

Quod si ego taceam,[97] res ipsa clamat,[98] et ipsius rei finis indicat. Dum vero haec agerentur, carissima mihi mater mea Lucia repatriare me compulit, quae[99] videlicet post conversionem Berengarii patris mei ad professionem monasticam idem facere disponebat. Quo completo, reversus sum in Franciam maxime ut de divinitate addiscerem[100] quando[101] iam saepe fatus magister noster[102] Guillelmus in episcopatu Catalaunensi pollebat.[103] In hac autem lectione magister eius[104]

---

[65] quod *CFY* Amb] *E* uses same abbrev. for *quod, quid, quam.*

[66] turpissimis *CEF* Amb.

[67] ad off.] in locum eius *G* Amb.

[68] e melduno *E*] meldunum *F*] meledunum *Y* Amb.

[69] ibidem *CEF.*

[70] Ovid, *De Remedio Amoris* I, 369.

[71] merito *E.*

[72] aliquae *E.*

[73] *add.* tempus *E.*

[74] discipulos Amb.

[75] eius *F.*

[76] *add.* eo *Y.*

[77] de *B*] ac *D.*

[78] meleduno *F.*

[79] Mont Ste. Geneviève was outside the city until the time of Philip Augustus (1211).

[80] *om. E.*

[81] ab urbe *C.*

[82] deserat *CE*] deseruerat Amb.

[83] lectiones *GT*] corrupt *E.* Prisciani *om.* Amb.

[84] quibus *G.*

[85] admisit *CE*] corrected to amisit *AY.*

[86] *om. BDR. s.s.* Y (*s.m.*)

[87] *om. ACEF.*

[88] temporis *BDRY.*

[89] compulsus corrected to conversus *T*] compulsus *G.*

[90] *om. CE.*

[91] *om. B.*

[92] habuerit *B.*

[93] *om. EF.*

[94] *add.* iam Amb.

[95] Ovid, *Metamorphoses* XIII, 89.

[96] et *T.*

[97] tacerem *G*] taceram *E.*

[98] cf. Cicero, *I in Cat.* I, 8: cum tacent, clamant.

[99] quod *A.*

[100] addicerem *T.*

[101] quoniam *CG.*

[102] *om. C.*

[103] William became bishop of Châlons-sur-Marne in 1113. Cf. Pius B. Gams O.S.B., *Series Episcoporum* (Leipzig, 1931), p. 534.

[104] *om. C.*

Anselmus[105] Laudunensis maximam ex antiquitate auctoritatem tunc tenebat.

(*QUANDO LAUDUNUM VENIT AD MAGISTRUM ANSELMUM*)[1]

Accessi igitur ad hunc senem cui magis longaevus usus quam ingenium vel memoria[2] nomen[3] comparaverat. Ad quem, si quis de aliqua quaestione pulsandum[4] accederet incertus,[5] redibat incertior. Mirabilis quidem erat in oculis auscultantium, sed nullus in conspectu quaestionantium. Verborum usum habebat mirabilem, sed sensu[6] contemptibilem et ratione vacuum. Cum ignem accenderet, domum suam fumo implebat, non luce illustrabat. Arbor eius tota in foliis aspicientibus a longe conspicua videbatur, sed propinquantibus et diligentius intuentibus infructuosa reperiebatur. Ad hanc itaque cum accessissem ut fructum inde colligerem, deprehendi illam esse ficulneam cui maledixit[7] Dominus, seu illam veterem quercum cui Pompeium Lucanus comparat, dicens.[8]

Stat magni nominis umbra,
Qualis frugifero quercus sublimis in agro, etc.[9]

Hoc igitur comperto, non multis diebus in umbra eius otiosus iacui. Paulatim vero me iam rarius et [10] rarius ad lectiones eius accedente, quidam tunc inter discipulos eius eminentes graviter id ferebant, quasi tanti magistri contemptor fierem. Proinde[11] illum quoque adversum me latenter commoventes, pravis suggestionibus ei me invidiosum fecerunt. Accidit autem quadam die ut post aliquas[12] sententiarum collationes nos scholares invicem iocaremur. Ubi cum me quidam animo intentantis[13] interrogasset[14] quid[15] mihi de divinorum lectione librorum videretur qui nondum nisi in philosophicis[16] studueram, respondi saluberrimum quidem huius lectionis esse studium ubi salus animae cognoscitur, sed me vehementer mirari quod his, qui litterati sunt, ad expositiones Sanctorum intelligendas ipsa eorum scripta vel glossae non sufficiunt[17] ut alio scilicet non egeant magisterio.[18] Irridentes[19] plurimi qui aderant an hoc ego possem et aggredi praesumerem[20] requisierunt; respondi me id si vellent experiri paratum esse. Tunc inclamantes[21] et amplius irridentes[22] "certe" inquiunt "et nos assentimus; quaeratur itaque[23] et tradatur vobis[24] expositor alicuius inusitatae[25] scripturae et probemus quod vos[26] promittitis". Et consenserunt omnes[27] in obscurissima Ezechielis prophetia.[28] Assumpto itaque expositore, statim in crastino eos ad lectionem invitavi. Qui invito mihi consilium dantes, dicebant ad rem tantam non esse properandum sed diutius in expositione rimada et firmanda mihi <hactenus>[29] inexperto vigilandum.[30] Indignatus autem respondi non esse meae consuetudinis per usum proficere, sed per ingenium; atque adieci[31] vel me penitus desiturum[32] esse, vel eos pro arbitrio meo ad lectionem accedere non differre. Et primae quidem lectioni nostrae pauci[33] tunc interfuere quod ridiculum omnibus videretur me adhuc quasi penitus sacrae lectionis expertem[34] id tam propere[35] aggredi. Omnibus tamen qui adfuerunt in tantum lectio illa grata exstitit ut eam singulari praeconio extollerent et me secundum hunc nostrae lectionis tenorem ad glossandum compellerent. Quo quidem[36] audito, hi qui non interfuerant coeperunt ad secundam et tertiam lectionem certatim concurrere[37] et[38] omnes pariter de transcribendis[39] glossis quas prima die inceperam in ipso earum[40] initio plurimum solliciti esse.

---

[105] Anselm of Laon. He had studied under St. Anselm and commenced his teaching at Paris. William had been one of his disciples. He went to Laon, his native city, about 1107, where he taught with great distinction. Cf. *Hist. litt. de la France* X, pp. 170-189.

[1] *om. ACDEFRY;* ad mag. Ans. *om. B.*

[2] memoriam *R.*

[3] usum (*sic*) *F.*

[4] pulsandus *BDR*] pulsanda *Y.*

[5] indeus *C.*

[6] sensum *ADEFY*] censum *B.*

[7] *cf. Mark* xi, 13.

[8] Lucan, *Pharsalia* I, 135-6.

[9] *om. F.*

[10] et rarius *om. DRY* Amb.

[11] ideo *F.*

[12] aliquarum *B.*

[13] intemptanti *E*] intentantes *F.*

[14] interrogassent *F.*

[15] quae *CE.*

[16] physicis *CE*] philosophis *D.*

[17] sufficiant Amb.

[18] magistro *FG.*

[19] prudenter *E*] prudentes *F.*

[20] praesumere *ACE.*

[21] conclamantes Amb.

[22] *corrupt E.*

[23] inquam Amb.] *add.* inquam *F.*

[24] nobis *CEFG.*

[25] et usitatae *C.*

[26] nos *BDR.*

[27] *om. E.*

[28] prophetica *BDR.*

[29] hanc *BDRT* Amb] hnc with suprascript *a AY*] *om. CEF.*

[30] *add.* sed ego immemor huius verbi psalmistae; Domine non est exaltatum etc. *Y.*

[31] addidi *Y*] ad iri *R*] audiri *D*] corrupt *C.*

[32] desisturum *BR.*

(*DE PERSECUTIONE EIUS QUOQUE IN EUM*)[1]

Hinc itaque praedictus senex vehementi commotus invidia, et[2] quorumdam persuasionibus iam adversum me, ut supra memini, et tunc stimulatus, non minus in sacra lectione me persequi coepit quam antea Guillelmus noster in philosophia. Erant autem tunc in scholis huius senis duo,[3] qui ceteris praeminere videbantur, Albericus scilicet Remensis et Lotulphus[4] Lombardus,[5] qui quanto de se maiora praesumebant, amplius adversum me accendebantur.[6] Horum itaque maxime suggestionibus, sicut postmodum deprehensum est, senex ille perturbatus impudenter mihi interdixit inceptum glossandi opus in loco magisterii sui amplius exercere,[7] hanc videlicet causam praetendens ne si forte in illo opere aliquid per errorem[8] scriberem,[9] utpote rudis adhuc in hoc studio, ei deputaretur. Quod cum ad aures scholarium pervenisset, maxima commoti sunt indignatione super tam manifesta livoris calumnia quae[10] nemini unquam[11] ulterius[12] acciderat. Quae, quanto manifestior, tanto mihi honorabilior exstitit et persequendo[13] gloriosiorem effecit.

(*QUANDO NOVISSIME PARISIUS FLORUIT*[1])[2]

Post paucos itaque dies Parisius reversus, scholas[3] mihi iamdudum destinatas atque oblatas,[4] unde primo fueram expulsus, annis aliquibus quiete possedi, atque ibi in ipso statim scholarum initio glossas illas Ezechielis, quas Lauduni inceperam, consummare studui.[5] Quae quidem[6] adeo legentibus acceptabiles fuerunt ut me non minorem gratiam[7] in sacra lectione adeptum iam crederent quam in philosophica viderant. Unde utriusque lectionis studio scholae nostrae vehementer multiplicatae, quanta mihi de pecunia lucra, quantam gloriam compararent,[8] ex fama te quoque latere non potuit. Sed quoniam prosperitas stultos semper inflat, et mundana tranquillitas vigorem enervat animi,[9] et per carnales illecebras facile resolvit, cum iam me solum in mundo superesse[10] philosophum aestimarem, nec ullam ulterius inquietationem formidarem, frena libidini[11] coepi laxare qui antea[12] vixeram continentissime. Et, quo amplius in philosophia vel sacra lectione profeceram, amplius a philosophis et divinis immunditia vitae recedebam. Constat quippe philosophos, nedum[13] divinos, id est sacrae[14] lectionis exhortationibus intentos, continentiae decore maxime polluisse. Cum[15] igitur totus in superbia atque[16] luxuria laborarem, utriusque morbi remedium divina mihi gratia licet nolenti contulit, ac primo luxuriae, deinde superbiae; luxuriae quidem his me privando quibus hanc[17] exercebam, superbiae vero quae mihi[18] ex litterarum maxime scientia nascebatur, iuxta illud[19] Apostoli: *Scientia inflat*, illius libri, quo maxime gloriabar, combustione me humiliando. Cuius nunc[20] rei utramque[21] historiam verius ex ipsa re quam ex[22] auditu cognoscere te volo, ordine[23] quidem[24] quo processerunt. Quia igitur scortorum immunditiam semper abhorrebam, et ab accessu[25] et frequentatione nobilium feminarum studii scholaris assiduitate revocabar, nec laicarum conversationem multum noveram, prava mihi, ut dicitur, fortuna blandiens commodiorem nacta[26] est occasionem qua[27] me facilius de sublimitatis huius fastigio prosterneret,[28] immo superbissimum nec acceptae gratiae memorem divina pietas humiliatum sibi vendicaret.

---

[33] pauci tunc *om. E.*

[34] expertus *BR*] inexpertem *E*] inexpertum *CDF* Amb.; *add.* studium *D.*

[35] proprie *BR.*

[36] qui *EF.*

[37] accedere *E* Amb] contendere *F*] contendere et concurrere *G.*

[38] et omnes pariter *om. E.*

[39] conscribendis *A.*

[40] eorum *ACEFT.*

[1] *om. CDEFRY.*

[2] *om. BDRY.*

[3] Alberic of Rheims and Lotulph were two of Abelard's chief opponents at the Council of Soissons as we shall see. Alberic became archdeacon of Rheims in 1113-14, and he and Lotulph conducted the school there. Alberic became Archbishop of Bourges in 1137. Cf. P. B. Gams, *Series Episcoporum*, p. 523. In the *Vita Hugonis abbatis Marchianensis; Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France* XIV, p. 398, we read of Alberic: erat homo in lectione satis diffusus, gratus, facundus, sed non adeo in quaestionum solutione. Little is known of Lotulphus.

[4] Loculphus *CDEFRY* Amb. It is spelled *Letaldus* in Otto of Freisung, *Gesta Fred.* I, 47; MGH, SS 20, 377.

[5] Lumbardus *ACETY.*

[6] machinabantur *B.*

[7] excercere *T*] excere *A.*

[8] *add.* ibi *BDRTY.*

[9] scribere *C.*

[10] *E* uses the same abbreviation for *qui* and *quae.*

[11] nuncquam *A*] nunquam *R*].

[12] *om. ACEF.*

[13] persqu with a stroke over the *u CE*] persecutum *G.*

[1] venit *T.*

[2] *om. CDEFRY.*

[3] *add.* que *C.*

[4] ablatas *CE.*

[5] studivi *T.*

[6] *om. F*] quod *CE.*

[7] gloriam *FG.*

[8] comparent *B*] compararant *D.*

[9] animum *R.*

(QUOMODO IN AMOREM HELOISAE LAPSUS VULNUS INDE TAM MENTIS QUAM CORPORIS TRAXIT)[1]

Erat quippe in ipsa civitate Parisiensi[2] adolescentula quaedam nomine Heloisa,[3] neptis canonici cuiusdam qui Fulbertus vocabatur, qui eam, quanto amplius diligebat, tanto diligentius in omnem qua[4] poterat scientiam litterarum promoveri studuerat. Quae, cum per faciem non esset infima, per abundantiam litterarum erat suprema. Nam, quo bonum hoc,[5] litteratoriae scilicet scientiae, in mulieribus est rarius, eo amplius puellam commendabat et in toto regno nominatissimam fecerat. Hanc igitur,[6] omnibus circumspectis quae amantes allicere solent, commodiorem censui in amorem mihi copulare et me id facillime[7] credidi posse. Tanti quippe tunc nominis eram et iuventutis et formae gratia praeminebam ut quamcumque feminarum nostro dignarer amore nullam[8] vererer repulsam. Tanto autem[9] facilius hanc mihi puellam consensuram[10] credidi,[11] quanto amplius eam litterarum scientiam et habere et diligere noveram, nosque etiam absentes scriptis internuntiis invicem liceret praesentare, et pleraque[12] audacius scribere quam colloqui, et sic semper iocundis interesse colloquiis. In huius itaque adolescentulae amorem totus inflammatus occasionem quaesivi qua eam mihi domestica et[13] quotidiana[14] conversatione[15] familiarem efficerem et facilius ad consensum traherem. Quod quidem ut fieret, egi cum[16] praedicto puellae avunculo, quibusdam[17] ipsius amicis intervenientibus, quatenus me in domum suam quae scholis nostris proxima erat sub quocumque procurationis pretio susciperet, hanc videlicet occasionem[18] praetendens quod studium nostrum domestica nostrae familiae cura plurimum praepediret et impensa nimium me[19] gravaret. Erat autem cupidus ille valde, atque erga neptim suam ut amplius semper in doctrinam proficeret litteratoriam plurimum studiosus. Quibus quidem[20] duobus facile eius[21] assensum assecutus sum, et quod optabam obtinui, cum ille videlicet et ad pecuniam totus inhiaret et neptim suam ex doctrina nostra aliquid percepturam crederet. Super quo vehementer me deprecatus, supra quam sperare praesumerem, votis meis accessit et amori consuluit, eam videlicet totam nostro magisterio committens ut, quotiens mihi[22] a scholis reverso vacaret, tam in die quam in nocte ei[23] docendae operam darem, et eam, si negligentem[24] sentirem, vehementer constringerem. In qua re quidem quanta eius simplicitas esset vehementer admiratus, non minus apud me obstupui quam si agnam teneram famelico lupo committeret. Qui[25] cum eam mihi non solum docendam, verum etiam vehementer constringendam[26] traderet, quid aliud[27] agebat quam ut[28] votis meis licentiam penitus daret, et occasionem, etiam[29] si nollemus[30] offerret ut quam videlicet blanditiis non possem,[31] minis et verberibus facilius flecterem? Sed duo erant quae eum maxime a turpi suspicione revocabant, amor videlicet neptis et continentiae meae fama praeterita.[32] Quid plura? Primum domo una coniungimur, postmodum animo. Sub occasione itaque disciplinae amori penitus vacabamus et secretos recessus[33] quos amor optabat studium lectionis offerebat. Apertis itaque libris, plura de amore quam de lectione verba se ingerebant; plura erant oscula quam sententiae; saepius ad sinus quam ad libros reducebantur manus; crebrius oculos amor in se reflectebat quam lectio in scripturam dirigebat. Quoque[34] minus suspicionis haberemus, verbera[35] quandoque dabat amor, non furor, gratia, non ira, quae omnium unguentorum suavitatem transcenderent. Quid denique? Nullus[36] a cupidis intermissus est gradus amoris et, si quid insolitum amor excogitare potuit, est additum. Et quo minus ista[37] fueramus experti gaudia, ardentius illis insistebamus, et minus in fastidium vertebantur. Et quo me amplius haec voluptas[38] occupaverat, minus philosophiae vacare poteram et scholis operam dare. Taediosum mihi vehementer erat ad scholas procedere, vel in eis morari pariter et laboriosum, cum nocturnas amori vigilias et diurnas studio conservarem. Quem etiam ita negligentem et tepidum lectio tunc habebat ut iam nihil ex ingenio sed ex usu cuncta proferrem, nec iam nisi recitator pristinorum essem inventorum, et, si qua invenire liceret carmina, essent amatoria, non philosophiae secreta. Quorum etiam carminum pleraque adhuc in multis, sicut et ipse nosti, frequentantur et decantantur regionibus ab his maxime quos vita similis[39] oblectat.[40] Quantam autem[41] maestitiam,[42] quos gemitus, quae lamenta nostri super hoc scholares assumerent, ubi videlicet hanc animi mei occupationem, immo perturbationem, praesenserunt,[43] non est facile[44] vel cogitare. Paucos enim iam res tam manifesta decipere poterat ac neminem, credo, praeter eum ad cuius ignominiam maxime id spectabat, ipsum videlicet puellae avunculum. Cui quidem[45] hoc, cum a nonnullis nonnunquam[46] suggestum fuisset, credere non poterat tum, ut supra memini, propter[47] immoderatam suae neptis amicitiam, tum[48] etiam propter anteactae vitae meae continentiam cognitam. Non enim facile de his quos plurimum diligimus turpitudinem suspicamur,[49] nec in vehementi dilectione turpis suspicionis labes potest inesse. Unde et illud[50] est Beati Hieronymi in Epistola ad Sabinianum:[51]

---

[10] superiorem *EG; add.* superiorem *C.*

[11] libidinis *BCDRY.*

[12] aliter *E*] alias *CF.*

[13] necdum *ABERT*] nundum *DY.*

[14] sacra *BR.*

[15] demum *C.*

[16] et *E*] quoque *F.*

[17] *om.* Amb.] hunc *Y.*

[18] *om. CEF.*

[19] *I Cor.* viii, 1.

[20] nec *E.*

[21] utriusque *R.*

[22] auditu . . . scortorum *om, C.*

[23] ordinem *F.*

[24] quoque *F.*

[25] assensu *D*] excessu Amb.

[26] nacta est] dedit *Y.*

[27] quam corrected to qua (*s.m.*) *T.*

[28] prosternerent *R;* corrupt *D.*

[1] *om. ACDEFRY.*

[2] parisius *AT.*

[3] Heloyssa *CEFY.* Several theories have been brought forward regarding the parentage of Heloise: one that she was of the noble house of Montmorency; another that she was illegitimate. There is no documentary proof of either assumption. Heloise herself in her letters to Abelard implies that her family was of lowly estate. There is an entry in the necrology of the Paraclete which gives her mother's name as Hersinde; under date of Decmber 1st we we read: Hersindis mater domine abbatisse nostre; *Recueil des historiens de la France. Obituaires de la province de Sens, IV, Diocèses de Meaux et de Troyes,* p. 428. The name of her father is not known. There is also an entry for December 26th on p. 429 of the same edition of the necrology which reads: Hubertus canonicus domine Heloise avunculus. *Hubertus* is probably a corruption of *Fulbertus.* If so, then Fulbert was the maternal uncle of Heloise. The date of the birth of Heloise is not known. Abelard tells us that she was a girl (*adolescentula, puella*) when he first met her. It is generally assumed that she was born about 1100 or 1101. She died in 1163 or 1164, likely on May 16. Cf. Enid McLeod, *Heloïse* (London, 1938), notes 219, 220, pp. 287 ff. Duchesne in a note (p. 1187) says that from documents (*tabulis et calendario*) which he found at the Paraclete there is the following record:

> Heloise, neptis Fulberti canonici parisiensis, primo Petri Abaelardi conjunx, deinde monialis et priorissa Argentolii, post oratorii paraclitici abbatissa, quod ab anno MCXXX ad annum MCLXIV prudenter atque religiose rexit.

The necrology of the Paraclete for May 16 contains the following entry:

> Mater nostre religionis Heloisa, prima abbatissa, documentis et religionis clarissima, spem bonam ejus nobis vita donante, feliciter migravit ad Dominum (*Rec. des hist. Obit. de la prov. de Sens,* IV, p. 415).

Duchesne (p. 1149) adds the following note:

> Fulberti canonici parisiensis meminit Ordericus uticensis monachus, lib. VII Historiae suae Ecclesiasticae; quem ut hunc quoque eumdem Heloissae avunculum fuisse credam, ratio potissimum temporis facit. "Regnante", inquit, "Ludovico rege, quidam canonicus nomine Fulbertus Parisius erat, qui os integrum de spina sancti Ebrulbi habebat, quod capellanus de capella Henrici regis Francorum subtraxerat, eique jam dudum pro amoris pignore dederat. Timens autem pro diversis causis illud habere, Fulcone presbytero Mauliae mediante, accersit Guillelmum de Monsterolo priorem Mauliae, eique reliquias tradidit deferendas uticensi ecclesiae."

---

[4] in quam *BDRY*] quam *CEF*.
[5] huiusmodi *CE*] huius *F*.
[6] *om.* *F*.
[7] facere *G*; corrupt *E*.
[8] ullam *C*.
[9] *om.* *BDRY*.
[10] concensuram *T*.
[11] creddididi *A*.
[12] *om.* *B*] plerumque *Y*.
[13] *om.* *DRY*.
[14] *om.* *DRY*.
[15] *add.* et *CF*.
[16] *om.* *B*.
[17] quibus *BDR*] quibusque *Y*.
[18] actionem *C*.
[19] *om.* *CEF* Amb.
[20] *om.* *ACEF*.
[21] *om.* *T*.
[22] me *EF*.
[23] *add.* dicendae vel *C*] docendae vel *E*.
[24] negantem *Y*.
[25] quia *T*.
[26] astringendam *AC*.
[27] *add.* habebat but expunged *A*.
[28] *om.* *A*.
[29] et *BRY*.
[30] *add.* et breviter *C*.
[31] *add.* saltem *Y*.
[32] praeteritae *CEF*.
[33] regressus *T* Amb.
[34] quodque *BR*.
[35] verba *BCDR*.

> Solemus mala domus nostrae scire novissimi, ac liberorum ac coniugum vitia vicinis canentibus ignorare.

Sed quod novissime scitur utique sciri quandoque contingit, et quod omnes deprehendunt non est facile unum latere.

Sic itaque, pluribus evolutis mensibus, et de nobis accidit. O quantus in hoc cognoscendo dolor avunculi! quantus in separatione amantium dolor ipsorum! quanta sum erubescentia confusus! quanta contritione super afflictione puellae sum afflictus! quantos maeroris ipsa de verecundia mea sustinuit aestus! Neuter quod sibi, sed quod alteri, contigerat[52] querebatur; neuter sua sed alterius plangebat incommoda. Separatio autem haec corporum maxima erat copulatio animorum, et negata sui copia amplius amorem accendebat,[53] et verecundiae[54] transacta[55] iam passio inverecundiores[56] reddebat; tantoque verecundiae minor exstiterat passio, quanto convenientior videbatur actio.[57] Actum itaque in nobis est quod in Marte et Venere deprehensis poetica narrat fabula.[58] Non multo autem post, puella se concepisse comperit,[59] et cum summa exultatione mihi super hoc illico scripsit, consulens quid de hoc ipse faciendum deliberarem. Quadam itaque nocte, avunculo eius absente, sicut nos condixeramus,[60] eam de domo avunculi furtim sustuli et in patriam meam[61] sine mora transmisi, ubi apud sororem meam tamdiu conversata est donec pareret[62] masculum quem Astralabium[63] nominavit. Avunculus autem eius post ipsius recessum quasi in insaniam conversus, quanto[64] aestuaret[65] dolore,[66] quanto afficeretur pudore, nemo nisi experiendo[67] cognosceret. Quid autem in me ageret, quas mihi tenderet insidias ignorabat. Si me interficeret seu in aliquo corpus meum debilitaret, id potissimum[68] metuebat ne dilectissima neptis[69] hoc[70] in patria mea plecteretur. Capere me et invitum alicubi coercere nullatenus valebat, maxime cum ego mihi super hoc plurimum providerem quod eum, si valeret vel auderet, citius aggredi non dubitarem. Tandem ego eius immoderatae anxietati admodum compatiens, et de dolo quem fecerat amor, tamquam de summa proditione, me ipsum vehementer accusans, conveni hominem supplicando et promittendo[71] quamcumque[72] super hoc emendationem ipse constitueret, nec ulli mirabile id videri asserens, quicumque vim[73] amoris expertus fuisset, et qui[74] quanta ruina summos quoque viros ab ipso statim humani generis exordio mulieres deiecerint[75] memoria retineret.[76] Atque ut amplius eum mitigarem supra quam sperare poterat, obtuli me ei satisfacere eam scilicet quam corruperam mihi matrimonio copulando, dummodo id secreto fieret ne famae detrimentum[77] incurrerem. Assensit ille, et[78] tam[79] sua quam suorum fide et osculis, eam quam requisivi concordiam mecum iniit quo me facilius proderet.

---

[36] nullis *BR.*

[37] ita *B.*

[38] voluntas *Y.*

[39] simul *BDRT.*

[40] oblectabat *Y* Amb.

[41] animi *E.*

[42] maesticam *T.*

[43] persenserunt *BDRY.*

[44] *add.* dicere *BCDEFY.*

[45] *om. CEF.*

[46] nonnuncquam *A.*

[47] per *E.*

[48] cum *C.*

[49] suspicamus *BDR.*

[50] *Epist.* 147, 10; CSEL 56, 1, 3, p. 327; PL 22, 1203.

[51] castricianum *ABCDERTY.*

[52] contingat *C.*

[53] ascendebat *T*] accendebant*E.*

[54] verecundia *BR.*

[55] iam . . . verecundiae *om. E.*

[56] *Add.* nos *Y.*

[57] actu *T.*

[58] Cf. Ovid, *Ars Amat.* II, 561 ff. *Metamor.* IV, 169-189.

[59] conceperit *B.*

[60] consideramus *B.*

[61] *om. BR.*

[62] peperit *CE.*

(DEHORTATIO SUPRADICTAE PUELLAE A NUPTIIS)[1]

Illico ego[2] ad patriam meam reversus amicam reduxi ut uxorem facerem, illa tamen hoc minime approbante, immo penitus duabus de causis dissuadente, tam scilicet pro periculo quam pro dedecore meo. Iurabat illum nulla unquam[3] satisfactione super hoc placari posse, sicut postmodum cognitum est. Quaerebat etiam quam de me gloriam[4] habitura esset cum me ingloriosum efficeret et se et me pariter humiliaret; quantas ab ea mundus poenas[5] exigere deberet, si tantam ei lucernam auferret; quantae maledictiones, quanta damna ecclesiae, quantae philosophorum lacrymae hoc matrimonium essent secuturae; quam indecens, quam lamentabile esset ut quem omnibus natura[6] creaverat uni me feminae dicarem et turpitudini tantae[7] subicerem.[8] Detestabatur vehementer hoc matrimonium quod mihi per omnia probrosum esset atque onerosum.[9] Praetendebat infamiam mei pariter et difficultates matrimonii[10] ad quas quidem vitandas nos exhortans Apostolus ait:[11] *Solutus es ab uxore? Noli quaerere uxorem. Si autem acceperis uxorem non peccasti, et si nupserit virgo, non*[12] *peccabit.*[13] *Tribulationem tamen carnis habebunt huiusmodi. Ego autem vobis parco,*[14] etc. Item:[15] *Volo autem*[16] *vos sine sollicitudine esse*, etc.

---

[63] stralabium *C*. After Abelard's death, Heloise wrote a letter to Peter the Venerable in which among other things, she writes: memineritis et amore Dei et nostri Astralabii vestri, ut aliquam ei vel a parisiensi, vel alio quolibet episcopo praebendam acquiratis. And Peter replies: Astralabio vestro vestrique causa nostro . . . in aliqua nobilium ecclesiarum praebendam libens acquirere laborabo; Cousin, *Petri Abaelardi Opera* 1, pp. 715, 717. There is evidence that he was known as Petrus Astralabius. In the necrology of the Paraclete, *Recueil des historiens . . . Obit. de la Prov. de Sens*, IX, p. 425, under Oct. 30 is this entry: Petrus Astrolabius magistri nostri Petri filius. In the Baluze manuscript copy of this necrology, the name is spelled *Petrus Astralabius*. *Cf.* Enid McLeod, *Héloïse*, p. 284, n. 200.

Cousin *op. cit.* p. 46, n. 20, adds the following:

> Necrologium autem monasterii de Alta Ripa, ordinis cisterciensis, apud Helvetios, sic habet, ut retulit nobis vir eruditissimus L. de Sinner, qui locum ipse transcripserat: "I januar, anno reparatae salutis MCLVII, obiit reverendus dominus primus hujus monasterii abbas, postulatus a domino Guillelmo de Glana fundatore ex abbatia Caroloci in Burgundiae comitatu sita: et sub ipso fuit consecrata ecclesia altaripana a Guidone episcopo lausannensi, anno Domini MCXXXVII, in mense martis —II januar. Commemoratio reverendorum patrum: Theodorici prioris; Germani, Richardi abbatis MCLVII; Cononis subprioris; Josleni, Pontii abbatis MCLVIII; Juliani Cellarii; Hugonis, Wuilliermi, Astralabii abbatis MCLXII; Gualteri et Petri. Nec non et fratrum conversorum: Martini, Borcardi, Willenci, Bossonis, Amaldrici, Viventii, Torinci, Marci, Raymundi et Mendrici. Qui omnes ex abbatia Caroloci postulati, hoc monasterium primi inhabitaverunt—V augusti. Commemoratio reverendi domini Astrolabii (*sic*) abbatis IV" . . . Constat ergo Astralabium quemdam, monachum, coenobii Caroloci in Burgundia, missum fuisse cum aliis a sancto Bernardo, ut monasterium Altae Ripae primi inhabitarent, abbatem vero electum anno 1162, tribus post annis e vita decessisse. Astralabium illum Abaelardi filium fuisse forsan consentaneum est.

[64] *om. A.*

[65] *om. A.*

[66] *om. A.*

[67] experimento *CEF*.

[68] potissime *DR*.

[69] *add.* sua *Y*.

[70] in hoc *T*.

[71] promittando *T*.

[72] quandoque *R*.

[73] veri *CEF*.

[74] quoniam *E*.

[75] deiecerunt *BCEFRY*.

[76] retinet *EF*.

[77] Scholars have speculated on the reason that Abelard stipulated that the marriage be kept secret. See, amongst others, E. Gilson, *Héloïse et Abélard* (Paris, 1948), pp. 31 ff. Could not the chief reasons have been a marriage made 'necessary' because of the birth of Astralabe, and also that Abelard thereby put himself in the category of clerics who could not keep continent?

[78] *om. E.*

[79] causa *C*.

[1] om. *CDEFRY*. See Introduction, p. 173, for the historicity of this section.

[2] enim *T*] *om. DY*.

[3] Numquam *RT*.

Quod si nec Apostoli consilium nec sanctorum exhortationes de tanto[17] matrimonii iugo[18] susciperem, saltem, inquit, philosophos consulerem et quae[19] super hoc ab eis vel de eis scripta sunt attenderem. Quod plerumque etiam sancti ad increpationem nostram diligenter faciunt. Quale illud[20] est beati Hieronymi in primo[21] *Contra Iovinianum*[22] ubi scilicet commemorat Theophrastum intolerabilibus nuptiarum molestiis assiduisque inquietudinibus ex magna parte diligenter expositis, uxorem sapienti non esse ducendam evidentissimis rationibus astruxisse[23] ubi et ipse[24] illas exhortationis[25] philosophicae[26] rationes tali fine concludens,

> "Hoc" inquit[27] "et huiusmodi[28] Theophrastus disserens quem non suffundat[29] Christianorum,[30] etc."

Idem in eodem,[31]

> "Cicero", inquit,[32] "rogatus ab Hirtio ut post repudium Terentiae sororem eius duceret, omnino facere supersedit, dicens non posse se et uxori et philosophiae operam pariter dare."

Non ait: operam dare, sed adiunxit: pariter, nolens quicquam agere quod studio aequaretur philosophiae. Ut autem hoc philosophici studii nunc omittam impedimentum, ipsum consule honestae conversationis statum. Quae enim conventio scholarium[33] ad pedissequas, scriptoriorum[34] ad cunabula, librorum sive tabularum ad colos, stilorum sive calamorum ad fusos? Quis denique sacris vel philosophicis[35] meditationibus intentus pueriles vagitus, nutricum quae hos mitigant nenias, tumultuosam[36] familiae tam in viris quam in feminis turbam sustinere poterit? Quae[37] etiam inhonestas[38] illas[39] parvulorum sordes assiduas tolerare valebit?

---

[4] gloria *BR.*

[5] poenae *F.*

[6] Deus *DY; om. R.*

[7] *add.* me *CEF.*

[8] subiacerem Amb.

[9] inhonorosum *G;* corrected to onerosum *F*] atque oner. *om. Y.*

[10] matrimonio *C.*

[11] *I Cor.* vii, 27, 28, 32.

[12] nec *DR.*

[13] peccavit *F*] peccabis *C.*

[14] parco vobis *T.*

[15] *om. A;* et item with *et* expunged *T;* et iterum Amb.

[16] *om. CEF.*

[17] *add.* videlicet *CEF.* matrimonium *T.*

[18] periculo *F;* om. *CE.*

[19] qui *E.*

[20] istud *BDRY*] id *C.*

[21] *add.* libro *CEF.*

[22] Chapter 47; PL 23, 289A.

[23] abstruxisse *T*] adstruxisee Amb.

[24] *om. AEF*] ei *C.*

[25] exhortationibus *CEF.*

[26] philosophiae ACEFY.

[27] *loc. cit.*

[28] *om.* E.

[29] suffunderat E.

[30] Christianum CE.

[31] 291A.

[32] This and the following sentence smack of St. Jerome. cf. *De perpetua Virginitate B. Mariae* 20, PL 23, 214AC. *Ep. 54 ad Furiam,* 4, 5, PL 22, 551-552; CSEL 51, 1, 1. pp. 469-70. *Ep. 50 ad Dominionem,* PL 22, 516; CSEL *loc. cit.,* p. 394.

[33] scholarum BCDERY.

[34] scriptorum E] *corrected from* scriptoriorum A.

[35] *add.* et B.

[36] tumultuosae C.

[37] quis FY Amb.

[38] honestas CEF.

[39] ipsas BDRY.

Id, inquies, divites[40] possunt quorum palatia vel domus amplae deversoria habent,[41] quorum opulentia non sentit expensas[42] nec quotidianis sollicitudinibus cruciatur.[43] Sed non est, inquam, haec condicio philosophorum quae divitum, nec qui opibus[44] student vel saecularibus[45] implicantur curis divinis seu philosophicis vacabunt[46] officiis.

Unde et insignes olim <*philosophi*>[47] mundum maxime contemnentes, nec tam relinquentes saeculum quam fugientes, omnes sibi voluptates interdixerunt ut in unius philosophiae requiescerent amplexibus. Quorum unus et maximus Seneca[48] Lucilium instruens ait:[49]

> Non[50] cum vacaveris philosophandum est; omnia[51] negligenda[52] sunt ut huic assideamus cui[53] nullum tempus satis magnum est . . . Non multum refert utrum[54] omittas philosophiam an intermittas; non enim, ubi interrupta est, manet.

Resistendum est occupationibus, nec explicandae sunt sed submovendae. Quod nunc igitur apud nos amore Dei sustinent qui vere monachi dicuntur, hoc, desiderio philosophiae, qui nobiles in gentibus exstiterunt philosophi. In omni namque populo, tam gentili scilicet quam Iudaico sive Christiano, aliqui semper exstiterunt fide seu morum honestate ceteris praeminentes,[55] et se a populo aliqua continentiae vel abstinentiae singularitate segregantes. Apud Iudaeos quidem antiquitus Nazaraei[56] qui se Domino secundum legem consecrabant, sive filii prophetarum, Heliae vel Helisaei sectatores,[57] quos, beato attestante[58] Hieronymo, monachos legimus in veteri Testamento. Novissime autem tres illae philosophiae sectae quas Iosephus in libro[59] Antiquitatum[60] distinguens, alios Pharisaeos, alios Sadducaeos, alios nominat Essaeos. Apud nos vero monachi qui videlicet aut communem Apostolorum vitam aut priorem illam et[61] solitariam Ioannis[62] imitantur; apud gentiles autem,[63] ut dictum est, philosophi. Non enim sapientiae vel philosophiae nomen[64] tam ad scientiae perceptionem quam ad vitae religionem referebant, sicut ab ipso etiam huius nominis ortu didicimus, ipsorum quoque[65] testimonio sanctorum. Unde et illud est beati Augustini octavo de Civitate Dei libro genera quidem philosophorum distinguentis:[66]

> Italicum genus[67] auctorem habuit Pythagoram Samium a quo et[68] fertur ipsum philosophiae nomen[69] exortum. Nam[70] cum antea sapientes appellarentur qui modo quodam laudabilis vitae aliis praestare videbantur, iste interrogatus quid profiteretur[71] philosophum se esse respondit, id[72] est studiosum vel[73] amatorem sapientiae, quoniam[74] sapientem profiteri arrogantissimum[75] videbatur.

---

[40] dites E; *corrupt* CF.
[41] haberent A.
[42] experientiam E.
[43] cruciantur CEF.
[44] operibus BDRY.
[45] scholaribus CEF.
[46] vacabant *ADR*] corrected to vacant *Y*.
[47] philosophorum *EF*] philosophos *ABCDRTY*.
[48] *add.* ad *E*.
[49] *Epist.* LXXII 3.
[50] *add.* nisi (*s.m.*) *Y*.
[51] *add.* alia *F*.
[52] negligentia *T*.
[53] tibi *E*.
[54] utrum omittas] interomittas *BR*] intermittas *D*] interdimittas *Y*] obmittas *CE*.
[55] praeminentibus *F*.
[56] *Cf. Numbers* vi, 21; *Judges* xvi; 17; *Amos* ii, 11.
[57] *Cf. Kings* vi, 1.
[58] *Ep.* CXXV, 7; PL 22, 1076; CSEL 66, I, 3, p. 125. Cf. also *Ep.* LVIII, 5; PL 22, 583; CSEL 54, I, 1, p. 534.
[59] *om. BR;* (*s.m.*) *T;* add. in *T*.
[60] XVIII, 1, 11.
[61] *om. C*.
[62] *Cf. Mark* i, 2 ff.
[63] aliqui *E*.
[64] nullum *E*.
[65] que *F*.
[66] VIII, 2; CSEL 40, p. 325.
[67] ergo *BF*.
[68] et fertur] refertur *CE*] etiam ferunt *F*.
[69] nullum *CEF*.
[70] *om. B*.
[71] proficeretur *ACD*.
[72] *om.* id est C.
[73] et *BDRY*.
[74] quem *BR*.
[75] argumentissime *E*.

Hoc itaque loco cum dicitur:

> Qui modo quodam laudabilis vitae aliis praestare videbantur etc.,

aperte monstratur sapientes gentium, id est, philosophos ex laude vitae potius quam scientiae sic esse nominatos. Quam sobrie autem atque continenter ipsi vixerint non est nostrum modo ex[76] exemplis colligere ne[77] Minervam ipsam[78] videar docere. Si autem sic[79] laici gentilesque vixerunt,[80] nulla scilicet professione religionis astricti, quid te clericum[81] atque canonicum facere oportet ne divinis officiis turpes praeferas voluptates, ne te praecipitem[82] haec Charybdis absorbeat, ne obscoenitatibus istis te impudenter atque irrevocabiliter immergas?[83] Qui si clerici praerogativam non curas, philosophi[84] saltem defende dignitatem. Si reverentia Dei contemnitur, amor saltem honestatis impudentiam temperet. Memento Socratem uxoratum fuisse, et quam foedo casu hanc philosophiae labem ipse primo[85] luerit ut deinceps ceteri exemplo eius cautiores efficerentur; quod nec ipse praeterit Hieronymus ita in primo[86] *Contra Iovinianum* de ipso scribens Socrate:

---

[76] *om. CY* Amb.

[77] nec *T.*

[78] *om. BDRY.*

[79] hic *T.*

[80] vixerint *BDRTY.*

[81] It is certain that Abelard was a priest when he was abbot of St. Gildas, for he tells us towards the end of this letter that attempts were made on his life by putting poison in his chalice for Mass. It is not known when he was ordained a priest. Perhaps he began the study of theology with Holy Orders in view, especially if he intended to teach theology.

The words here, *clericus et canonicus*, indicate that he was not a priest at this time for the term cleric alone in the writings of the age usually means one who is only tonsured or at most has Minor Orders. If he had been in Major Orders, his rank would most likely have been added. In all probability, he was ordained priest some time after his marriage and after both he and Heloise had taken the vow of chastity in religion. A married man can by dispensation be ordained priest today provided his wife has taken a solemn vow of chastity in religion.

For references to the legislation of the time relative to the marriage of clerics and canons, see the article by T. P. McLaughlin: 'The Prohibition of Marriage Against Canons in the Early Twelfth Century,' *Mediaeval Studies*, III (1941), 94-100. A priest, deacon or subdeacon could validly contract marriage, but he forfeited his benefice thereby. A cleric in Minor Orders could marry and retain his benefice. A canon of any clerical rank lost his benefice if he married; that would explain the force of the clause: *ne divinis officiis turpis praeferas voluptates.*

When was Abelard made a canon and of what churches? We do not know. We know from a letter of Heloise, as will be seen, that he was head of the school in Paris at this time. Perhaps a canonry was attached to this office as Rémusat thinks, (*op. cit.*, I, p. 39). But there is no positive proof that he was a canon of Paris, although he likely was; on the other hand there is some evidence that he was canon of Sens, Tours and also of Chartres. Duchesne thinks he was canon of Sens and not of Paris. I append Rémusat's note, *op. cit.*, p. 39, in which he gives the extant evidence on Abelard's canonry:

Cependant on la conteste, et D. Gervaise veut qu'Abélard soit devenu chanoine dès le temps où il professait à Paris, du consentement et à la place du successeur de Guillaume de Champeaux. Duchesne, sur la foi d'une chronique manuscrite des archevêques de Sens, prétend qu'il fut chanoine de Sens et non de Paris; et voici le texte inédit qui motive son assertion et dont je dois la connaissance à la savante amitié de M. Le Clerc: *Ex Chronico senonensi Gaufridi de Collone, monachi Sancti Petri Vivi senonensis, seculo XIII°*, Manuscrit de la bibliothèque de Sens, n. 271, décrit et apprécié dans le t. XXI de l' *Hist.* litt. de la France, Fol. 129V°, col. 1 et 2. "Anno Domini M° C° XL° (*leg.* XLII), magister Petrus Abaulart, canonicus primo maioris ecclesie senonensis, obiit; qui monasteria sanctimonialium fundauit, spetialiter abbatiam de Paraclito, in quo sepelitur cum uxore. Suum epitaphium tale est: Est satis in titulo: Petrus hic iacet Abaillardus. Hic (*leg.* huic) soli patuit scibile quidquid erat. Canonicus fuit, et post uxoratus." Cité en partie, mais sans nom d'auteur par André Duchesne, *Notae ad Hist. calamitatum*, p. 1150, et Duboulai, Hist. Univ. Paris, t. II, p. 760. Les derniers mots ont été ainsi altérés par celui-ci: Uxoratus primo fuerat, postea canonicus. Le même Duboulai dit, à la vérité dans une table seulement, qu'Abélard fut chanoine de Tours; enfin, on voit sur une vitre de la cathédrale de Chartres une figure vétue en chanoine, avec ce nom Pierre Baillard, et on veut que ce soit Abélard, chanoine de Chartres. On ne pouvait en général posséder qu'un seul canonicat comme on ne pouvait avoir qu'un bénéfice. Faut-il admettre que le titre de chanoine honoraire fût alors connu, ou qu'Abélard ait changé plusieurs fois de chapitre? La chose certaine, c'est qu'il était chanoine, il le dit lui-même. Il n'était pas nécessairement prêtre pour cela. On ne sait quand il le devint; peut-être en se faisant moine à Saint-Denis. (*cf. Ab. Op.*, ep. I, p. 16; *Hist. litt.* XII, p. 91; *Vie d'Abeillard* I, p. 28; *Hist. universit. paris.* II, *in indic;* Niceron, *Mém. pour servir à l'hist. des hom. ill.* VI; *Rech. hist. sur la ville de Sens*, par M. Th. Tarbé, c. XXI, p. 443.) Father McLaughlin, *art. cit.*, 99, n. 40, is of the opinion that, apart from the Canons Regular who were bound by the law of celibacy the same as monks, there were two classes of secular canons: the first, those composing a Cathedral Chapter; second, those not belonging to a chapter.

Is it not possible that at that time a cleric could be a canon, without a benefice, of several churches, either at the same time or successively?

[82] praecipite *BR.*

[83] immergus *A.*

> Quodam autem tempore, cum infinita convicia ex superiori loco ingerenti Xanthippae restitisset,[87] aqua[88] profusus[89] immunda nihil respondit amplius quam, capite deterso: 'sciebam'[90] inquit 'futurum[91] ut ista tonitrua imber sequeretur'.

Addebat denique ipsa et quam periculosum mihi esset eam reducere, et quam[92] sibi carius existeret mihique honestius amicam dici quam uxorem ut me ei sola gratia conservaret, non vis aliqua[93] vinculi nuptialis[94] constringeret, tantoque nos ipsos ad tempus separatos gratiora de conventu nostro percipere[95] gaudia, quanto[96] rariora. Haec et similia persuadens seu dissuadens, cum meam deflectere non posset stultitiam, nec me sustineret offendere, suspirans vehementer et lacrymans perorationem[97] suam[98] tali fine terminavit: "Unum", inquit, "ad ultimum restat ut in perditione duorum minor non succedat[99] dolor quam praecessit amor". Nec in hoc ei, sicut universus agnovit mundus, prophetiae defuit spiritus.

Nato itaque parvulo nostro sorori meae commendato, Parisius occulte revertimur, et[100] post paucos dies nocte secretis[1] orationum vigiliis in quadam ecclesia celebratis, ibidem summo mane, avunculo eius atque quibusdam nostris vel[2] ipsius amicis assistentibus, nuptiali benedictione confoederamur. Moxque occulte divisim abscessimus, nec nos ulterius nisi raro latenterque vidimus, dissimulantes plurimum quod egeramus.

Avunculus autem ipsius atque domestici eius ignominiae suae solatium quaerentes, initum[3] matrimonium divulgare et fidem mihi[4] super hoc[5] datam violare coeperunt. Illa autem e[6] contra anathematizare et iurare quia falsissimum esset. Unde vehementer ille commotus crebris eam contumeliis afficiebat. Quod cum ego cognovissem, transmisi eam ad abbatiam quamdam sanctimonialium prope Parisius, quae Argenteolum[7] appellatur, ubi ipsa[8] olim puellula educata fuerat atque erudita. Vestesque[9] ei religionis quae conversationi[10] monasticae convenirent, excepto velo,[11] aptari feci[12] et his eam indui. Quo audito avunculus et consanguinei seu affines eius opinati sunt me nunc sibi[13] plurimum illusisse,[14] et ab ea moniali facta me sic facile velle[15] expedire. Unde vehementer indignati et adversum me coniurati, nocte quadam, quiescentem me[16] atque dormientem in secreta hospitii mei camera, quodam mihi serviente per pecuniam corrupto, crudelissima et pudentissima ultione punierunt, et quam summa admiratione mundus excepit, eis videlicet corporis mei partibus amputatis quibus id quod plangebant commiseram.[16a] Quibus mox in fugam conversis, duo, qui comprehendi potuerunt, oculis et genitalibus privati sunt; quorum alter ille fuit supradictus serviens qui cum in obsequio meo mecum maneret cupiditate ad proditionem ductus est.

---

[84] philosophiam *E.*

[85] prius *Y.*

[86] *Contra Iov.* I, 48; PL 23, 291BC.

[87] recepisset *Y.*

[88] aquam *EC.*

[89] perfusus *F.*

[90] sciebat *R.*

[91] quomodo *CEF.*

[92] *add.* seu ius aliquod *F.*

[93] *om. RY.*

[94] nuptiali *T.*

[95] concipere *B*] percipere *T.*

[96] quam *CE.*

[97] orationem *CEFY.*

[98] nostram *CF.*

[99] succedet *E.*

[100] ut *BDR.*

[1] secretarum *AEC*] secretiorum *F.*

[2] et *BDFR.*

[3] unitum *BDR*] nostrum *CEFY.*

[4] sibi *BDRY.*

[5] *om. CEF.*

[6] *om. BDR.* e contra *om. Y.*

[7] Argentolium *CEF.* Argenteuil.

[8] ita *BR*] itaque *D*] utique *Y.*

[9] vestes quoque Amb.

[10] conversioni *T* Amb.

[11] She took the veil later when she formally became a nun of the convent; see *infra.*

[12] *om. A.*

[13] *om. F.*

[14] illuxisse *T* Amb.

[15] *om.* Amb.

[16] *om. B.*

Mane[17] autem facto, tota ad me civitas congregata, quanta stuperet admiratione, quanta se affligeret lamentatione, quanto me clamore vexarent,[18] quanto planctu perturbarent,[19] difficile immo impossibile est exprimi. Maxime vero clerici ac praecipue scholares nostri intolerabilibus me laments et eiulatibus[20] cruciabant ut[21] multo amplius ex eorum compassione quam ex vulneris laederer passione, et plus erubescentiam quam plagam sentirem, et pudore magis quam dolore affligerer. Occurrebat animo quanta modo gloria pollebam; quam facili et turpi casu haec[22] humiliata immo penitus esset extincta; quam iusto Dei iudicio in[23] illa corporis mei portione plecterer in qua deliqueram; quam iusta proditione is quem antea prodideram vicem mihi rettulisset; quanta laude mei aemuli tam manifestam aequitatem[24] efferrent;[25] quantam perpetui doloris contritionem plaga haec parentibus meis[26] et amicis esset collatura; quanta dilatatione[27] haec singularis infamia universum mundum esset occupatura; qua[28] mihi ulterius via pateret,[29] qua fronte in publicum prodirem omnium digitis demonstrandus,[30] omnium linguis corrodendus,[31] omnibus monstruosum spectaculum futurus. Nec me etiam parum confundebat quod[32] secundum occidentem legis litteram[33] tanta sit apud Deum eunuchorum abominatio ut homines amputatis vel attritis testiculis eunuchizati intrare ecclesiam tamquam olentes et immundi prohibeantur, et in sacrificio quoque talia penitus animalia respuantur (liber[34] Levitici[35] capitulum[36] XXII):[37] *Omne animal, quod est contritis vel tunsis*[38] *vel sectis ablatisque testiculis, non offeretis*[39] *Domino.*[40] (Deuteronomii[41] Capitulum[42] XXIII):[43] *Non intrabit eunuchus attritis vel amputatis testiculis et absciso*[44] *veretro ecclesiam Domini.*[45] In tam misera[46] me contritione positum confusio, fateor, pudoris potius quam devotio conversionis[47] ad monasticorum latibula claustrorum compulit; illa tamen prius ad imperium nostrum sponte velata et monasterium ingressa. Ambo itaque simul sacrum habitum suscepimus, ego[48] quidem in abbatia[49] sancti Dionysii, illa in monasterio Argenteoli supradicto. Quae[50] quidem,[51] memini, cum eius adolescentiam a iugo monasticae regulae,[52] tamquam intolerabili poena,[53] plurimi frustra deterrerent ei compatientes, in illam Corneliae[54] querimoniam inter lacrymas et singultus, prout[55] poterat, prorumpens ait.[56]

[16a] (De Plaga illa Corporis. *p.m.*)

[17] De plaga illa corporis quomodo scilicet castratus est; in margin (*s.m.*) *T*] De plaga illa corporis; in text *B.*

[18] verarent *A*] vexarant *D*] vexaret *F.*

[19] perturbaret *F.*

[20] eiulationibus *E.*

[21] et *A.*

[22] hic *E.*

[23] in illa] nulla *B.*

[24] aetatem *C.*

[25] efferent *ACE.*

[26] *om. EF.*

[27] dilatione *A.*

[28] quae *CEF.*

[29] paterer *A.*

[30] denotandus *CFG.*

[31] corrodendum *T.*

[32] quod. . . . Deum *om. DRY.*

[33] Notice that Abelard does not refer to any ecclesiastical law preventing eunuchs as such from being ordained or from exercising the duties of the ministry. It was men who had been guilty of self-mutilation only who incurred an irregularity *ex delicto* as they do today. Cf. *Codex Iuris Canonici* 986, 5.

For legislation on the matter previous to Abelard's time, cf. Ivo of Chartres, *Decretum,* Pars VI, Cap. 374; *Panormia* III, 56; PL 161, 523, 1143; Gratian, *Decretum,* Dist. IV, Canon 4; *Canones Apostolorum* XXI, XXII, XXIII in *Ecclesiae Occidentalis Monumenta Iuris Antiquissima* I (C. H. Turner, Oxford, 1899), p. 117; Council of Nice, Canon I; *ibid.* p. 112.

[34] librum *BR*] libro *D.*

[35] numeri] *ABCDERTY.*

[36] caput *AR.*

[37] LXXIII *ABCDERTY.*

[38] tensis *BR*] tonsis *AET*] censis *DY*] tusis *Vulgate.*

[39] offeres *BRY*] offerentes *D.*

[40] *add.* in *BDR.*

[41] *add.* in *BDR.*

[42] capitulo *BDR.*

[43] XXI *ABDERT*. Cf. *Deut.* xxiii, 1.

[44] *sic* all manuscripts *Vulgate* reads: abscisso.

[45] Dei *T.*

[46] miseria *B.*

[47] conversationis *C.*

[48] eius C] ego quidem *om. R.*] videlicet *BD*] ego vid. *Y.*

[49] The famous abbey of St. Denis of Paris.

[50] Many blank spaces for words in several places in the following lines. *BR.*

[51] qui changed to cui *F.*

[52] regularitatem *R*] regularitatis Y.

> . . . . O maxime coniunx!
> O thalamis indigne meis! hoc[57] iuris habebat
> In tantum fortuna caput? cur impia nupsi,
> Si miserum factura[58] fui? Nunc accipe poenas,
> Sed quas sponte luam.[59]

Atque in his verbis ad altare mox properat, et confestim ab episcopo benedictum velum ab altari tulit, et se professioni monasticae coram omnibus alligavit.[60]

Vix autem de vulnere adhuc convalueram, cum ad me confluentes[61] clerici tam ab abbate nostro quam a me ipso continuis supplicationibus efflagitabant[62] quatinus quod hucusque[63] pecuniae vel laudis cupiditate egeram, nunc amore Dei operam studio darem, attendens quod mihi fuerat a Domino talentum commissum ab ipso esse cum usuris[64] exigendum, et qui[65] divitibus maxime hucusque intenderam, pauperibus erudiendis amodo studerem, et[66] ob hoc maxime Dominica manu me tunc tactum esse cognoscerem quo, liberius a carnalibus illecebris et tumultuosa vita saeculi abstractus, studio litterarum vacarem, nec tam mundi quam Dei vere philosophus fierem.

Erat autem[67] abbatia illa nostra, ad quam me contuleram, saecularis[68] admodum vitae atque turpissimae,[69] cuius abbas ipse, quo[70] ceteris praelatione maior, tanto vita deterior[71] atque infamia notior erat. Quorum quidem intolerabiles spurcitias ego frequenter atque vehementer, modo privatim, modo publice redarguens omnibus me supra modum onerosum[72] atque odiosum effeci. Qui, ad quotidianam discipulorum nostrorum instantiam maxime gavisi, occasionem nacti[73] sunt qua me a[74] se removerent.

Diu itaque illis instantibus atque importune pulsantibus, abbate quoque nostro et fratribus intervenientibus, ad cellam quamdam recessi scholis more solito vacaturus. Ad quas quidem tanta scholarium multitudo confluxit ut nec locus hospitiis nec terra sufficeret alimentis.[74a] Ubi, quod professioni meae convenientius erat, sacrae plurimum lectioni studium intendens, saecularium[75] artium[76] disciplinam, quibus amplius assuetus fueram et quas a[77] me plurimum[78] requirebant, non penitus abieci, sed de his quasi hamum quemdam[79] fabricavi quo illos philosophico sapore inescatos ad verae philosophiae lectionem attraherem, sicut et summum Christianorum philosophorum Origenem consuevisse Historia meminit Ecclesiastica.[80] Cum autem in divina scriptura non minorem mihi gratiam quam in saeculari Dominus contulisse videretur,[81] coeperunt admodum ex utraque lectione scholae nostrae multiplicari, et ceterae omnes vehementer attenuari. Unde[82] maxime magistrorum invidiam atque odium adversum me concitavi,[83] qui in omnibus quae poterant mihi derogantes duo praecipue absenti mihi semper obiciebant, quod scilicet proposito monachi valde sit contrarium[84]

---

[53] poenae *CY.*

[54] *add.* uxoris Pompeii *Y.*

[55] prout poterat *om. BDR.*

[56] Lucan, *Pharsalia* VIII, 94 ff.

[57] hic *E.*

[58] factum *D.*

[59] *om. BDR.*

[60] obligavit *CE.*

[61] confluerent *DRY*] *om. B*] *corrupt AC.*

[62] flagitabant *BDRY*] afflagitabant *CEF.*

[63] adhuc usque *BDRY.*

[64] usura *E.*

[65] quod *A.*

[66] ut *C.*

[67] *add.* monachi in *B.*

[68] scholarium *EC.*

[69] minime se continentes *B.*

[70] quanto *F.*

[71] deterior atque] et *F*] *om. CE.*

[72] *add.* reddidi *F.*

[73] excogitati *B*] nocti *D.*

[74] *om. A*] ad *BR.*

[74a] (De Libro Theologiae suae et Persecutione quam inde sustinuit a Condiscipulis) *T.*

[75] scholarium *CEY.*

[76] *om. B.*

[77] ad *E.*

[78] plurimi *Y.*

[79] quandam *BR.*

[80] Cf. Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* VI, 7.

[81] videtur *BR.*

[82] unde . . . concitavi *om. C.*

[83] concitari *BR*] contigit concitari *DY.*

[84] There is no mention made of the study of secular literature in the Rule of St. Benedict. But of course once it became the custom to ordain some of the monks, some study was necessary. Cassiodorus estab-

saecularium[85] librorum studio detineri, et quod[86] sine magistro[87] ad magisterium divinae lectionis accedere praesumpsissem ut sic videlicet omne mihi doctrinae scholaris[88] exercitium interdiceretur, ad quod incessanter episcopos,[89] archiepiscopos,[90] abbates et quascumque poterant religiosi[91] nominis personas incitabant.[92]

Accidit autem mihi ut ad ipsum fidei nostrae fundamentum humanae rationis similitudinibus disserendum primo me applicarem, et quemdam theologiae tractatum[93] *de Unitate et Trinitate divina* scholaribus nostris componerem, qui humanas et philosophicas rationes requirebant[94] et plus quae[95] intelligi quam quae dici[96] possent efflagitabant,[97] dicentes quidem verborum superfluam esse prolationem quam intelligentia non sequeretur, nec credi posse aliquid nisi primitus intellectum, et ridiculosum[98] esse aliquem aliis praedicare quod nec[99] ipse nec illi quos doceret intellectu capere[100] possent, Domino ipso arguente quod caeci essent duces caecorum. Quem quidem tractatum cum vidissent et legissent plurimi, coepit in commune omnibus plurimum placere quod[1] in eo pariter omnibus satisfieri super hoc quaestionibus videbatur. Et quoniam quaestiones istae prae omnibus difficiles videbantur, quanto earum[2] maior exstiterat gravitas, tanto solutionis earum censebatur maior subtilitas. Unde aemuli mei vehementer accensi concilium contra me congregaverunt, maxime duo illi antiqui insidiatores,[3] Albericus scilicet et Lotulfus,[4] qui, iam defunctis magistris eorum et nostris Guillelmo[5] scilicet atque Anselmo, post eos quasi regnare se[6] solos appetebant atque etiam[7] ipsis tamquam heredes succedere. Cum autem utrique Remis[8] scholas regerent, crebris suggestionibus archiepiscopum suum Radulphum adversum me

---

lished secular studies in his monastery at Vivarium and this fact had at least an indirect effect on Benedictine practice, as it provided an example. But I am of the opinion that the emergence of special monastic centres of study was a natural growth arising from circumstances of time, place and individual propensities rather than its having been the result of a Benedictine tradition going back to Cassiodorus. Charlemagne's legislation prescribing establishment of cathedral and extension of monastic schools doubtless gave the movement impetus. Could not the Irish monasteries, especially Irish foundations on the continent, also have influenced Benedictine practice in this matter? For the moot question concerning intellectual pursuits and the Benedictine tradition throughout the centuries *cf.* Dom J. Mabillon, *Tractatus de Studiis Monasticis,* three volumes (Venice, 1732); Dom Cuthbert Butler, *Benedictine Monachism* (London, 1924) pp. 332 ff.; T. P. McLaughlin, *Le très ancien droit monastique de l'occident* (Paris, 1935), pp. 111 ff.; Dom John Chapman, *Downside Review,* XXXVIII (1919), 84 ff.; Butler, *ibid.,* XLVIII (1930), 191 ff.

[85] scolarium *DEC*] saecularum *A.*

[86] quo *BR.*

[87] The phrase *sine magistro* likely means 'without having studied under a teacher'. I do not think it warrants the conclusion drawn by some scholars that at that date one had to get permission from a *magister* to teach. If that had been the case, William of Champeaux would have used it when Abelard first broke with him and opened a school of his own at Melun, Corbeil and Mont Ste. Geneviève.

[88] scolarem *C*] scolares *A.*

[89] arch. ep. et abbates *BRY.*

[90] It would be quite natural for a twelfth century writer to put *episcopos* first. *Episcopus* is the generic term and we must remember that there had been a long contest to reduce the authority of metropolitans.

[91] rel. nom.] **religionis B.**

[92] invitabant *F.*

[93] Remigius Stölzle found a manuscript of a work the *incipit* of which is: *Incipiunt Capitula librorum de trinitate magistri Petri, clarissimi atque doctissimi viri, cognomento adbaiolardi.* He published it (Freiburg i. B., 1891) under the title: *Abelards 1121 zu Soissons verurtheilter Tractatus de unitate et trinitate divina,* and in his preface he holds that it was the work of Abelard burned at Soissons. J. G. Sikes, *Peter Abelard* (Cambridge, 1932), appendix I, pp. 260 ff., says that Stölzle's theory is very likely but not entirely conclusive.

[94] inquirebant *CEF.*

[95] quam *E.*

[96] didisci *BR.*

[97] afflagitabant *C.*

[98] ridiculum *BDRY.*

[99] ne *T.*

[100] om. *A.*

[1] et *F*] eo quod *Y.*

[2] eorum *CE.*

[3] insidiatorum *E.*

[4] loculphus *CEF.*

[5] It is generally accepted that William died in 1121 although Rémusat, *op. cit.,* I, p. 84, n. 2, puts it '1119 ou 1121'. Gams, *Series Episcoporum,* p. 534 puts his death in 1122, and P. Godet also puts it in the same year. Cf. *Dict. de Théologie Cath.* VI, 2 (*s.v.*) col. 1977. But this is impossible since Abelard says he was already dead before the Council of Soissons in 1121.

[6] *om. CEF.*

[7] *om. CEF.*

[8] remenses *F*] remensis *E.*

commoverunt ut, ascito Conano[9] Praenestino episcopo, qui tunc legatione fungebatur in Gallia, conventiculum quoddam[10] sub nomine concilii in Suessionensi[11] civitate celebrarent[12] meque invitarent[13] quatinus illud opusculum[14] quod de Trinitate composueram mecum afferrem. Et factum est ita.

Antequam autem illuc pervenirem, duo illi praedicti aemuli nostri ita me in clero et populo diffamaverunt[15] ut paene me populus paucosque qui advenerant ex discipulis nostris prima[16] die nostri adventus lapidarent, dicentes me tres deos praedicare et scripsisse, sicut ipsis persuasum fuerat. Accessi autem, mox ut ad civitatem veni, ad legatum eique libellum nostrum inspiciendum et diiudicandum tradidi, et me, si aliquid scripsissem aut dixissem quod a catholica fide dissentiret, paratum esse ad correctionem[17] vel satisfactionem obtuli. Ille autem statim mihi praecepit libellum ipsum archiepiscopo illisque aemulis meis deferre quatinus ipsi inde[18] iudicarent qui me super hoc accusabant[19] ut illud in me etiam compleretur: *et*[20] *inimici nostri sunt iudices.* Saepius autem illi inspicientes atque revolventes libellum, nec quid in audientia proferre[21] adversum me auderent invenientes, distulerunt usque in finem concilii libri ad quam anhelabant damnationem.

Ego autem singulis diebus, antequam sederet[22] concilium, in publico omnibus secundum quam[23] scripseram[24] fidem catholicam disserebam, et cum magna admiratione omnes qui audiebant tam verborum apertionem quam sensum nostrum commendabant. Quod cum populus et clerus inspiceret, coeperunt ad invicem dicere: "*Ecce*[25] *nunc palam loquitur*, et nemo in eum aliquid dicit; et concilium ad finem festinat, maxime in eum ut audivimus congregatum; numquid[26] iudices cognoverunt quia ipsi potius quam ille errant?" Ex quo aemuli nostri cotidie[27] magis ac magis inflammabantur.

Quadam autem die, Albericus, ad me animo intentantis[28] cum quibusdam discipulis suis accedens, post quaedam blanda colloquia, dixit se mirari quoddam quod in libro illo notaverat quod scilicet, cum Deus Deum genuerit[29] nec nisi unus Deus sit, negarem tamen Deum se ipsum genuisse. Cui statim respondi:[30] "Super hoc,[31] si vultis, rationem proferam". "Non[32] curamus", inquit ille, "rationem humanam aut sensum vestrum[33] in talibus, sed auctoritatis verba solummodo".[34] Cui ego: "Vertite", inquam,[35] "folium libri et invenietis[36] auctoritatem". Et erat praesto liber quem secum ipse[37] detulerat.[38] Revolvi ad locum quem noveram, quem ipse minime compererat, aut[39] nonnisi[40] mihi nocitura quaerebat. Et voluntas Dei fuit ut cito occurreret mihi quod volebam. Erat autem sententia intitulata Augustinus *de Trinitate Lib.* I:

> Qui[41] putat eius potentiae[42] Deum ut seipsum ipse genuerit, eo plus errat quod non solum Deus ita non est, sed nec spiritalis creatura, nec corporalis. Nulla enim omnino res est quae se ipsam gignat.[43]

---

[9] cardinali *Y*.
[10] quemdam *T* Amb.
[11] Held in 1121.
[12] celebraret *Y*.
[13] invitaret *Y*.
[14] opus clarum *Amb*.
[15] diffamaverant *ACEF*.
[16] primo *F*.
[17] correptionem *ACEFGR*.
[18] me Amb.
[19] *om.* accusabant . . . iudices *F*.
[20] *Deut.* xxxii, 31.
[21] *om. CEF*.
[22] cederet *G*.
[23] quod *BDFRY*] qua *A*] *om. C*.
[24] scripturam *CE*.
[25] *John* viii, 26.
[26] nonquid *BDR*] nonquam E.
[27] *om. BDR*.
[28] intentandum *G*] intentatis Amb.
[29] genuit *CEF*.
[30] *om. E*.
[31] *om. C*.
[32] nam *C*.
[33] nostrum *EF*.
[34] tantum modo *CEF*.
[35] *om. CF*.
[36] invenieris *EC*.
[37] *om. BDRY*.
[38] attulerat *BDRY*] tulerat *CEF*.
[39] *add.* qui *ABDR*] aut qui Amb.] aliquae *E*.
[40] qui nisi *Y*.
[41] I, 1; PL 42, 820. This passage is in Stölzle's edition, *op. cit.* p. 42.
[42] posse *E*.
[43] *add.* vel sit *F*] gignit *B*.

Quod cum discipuli eius, qui aderant, audissent, obstupefacti erubescebant. Ipse autem ut se quoquo[44] modo protegeret: "Bene", inquit, "est intelligendum". Ego autem subieci[45] hoc non esse novellam,[46] sed ad praesens nihil attinere, cum ipse verba tantum non sensum requisisset. Si autem sensum et rationem attendere vellet, paratum me dixi ei[47] ostendere secundum eius sententiam quod in eam lapsus esset haeresim secundum[48] quam[49] is, qui pater est, sui ipsius filius sit. Quo ille audito, statim, quasi furibundus effectus, ad minas conversus est, asserens nec rationes meas nec auctoritates mihi in hac causa[50] suffragaturas esse. Atque ita recessit.

Extrema vero die[51] concilii, priusquam[52] residerent,[53] diu legatus ille atque archiepiscopus cum aemulis meis et quibusdam personis deliberare coeperunt quid de me ipso et libro nostro[54] statueretur, pro quo maxime convocati fuerant. Et quoniam ex verbis meis aut scripto quod erat in praesenti non habebant quod[55] in me praetenderent, omnibus aliquantulum conticentibus aut iam mihi minus aperte detrahentibus, Gaufridus,[56] Carnotensis episcopus, qui ceteris episcopis et religionis nomine et sedis dignitate praecellebat ita exorsus est: "Nostis domini omnes, qui adestis, hominis huius doctrinam qualiscumque[57] sit eiusque ingenium, in quibuscumque studuerit, multos assentatores[58] et sequaces habuisse et magistrorum tam suorum quam nostrorum famam maxime compressisse, et quasi eius vineam a[59] mari usque ad mare palmites suos extendisse. Si hunc praeiudicio, quod non[60] arbitror, gravaveritis, etiamsi recte,[61] multos vos offensuros sciatis, et non deesse plurimos qui eum defendere velint, praesertim cum in praesenti scripto nulla videamus quae aliquid obtineant apertae calumniae, et quia iuxta illud[62] Hieronymi: Semper in propatulo[63] fortitudo aemulos habet; feriuntque[64] summos fulgura montes, videte ne plus ei nominis conferatis violenter agendo, et plus nobis criminis[65] ex invidia quam ei ex iustitia conquiramus.

> Falsus enim rumor, ut praedictus doctor meminit,[66] cito opprimitur, et vita posterior iudicat de priore.

Si autem canonice[67] agere in eum disponitis, dogma eius vel scriptum in medium proferatur, et interrogato libere respondere liceat ut[68] convictus vel confessus[69] penitus obmutescat, iuxta illam saltem beati Nicodemi sententiam,[70] qua[71] Dominum ipsum liberare cupiens, aiebat: *Numquid*[72] *lex nostra iudicat hominem, nisi audierit ab ipso prius et cognoverit quid faciat?* Quo audito, statim aemuli mei obstrepentes exclamaverunt: "O sapientis[73] consilium ut contra eius verbositatem contendamus, cuius argumentis vel[74] sophismatibus universus obsistere[75] mundus non posset." Sed certe multo difficilius erat cum ipso[76] contendere Christo[77] ad quem tamen audiendum Nicodemus iuxta legis sanctionem invitabat.

---

[44] quo with suprascript *o. C.*

[45] subiunxi *G*] corrupt *C.*

[46] novellum *F.* Amb. space *Y.*

[47] *om. BDRY.*

[48] *om. BDRTY.*

[49] quod *BCDRY.*

[50] parte *CEF.*

[51] This indicates that other business had engaged the council. The *Acta* are not extant but in a *Life of St. Norbert* by a contemporary published by Roger Wilmans, MGH., SS. XII, 663 ff., Chapter 11, there is mention of a council which Wilmans says is that of Soissons in 1121, and that it legislated against people attending Mass said by a married priest. This chapter is omitted in the later life.

[52] postquam desederant *CEF.*

[53] recederent *Y.*

[54] meo Amb.

[55] quid *CEFTY.*

[56] Cf. *Hist. litt. de la France* XIII, pp. 82-87. Geoffrey was bishop of Chartres from 1116 to 1149. Cf. Gams, *op. cit.*, p. 536.

[57] qual. sit] qualis est *BDRY.*

[58] assectatores *F* Amb.

[59] Cf. *Psalm* lxxix, 12. This verse is applied to Abelard also in the letter sent to Innocent II by the Council of Sens in 1141 (or 1140). Cf. *Ottonis Fris., Gesta Frederici Imperatoris* I, 48; MGH, SS XX, 377.

[60] *om. T.*

[61] recto *A.*

[62] *Lib. Hebr. Quaest. in Genesim Praefatio;* PL 23, 983B.

[63] propatibulo *BDR.*

[64] *Cf.* Horace *Carmina* II, 10.

[65] criminum *F*] crimina *CE.*

[66] Epist. LIV, 13; PL 22, 556; CSEL 51, I, 1, p. 480.

[67] I know of no study of procedure in trials for heresy just at this time. For court procedure according to Gratian, cf. *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte: kanonistische Abteilung* III, 239 ff. Cf. also Paul Hinschius, *System des katholischen Kirchenrechts mit besonderer Rücksicht auf Deutschland V* (Berlin, 1869-97), pp. 431 ff., 449 ff.

[68] Corrupt *C.*

[69] confusus *FGY*] confessus Fv.

[70] Cf. *John* vii, 51.

[71] quam *BDR.*

[72] nonquid *DR.*

Cum autem episcopus ad id quod proposuerat eorum[78] animos inducere non posset, alia via eorum invidiam refrenare attemptat, dicens ad discussionem[79] tantae rei paucos, qui aderant, non posse[80] sufficere, maiorisque examinis causam hanc indigere. In hocque[81] ulterius tantum suum esse consilium ut ad abbatiam meam hoc est monasterium Sancti Dionysii abbas meus qui aderat me reduceret, ibique, pluribus ac doctioribus personis convocatis, diligentiori examine quid super hoc faciendum esset statueretur. Assensit legatus huic novissimo[82] consilio et ceteri omnes. Inde mox legatus assurrexit ut missam celebraret antequam concilium intraret, et mihi per episcopum illum licentiam constitutam mandavit revertendi scilicet ad monasterium nostrum ibi expectaturo quod condictum fuerat.

Tunc aemuli mei nihil se egisse cogitantes, si extra diocesim suam hoc negotium ageretur, ubi videlicet vim[83] minime exercere valerent qui scilicet de iustitia minus confidebant, archiepiscopo persuaserunt hoc sibi valde ignominiosum esse, si ad aliam audientiam causa haec transferretur et periculosum fieri, si sic evaderem. Et statim ad legatum concurrentes eius immutaverunt sententiam, et ad hoc invitum pertraxerunt ut librum sine ulla inquisitione damnaret atque in conspectu omnium statim combureret, et me in alieno[84] monasterio perenni clausura cohiberet. Dicebant enim ad damnationem[85] libelli satis hoc esse debere, quod nec Romani Pontificis nec Ecclesiae auctoritate eum commendatum legere publice praesumpseram, atque ad transcribendum iam pluribus eum ipse praestitissem, et hoc perutile futurum fidei Christianae, si exemplo mei multorum similis[86] praesumptio praeveniretur. Quia[87] autem legatus ille minus quam necesse[88] esset[89] litteratus fuerat, plurimum archiepiscopi consilio utebatur,[90] sicut et[91] archiepiscopus illorum. Quod cum Carnotensis praesensisset episcopus, statim machinamenta haec ad me retulit, et me vehementer hortatus est ut hoc tanto levius tolerarem, quanto violentius agere eos omnibus patebat, atque hanc tam manifestae invidiae violentiam eis plurimum obfuturam[92] et mihi profuturam non dubitarem, nec de clausura monasterii ullatenus[93] perturbarer, sciens profecto legatum ipsum qui coactus hoc faciebat, post paucos dies cum hinc recesserit,[94] me penitus liberaturum.[95] Et sic me, ut potuit, flentem flens et ipse consolatus est.

(*DE COMBUSTIONE IPSIUS LIBRI*)[1]

Vocatus itaque statim ad concilium adfui, et sine ullo discussionis examine me ipsum compulerunt propria manu librum memoratum meum in ignem proicere, et sic combustus est; ut tamen non[2] nihil dicere viderentur, quidam de adversariis meis id submurmuravit quod in libro scriptum deprenderat[3] solum Patrem[4] Deum omnipotentem esse. Quod cum legatus subintellexisset, valde admirans ei respondit hoc nec de puerulo[5] aliquo credi debere quod adeo erraret, cum communis, inquit, fides et teneat et profiteatur tres omnipotentes esse. Quo audito Terricus[6] quidam scholaris[7] magister irridendo subintulit illud[8] Athanasii: Et tamen non tres omnipotentes sed unus omnipotens. Quem cum episcopus[9] suus increpare coepisset, et reprimere quasi reum qui in maiestatem loqueretur, audacter ille restitit, et quasi Danielis verba commemorans, ait: *Sic*[10] *fatui filii Israel, non*[11] *iudicantes, neque quod verum est cognoscentes, condemnastis*[12] *filium*[13] *Israel. Revertimini ad iudicium,* et de ipso iudice iudicate qui talem iudicem quasi ad instructionem fidei et correctionem[14] erroris[15] instituistis qui, cum[16] iudicare deberet, ore se proprio condemnavit, divina hodie[17] misericordia innocentem patenter sicut olim Susannam a falsis accusatoribus liberante." Tunc[18] archiepiscopus assurgens, verbis prout oportebat commutatis, sententiam legati confirmavit dicens: "Revera Domine," inquit, "omnipotens Pater, omnipotens Filius, omnipotens Spiritus sanctus, et qui ab[19] hoc dissentit aperte devius est, nec[20] est audiendus. Et modo, si placet, bonum est ut frater ille fidem suam coram omnibus exponat ut ipsa, prout oportet,[21] vel approbetur vel improbetur, atque corrigatur." Cum autem ego[22] ad profitendam et exponendam fidem meam assurgerem ut quod sentiebam verbis propriis exprimerem, adversarii dixerunt non aliud mihi necessarium[23] esse nisi ut Symbolum Athanasii recitarem, quod quivis[24] puer aeque facere posset. Ac ne ex ignorantia praetenderem excusationem, quasi[25] qui[26] verba illa in usu non haberem, scripturam ad legendum afferri fecerunt. Legi inter suspiria, singultus et lacrimas, prout potui. Inde, quasi reus et convictus, abbati[27] sancti Medardi, qui aderat, traditus, ad claustrum eius tamquam[28] ad carcerem trahor, statimque[29] concilium solvitur.

---

[73] sapiens Amb.

[74] et *BDRY*.

[75] *om. C.*

[76] cum Christo contendere *EF*.

[77] *om. EF*.

[78] illorum *BR*.

[79] decisionem *Y*.

[80] *om. E*.

[81] hoc quod *E*] hoc quoque *F*.

[82] consilio novissimo *BDR*.

[83] videlicet corrected to vim *F*. (*p.m.*): *Mss ACET* read videlicet inde; *BDR* videlicet vi; *C* videlicet ind with stroke over *n;* Amb. reads: videlicet iudicium. *T* reads maxime, expunges it and writes in the line of the text minime; *Y* reads videlicet vim.

[84] alio *BDRY*.

[85] For censorship of books at this period with special reference to this passage, cf. G. B. Flahiff C.S.B., 'Ecclesiastical Censorship of Books in the Twelfth Century', *Mediaeval Studies*, IV (1942), 2 ff.

[86] simul CEFY.

[87] quoniam BDRY.

[88] Opus Y.

[89] est E.

[90] nitebatur T Amb.

[91] *om.* CEFY.

[92] affuturam ACEF] effuturam E.

[93] nullatenus ABCDERY.

[94] recessit C.

[95] libaturum T.

[1] om. *BCDEFRY*.

Abbas autem et monachi illius monasterii, me sibi remansurum ulterius[30] arbitrantes, summa exsultatione susceperunt, et cum omni diligentia tractantes consolari frustra nitebantur. Deus, qui iudicas aequitatem, quanto tunc animi felle, quanta mentis amaritudine te ipsum insanus[31] arguebam, te furibundus accusabam, saepius repetens illam beati Antonii conquestionem:[32] Iesu bone, ubi eras? Quanto autem dolore aestuarem, quanta erubescentia confunderer, quanta desperatione perturbarer, sentire[33] tunc potui, proferre non possum. Conferebam, cum his quae in corpore passus olim fueram, quanta nunc sustinerem, et omnium hominum me aestimabam miserrimum. Parvam illam ducebam proditionem in comparatione huius iniuriae, et longe amplius famae quam corporis detrimentum plangebam, cum ad illam ex aliqua[34] culpa devenerim, ad hanc me tam patentem violentiam sincera intentio amorque fidei nostrae induxissent quae me ad scribendum compulerant. Cum autem hoc[35] tam crudeliter et inconsiderate factum omnes, ad quos fama delatum est, vehementer arguerent, singuli qui interfuerant a se culpam repellentes in alios transfundebant, adeo ut ipsi quoque aemuli nostri id consilio suo factum esse denegarent,[36] et legatus coram omnibus invidiam Francorum super hoc maxime detestaretur. Qui statim poenitentia ductus, post aliquos dies, cum ad tempus coactus satisfecisset illorum invidiae, me de alieno eductum monasterio ad proprium remisit ubi fere quotquot erant olim iam, ut supra memini, infestos habebam, cum eorum vitae turpitudo et impudens conversatio me[37] suspectum penitus haberet,[38] quem[39] arguentem graviter sustineret.[40]

---

[2] so all manuscripts Amb. reads: ut tamen cum non etc.

[3] deprehenderat *A*] deprehendit *F*.

[4] Deum Patrem *Y* Amb.

[5] parvulo *EGY*.

[6] Scholars generally agree that this is Thierry of Chartres. Cf. A. Clerval, *Les Ecoles de Chartres* (Chartres, 1895), p. 169.

[7] scolarum *E* Amb] *om. BD*.

[8] From the Athanasian Creed.

[9] Geoffrey of Lèves. Cf. Clerval, *loc. cit.*

[10] *Daniel* xiii, 48-9.

[11] *add.* recte *BDRY*.

[12] condemnasti *T*.

[13] filiam in *Vulgate*.

[14] correptionem *ACEF*.

[15] errorum *CEF*.

[16] eum *BDERY*.

[17] hominem *E*.

[18] tum *ARD*] tamen *Y*.

[19] ad *A*.

[20] non *A*.

[21] est *E*.

[22] esse *C*.

[23] necessum? *EG*.

[24] quisvis *BDR*] quamvis *C*.

[25] quod *C*.

[26] ad *B*.

[27] Geoffrey. The prior was Goswin who attacked Abelard when he was teaching at Mont Ste. Geneviève. cf. *Ex Vita B. Gosvini; Recueil des historiens des Gaulles et de la France* 14, p. 445. We also read there of this monastery: Mittebantur illuc indocti ut erudirentur, dissoluti ut corrigerentur, cervicosi ut domarentur. For Geoffrey cf. *Hist. litt. de la France* XII, c. 185 ff.

[28] quasi *BDRY*.

[29] statim *B*.

[30] *om. CEF*.

[31] infamis Amb.

[32] S. Athanasius, *Vita S. Antonii*, translated by Evagrius; PL 73, 132D.

[33] subsentire *E*.

Paucis autem elapsis mensibus, occasionem eis fortuna obtulit[41] qua me perdere molirentur. Fortuitu namque mihi quadam die legenti occurrit quaedam Bedae sententia[42] qua[43] in[44] expositione Actuum Apostolorum asserit Dionysium Areopagitam[45] Corinthiorum potius quam Atheniensium fuisse episcopum. Quod valde eis contrarium videbatur qui suum Dionysium esse illum Areopagitam iactitant, quem[46] ipsum Atheniensem episcopum gesta eius fuisse profitentur. Quod cum reperissem, quibusdam circumstantium fratrum quasi iocando monstravi testimonium scilicet illud[47] Bedae quod nobis obiciebatur. Illi vero valde indignati dixerunt[48] Bedam mendacissimum scriptorem, et se Huldonium[49] abbatem suum veriorem habere testem, qui pro hoc investigando Graeciam diu perlustravit,[50] et rei veritate agnita, in gestis illius quae conscripsit,[51] hanc penitus[52] dubitationem removit.[53] Unde, cum unus eorum me[54] importuna interrogatione pulsaret quid mihi super hac controversia Bedae videlicet atque Huldonii[55] videretur, respondi Bedae auctoritatem, cuius scripta[56] universae Latinorum frequentant[57] ecclesiae, gratiorem mihi videri.

---

[34] antiqua *EG.*

[35] haec *R.*

[36] negarent *F.*

[37] om. *C.*

[38] haberent *CEF* Amb.

[39] quod *G.*

[40] sustinerent *CEF* Amb.

[41] attulit *C.*

[42] Chapter 17; PL 92, 981AB.

[43] quam *BR.*

[44] *om. BDR.*

[45] Both St. Jerome (*De Viris Ill.* 27; PL 23, 645B) and Eusebius (*Hist. Eccles.* IV, 21) speak of a Dionysius, bishop of Athens. Abelard wrote a letter to Abbot Adam in which he tries to reconcile the statements of St. Jerome and Eusebius by suggesting that there were two bishops named Dionysius who were bishops of Corinth; that the Areopagite might have been one of these and that he had been bishop of Athens and Corinth at different times, and later was sent by St. Clement as apostle of the Gauls. Cf. *Abelard, Epistle* XI; PL 178, 344CD. H. Leclerq in his article on Paris in *Dictionnaire d'archéologie et liturgie* XIII, 1178 ff., gives the history of the popular legend. St. Denis the first bishop of Paris belongs to the third century; there is no proof that he was from the East. For a concise treatment of the question, cf. S. M. Crosby, *The Abbey of St. Denis* I (Yale U. Press, 1942), pp. 24 ff.

[46] quoniam *EF.*

[47] id *C.*

[48] dicunt *A.*

[49] Hilduinum *F*, usually in texts Hildonium. Hilduin (d. 840) was abbot of St. Denis in Paris. He was commissioned by Louis the Pious in 834 to write a history of St. Denis; MGH, Epp. V, 327, 329. His *Vita sancti Dionysii* is printed in PL 106, 25 ff. In this work Hilduin was the first to state definitely in writing that Dionysius the Areopagite, converted by St. Paul, and St. Denis of Paris were the same person. He also translated the works of Pseudo-Dionysius. His translation of the treatises *On the Divine Names* and *Mystical Theology*, and his *Letters* has been edited by G. Théry O.P., *Etudes dionysiennes* I (Paris, 1937). For his translations, cf. Father Théry's articles, especially in *Revue d' histoire de l'église de France*, IX (1923), 23-40; *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, XXI (1925), 33-50, 197-214; *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Age* (1936), 162 ff. Cf. also H. O. Taylor, *The Classical Heritage of the Middle Ages* (1929), pp. 82-90.

[50] perlustraverit *A.*

[51] scripsit *CF.*

[52] veraciter *T.*

[53] Cf. *Sancti Dionysii Vita* MGH, Epp. Carol. V, 20, 10, 332; PL 106, 18D.

[54] *om. T.*

[55] Hilduini *F.*

[56] scriptura *ACE*] scripturam *CEF.*

[57] fuguentarent *F.*

(*DE PERSECUTIONE ABBATIS*[1] *SUI ET FRATRUM IN EUM*)[2]

Ex quo illi vehementer accensi clamare coeperunt nunc me patenter ostendisse quod semper monasterium illud[3] nostrum infestaverim, et quod nunc maxime toti regno derogaverim, ei videlicet honorem illum auferens quo singulariter gloriaretur, cum eorum patronum Areopagitam fuisse denegarem. Ego autem respondi nec me hoc denegasse, nec multum curandum esse utrum ipse Areopagita an aliunde[4] fuerit, dummodo tantam apud Deum adeptus sit coronam. Illi vero ad abbatem statim concurrentes quod mihi imposuerant[5] nuntiaverunt.[6] Qui libenter hoc audivit, gaudens se occasionem aliquam adipisci, qua me opprimeret, utpote qui, quanto ceteris turpius vivebat, magis me verebatur. Tunc concilio suo congregato, et fratribus congregatis,[7] graviter mihi comminatus est, et se ad regem cum festinatione missurum dixit ut de me vindictam sumeret, tamquam regni sui gloriam et coronam ei[8] auferente. Et me interim bene observari[9] praecepit donec me regi traderet. Ego autem ad regularem disciplinam, si quid deliquissem, frustra me offerebam.

Tunc[10] ego nequitiam eorum vehementer exhorrens, utpote qui iam[11] diu tam adversam habuissem fortunam, penitus desperatus quasi adversum me universus coniurasset mundus, quorumdam consensu fratrum mei miserantium et quorumdam discipulorum nostrorum suffragio[12] nocte latenter aufugi, atque ad terram comitis Theobaldi proximam, ubi antea in cella[13] moratus fueram, abscessi.[14] Ipse quippe et mihi aliquantulum notus erat, et oppressionibus meis quas audierat admodum compatiebatur.

Ibi autem in castro Pruvini[15] morari coepi, in cella[16] videlicet quadam Trecensium monachorum quorum prior antea mihi familiaris exstiterat et valde[17] dilexerat, qui, valde in adventu meo[18] gavisus, cum omni diligentia me procurabat.[19] Accidit autem quadam die ut ad ipsum castrum abbas noster ad praedictum comitem pro quibusdam suis negotiis veniret.[20] Quo cognito, accessi ad comitem cum priore illo rogans eum[21] quatinus pro me ipse intercederet ad abbatem nostrum ut me absolveret, et licentiam daret vivendi monastice ubicumque mihi competens locus occurreret. Ipse autem et qui cum eo erant in consilio rem posuerunt, responsuri comiti super hoc in ipsa die, antequam recederent. Inito autem consilio, visum est eis me ad aliam abbatiam velle transire et hoc suae[22] dedecus immensum fore. Maximae namque gloriae sibi imputabant[23] quod ad eos in conversione[24] mea divertissem, quasi[25] ceteris omnibus abbatiis contemptis, et nunc maximum sibi imminere dicebant opprobrium, si, eis abiectis, ad alios transmearem. Unde nullatenus vel me vel comitem super hoc audierunt. Immo mihi[26] statim[27] comminati sunt quod,[28] nisi festinus redirem, me excommunicarent, et priori illi, ad quem refugeram,[29] modis omnibus interdixerunt ne me deinceps retineret, nisi excommunicationis particeps esse[30] sustineret.[31] Quo audito, tam prior ipse quam ego valde anxiati fuimus. Abbas autem, in[32] hac obstinatione recedens, post paucos dies defunctus est. Cui cum alius successisset, conveni eum cum episcopo Meldensi[33] ut mihi hoc quod a praedecessore eius petieram, indulgeret. Cui rei cum nec ille primo acquiesceret[34] postea, intervenientibus amicis quibusdam nostris, regem[35] et consilium eius super hoc compellavi[36] et sic quod volebam impetravi. Stephanus[37] quippe, regis tunc dapifer, vocato in partem abbate et familiaribus eius, quaesivit ab eis cur me invitum retinere vellent ex quo incurrere facile scandalum possent, et nullam utilitatem habere, cum nullatenus vita mea et ipsorum convenire[38] possent. Sciebam autem in hoc regii consilii sententiam esse ut, quo minus regularis abbatia illa esset, magis regi esset subiecta, atque utilis quantum videlicet ad lucra temporalia. Unde me facile regis et suorum assensum assequi[39] credideram; sicque actum est. Sed, ne[40] gloriationem suam, quam de me habebat, monasterium nostrum amitteret,[41] concesserunt mihi ad quam vellem solitudinem transire, dummodo nulli me abbatiae subiugarem; hocque in praesentia regis et suorum utrimque assensum est et confirmatum.

---

[1] Adam who was succeeded in 1122 by Suger. Cf. *Hist. litt. de la France* XII, pp. 361 ff.; *Vita Sugerii Abbatis* by William, a disciple of Suger; PL 186, 1193 ff. As Abelard went there in 1121 and Adam died in 1122, this trouble must have happened to Abelard in that interval.

[2] *om. ABDFRY.*

[3] *om. C.*

[4] alius *BDRY.*

[5] impositurі erant *FG.*

[6] nominaverunt *RY.*

[7] convocatis *T.*

[8] *om. E;* auferentem *F.*

[9] observare *CEFT.*

[10] tamen *E*] tum *AR.*

[11] tam *B.*

[12] suffragiis *CEF.*

[13] *Cella* is sometimes used in this period as a technical name for a priory. The count in question was Theobald II, count at that time of Blois and Chartres. Provins is about 25 miles east of Melun.

[14] accessi *CEF.*

[15] privigni *BFG*] pruvigni *ACDT.*

[16] The priory of St. Ayoul at Provins which had been established in 1088 by monks from the monastery of St. Peter at Troyes. Cf. *Gallia Christiana* XII, c. 539; L. H. Cottineau, *Répertoire topo-bibliographique des abbayes et prieurés* II (Macon, 1937), col. 2368 *s.v.* Provins.

[17] *add.* me *CEF.*

[18] nostro *CF.*

[19] curabat *F.*

[20] perveniret *B.*

[21] illum *BDERY.*

[22] sui by correction *A*] *om. CEF.*

[23] imputabat *CE.*

[24] conversatione *D.*

[25] *add.* prae *CEF.*

[26] *om. EFY.*

[27] *add. mihi A.*

[28] *om. BDRY.*

Ego itaque ad solitudinem quamdam[42] in Trecensi pago[43] mihi antea cognitam me contuli, ibique a quibusdam terra mihi donata assensu episcopi[44] terrae oratorium quoddam in nomine sanctae Trinitatis ex cannis[45] et culmo primum[46] construxi, ubi cum quodam clerico nostro latitans illud[47] vere Domino poteram decantare: *Ecce elongavi fugiens et mansi in solitudine.* Quod cum cognovissent scholares, coeperunt undique concurrere et, relictis civitatibus et castellis, solitudinem inhabitare, et pro amplis domibus parva tabernacula sibi construere, et pro delicatis[48] cibis[49] herbis agrestibus et pane[50] cibario victitare, et pro mollibus stratis culmum sibi et stramen comparare, et pro mensis[51] glebas erigere ut[52] vere eos priores philosophos imitari crederes, de quibus et Hieronymus in secundo[53] *Contra Iovinianum* his commemorat[54] verbis:

> Per quinque[55] sensus, quasi[56] per quasdam fenestras, vitiorum ad animam introitus est. Non potest metropolis et arx[57] mentis capi, nisi per[58] portas[59] irruerit hostilis exercitus . . . Si circensibus quispiam delectatur, si athletarum certamine, si mobilitate histrionum, si formis mulierum, si splendore gemmarum, vestium, et ceteris huiusmodi, per oculorum fenestras animae capta libertas est et impletur illud propheticum: *Mors intravit per fenestras*

---

[29] refugerem *DR*] B corrupt. For penalties against those who received fugitive monks, cf. Gratian, *Decretum* D. 5, c. 5, *de poenit.*; D. 50, c. 69; C. 20, q. 3, c. 2, 3; C. 20, q. 4, c. 3; C. 18, q. 2, c. 16, 10; C. 11, q. 3, c. 3, 16, 17, 18, 28, 103, 110.

[30] *om. DR.*

[31] vellet *CEF.*

[32] ab *CEF.* Abbot Adam died in 1122 and was succeeded by Suger.

[33] Burchard was bishop of Meaux at that time. cf. P. B. Gams, *Series Episcoporum,* p. 575.

[34] ad quiesceret *A.*

[35] Louis the Fat.

[36] appellavi *CEF.*

[37] Stephen de Garlande. He was a deacon. In *Mauriniacensis* (Morigny) *Monasterii Chronicon* II; PL 180, 152D, 153A; L. Mirot's edition (Paris, 1907), pp. 42-3 we read of Stephen: . . .major regiae domus electus est. Hoc retroactis generationibus fuerat inauditum, ut homo qui diaconatus fungebatur officis, militiae simul post regem duceret principatum. St. Bernard protested against his holding a secular position; cf. St. Bernard, *Epist.* LXXVIII, 11; PL 182, 197.

[38] congruere *FG.*

[39] consequi *T.*

[40] me C.

[41] admitteret *CE.*

[42] om. *BDRY.*

[43] In the parish of Quincey.

[44] Hatto. Cf. *Hist. litt. de la France* XII, 226 ff.

[45] callis *BCDFRT*] calamis *EFvY.*

[46] primo *ACDEFY.*

[47] *Psalm* liv, 8.

[48] *add.* sibi C.

[49] sibi *E.*

[50] *add.* pro Y.

[51] *om. BDR.*

[52] et *ET* Amb.

[53] saeculo *T*] *om. B*] scribendo *D; add.* libro Amb.

[54] Chapter 8 ff.; PL 23, 311-2.

[55] *om.* Amb.

[56] *om. C.*

[57] ars *BDRY*] in margin of T (*s.m.*) ars] corrupt *E.*

[58] *om. AEC.*

[59] *add.* eius *F.*

> *nostras* . . . Igitur[60] cum per has portas, quasi quidam perturbationum cunei, ad arcem nostrae mentis intraverint,[61] ubi erit libertas? Ubi fortitudo eius? Ubi[62] de Deo cogitatio? Maxime cum tactus depingat[63] sibi etiam praeteritas voluptates, et recordatione[64] vitiorum cogat animam[65] compati et quodam modo exercere quod non agit. His igitur rationibus invitati[66] multi philosophorum reliquerunt frequentias urbium et hortulos suburbanos, ubi[67] ager irriguus et arborum comae et susurrus avium, fontis speculum, rivus murmurans et multae[68] oculorum auriumque illecebrae, ne per luxum[69] et abundantiam copiarum animae fortitudo mollesceret[70] et eius pudicitia stupraretur. Inutile quippe est crebro videre per quae aliquando captus sis, et[71] eorum te experimento committere quibus difficulter[72] careas. Nam et[73] Pythagorei huiuscemodi frequentiam declinantes in solitudine et desertis locis habitare consueverant.[74] Sed et ipse Plato, cum dives esset, et torum eius Diogenes[75] lutatis pedibus conculcaret, ut posset vacare philosophiae, elegit Academiam, villam ab urbe procul, non solum desertam, sed et pestilentem, ut cura et assiduitate morborum libidinis impetus frangerentur discipulique sui nullam aliam sentirent voluptatem nisi earum rerum[76] quas discerent.[77]

Talem et filii prophetarum Helisaeo[78] adhaerentes vitam referuntur duxisse. De quibus ipse quoque Hieronymus, quasi de monachis illius temporis, *ad Rusticum Monachum* inter cetera ita scribit:[79]

> Filii prophetarum, quos monachos in veteri legimus Testamento, aedificabant sibi casulas prope fluenta Iordanis et turbis et[80] urbibus derelictis, polenta et herbis agrestibus victitabant.

Tales discipuli nostri ibi[81] super[82] Arduzonem[83] fluvium casulas suas aedificantes, heremitae magis quam scholares videbantur.[84]

Quanto autem illuc maior scholarium erat confluentia et quanto duriorem in[85] doctrina nostra vitam sustinebant,[86] tanto amplius mihi aemuli aestimabant gloriosum et sibi ignominiosum. Qui cum cuncta quae poterant[87] in me egissent, omnia[88] cooperari mihi in bonum dolebant, atque ita iuxta illud[89] Hieronymi:

> me procul ab urbibus, foro, litibus, turbis remotum, sic quoque, ut[90] Quintilianus ait,[91] latentem invenit invidia,

quia[92] apud semetipsos tacite conquerentes et ingemiscentes[93] dicebant:[94] "*Ecce*[95] *mundus totus post eum*[96] *abiit*, nihil persequendo profecimus, sed magis eum[97] gloriosum effecimus. Exstinguere nomen eius studuimus, sed magis accendimus.

---

[60] cui *A*.
[61] intraverit *BDR*.
[62] nisi *CE*.
[63] depingnat *T*.
[64] recordationem *ACET*.
[65] anima *T*.
[66] immitati *T*] incitari *C*.
[67] nisi *E*.
[68] multorum *E*.
[69] luxuram *CEF*.
[70] illesceret *B*.
[71] *om. BDR*.
[72] difficiliter *BDR*.
[73] *om. BDRY*.
[74] consuerant *ABD*.
[75] Cf. Diogenes Laertius, *Vitae Philosophorum* VI, 26.
[76] *om. BDR*.
[77] dicerent *E*.
[78] cf. *IV Kings*, vi, 1-2.
[79] *Ep.* CXXV, 7; CSEL 56, I, 3, p. 125; PL 22, 1076A.
[80] et urbibus *om. C*.
[81] ibi super] ad *F*.
[82] ad *E*.
[83] ardacionem fluviolum *BDRY*. anduzonem *T*.
[84] *om. DR*.
[85] a *EF*.
[86] sustinebat *C*.
[87] potuerant *G*.
[88] Cf. *Romans* viii, 28.
[89] *Liber Heb. Quaest. in Genesim;* PL 23, 984A.
[90] *om. CEF*.
[91] *Declamationes* XIII, 2.
[92] qui *GY*.
[93] ingemiscerent *R*] ingemiscebant *B*] ingemiscendo *DY*.
[94] dicentes *BDRY*.
[95] *John* xii, 19.
[96] ipsum *BDR*.
[97] gloriosum eum *CEF*.

Ecce in civitatibus omnia necessaria[98] scholares ad manum habent,[99] et civiles delicias contemnentes ad solitudinis inopiam confluunt, et sponte miseri fiunt".

Tunc autem praecipue ad scholarum regimen intolerabilis me compulit paupertas, cum fodere[100] non valerem et[1] mendicare erubescerem. Ad artem itaque[2] quam noveram recurrens,[3] pro labore manuum ad officium linguae compulsus sum. Scholares autem ultro mihi quaelibet[4] necessaria praeparabant tam in victu scilicet[5] quam in vestitu vel cultura agrorum seu in expensis aedificiorum ut nulla me scilicet a studio cura domestica retardaret. Cum autem oratorium nostrum modicam eorum portionem capere non posset, necessario ipsum dilataverunt et de lapidibus et lignis construentes melioraverunt.[6] Quod cum in nomine[7] sanctae Trinitatis esset fundatum ac postea dedicatum, quia tamen ibi profugus ac iam desperatus divinae gratia consolationis aliquantulum respirassem, in memoria huius beneficii ipsum Paraclitum[8] nominavi. Quod multi audientes, non sine magna admiratione, susceperunt, et nonnulli hoc vehementer calumniati sunt, dicentes non licere Spiritui Sancto specialiter magis quam Deo Patri ecclesiam aliquam assignari, sed vel soli Filio vel toti simul Trinitati secundum antiquam consuetudinem. Ad quam nimirum calumniam hic eos error plurimum induxit, quod inter Paraclitum et Spiritum Paraclitum nihil referre crederent. Cum ipsa quoque Trinitas et quaelibet in Trinitate persona, sicut Deus vel adiutor dicitur, ita[9] et Paraclitus, id est consolator, recte nuncupetur iuxta illud[10] Apostoli: *Benedictus Deus et pater domini nostri Iesu Christi, pater misericordiarum et Deus totius consolationis, qui consolatur nos in omni tribulatione nostra,* et secundum quod Veritas ait:[11] *et alium Paraclitum dabit vobis.* Quid etiam impedit, cum omnis ecclesia in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti pariter consecretur, nec sit eorum in aliquo possessio diversa,[12] quod domus Domini non ita Patri vel Spiritui Sancto adscribatur, sicut[13] Filio? Quis titulum eius, cuius est ipsa domus, de fronte vestibuli radere praesumat? Aut cum se Filius in sacrificium Patri obtulerit, et secundum hoc in celebrationibus missarum specialiter ad Patrem orationes dirigantur et hostiae fiat immolatio, cur eius praecipue altare esse non videatur cui maxime supplicatio et sacrificium agitur? Numquid rectius eius qui[14] immolatur quam illius cui[15] immolatur[16] altare dicendum est? An melius dominicae crucis aut sepulchri vel beati Michaelis seu Ioannis[17] aut Petri aut alicuius[18] sancti qui nec ibi immolatur,[19] nec eis[20] immolatur,[21] aut obsecrationes eis[22] fiunt, altare quis esse confitebitur? Nimirum nec inter idolotras altaria vel templa aliquorum dicebantur, nisi quibus ipsi sacrificum atque obsequium impendere intendebant.[23] Sed fortasse dicat[24] aliquis ideo Patri non esse vel ecclesias vel altaria dedicanda quod eius aliquod factum[25] non exsistit quod specialem ei sollemnitatem tribuat. Sed haec[26] profecto ratio ipsi hoc[27] Trinitati aufert, et Spiritui Sancto non aufert. Cum ipse quoque Spiritus ex adventu suo[28] propriam habeat Pentecostes sollemnitatem, sicut Filius ex suo natalis sui festivitatem. Sicut[29] enim Filius missus est in mundum ita et Spiritus Sanctus in discipulos[30] propriam sibi vendicat sollemnitatem.

---

[98] venalia *Y.*

[99] haberent *C.*

[100] Cf. *Luke* xvi, 3.

[1] *om. F.*

[2] *om. CEF.*

[3] revertens *G.*

[4] quilibet *Y.*

[5] *om. BDRY.*

[6] incoluerunt *F*] incolaverunt *CEG.*

[7] honore *ACEFG.*

[8] paracletum *F* Amb. The spelling *paraclitum* goes back as far as Prudentius.

[9] ita et] itaque *CE*] ita quoque *F.*

[10] *II Cor.* i, 3-4.

[11] *John* xiv, 16.

[12] divisa *G.*

[13] cum *DR.*

[14] qui . . . illius *om. CEF;* immolatur . . . cui *om. B.*

[15] qui *T.*

[16] immolat by erasure *T.*

[17] *add.* quam *BDRY.*

[18] *add.* alius *F.*

[19] immolantur *AR; n* expunged *T.*

[20] ei *F.*

[21] immolantur with *n* expunged *A.*

[22] ei *F.*

[23] impendebat *BC.*

[24] dicet *CEF.*

[25] festum *FG.*

[26] hoc *ABCDRY.*

[27] huius *Y.*

[28] Cf. St. Augustine, *Sermo* VIII, 13; PL 38, 73C: Resurrexit Dominus, ascendit ab inferis, nondum in coelum; ab illa resurrectione, ab illa ab inferis assumptione numerantur quinquaginta dies, et venit Spiritus Sanctus, in quinquagenario numero tamquam natalem sibi apud nos faciens. Pentecost celebrates the event (*factum*) of the coming of the Holy Ghost which is, so to speak, His *natalis* on earth.

Cui etiam probabilius quam alicui[31] aliarum personarum templum adscribendum videtur, si diligentius apostolicam attendamus auctoritatem atque ipsius Spiritus operationem? Nulli enim trium personarum spirituale[32] templum specialiter adscribit[33] Apostolus nisi Spiritui Sancto. Non enim ita templum Patris vel templum Filii dicit sicut templum Spiritus Sancti in *prima ad Corinthios* ita scribens:[34] *Qui*[35] *adhaeret Domino, unus spiritus est.* Item: *An nescitis quia corpora*[36] *vestra templum sunt*[37] *Spiritus Sancti qui in vobis*[38] *est quem habetis a Deo et non estis*[39] *vestri*? Quis[40] etiam divinorum sacramenta beneficiorum, quae in ecclesia fiunt, operationi divinae gratiae quae[41] Spiritus Sanctus intelligitur nesciat specialiter adscribi? Ex aqua quippe et Spiritu Sancto in baptismo renascimur, et tunc primo quasi speciale[42] templum Deo constituimur. In consummatione[43] quoque septiformis Spiritus gratia traditur[44] quibus[45] ipsum Dei templum adornatur atque dedicatur. Quid ergo mirum si ei personae, cui specialiter spirituale[46] templum Apostolus tribuit,[47] nos corporale assignemus? Aut cuius[48] personae rectius ecclesia esse dicitur quam eius, cuius operationi, cuncta quae in ecclesia ministrantur beneficia, specialiter[49] assignantur?[50] Non tamen hoc ita conicimus[51] ut, cum Paraclitum primo[52] nostrum vocaverimus oratorium, uni ipsum[53] personae[54] nos dicasse[55] fateamur, sed propter eam, quam supra reddidimus,[56] causam, in memoria scilicet nostrae consolationis, quamquam si illo quoque quo creditur modo id fecissemus, non esset[57] rationi adversum licet consuetudini incognitum.[58]

(DE PERSECUTIONE QUORUMDAM QUASI NOVORUM APOSTOLORUM IN EUM)[1]

Hoc autem loco me corpore latitante sed fama nunc maxime[2] universum mundum perambulante, et illius poetici figmenti[3] quod Echo dicitur instar penitus recinente,[4] quod videlicet plurimum vocis habet,[5] sed nihil substantiae, priores aemuli cum per se iam minus valerent, quosdam adversum me novos apostolos[6] quibus mundus plurimum credebat excitaverunt, quorum alter Regularium Canonicorum vitam, alter monachorum se resuscitasse gloriabatur.[7] Hi praedicando per mundum discurrentes et me impudenter, quantum poterant, corrodentes non modice[8] tam ecclesiasticis quibusdam quam saecularibus[9] potestatibus contemptibilem[10] ad tempus effecerunt, et de mea tam fide quam vita adeo sinistra disseminaverunt ut ipsos quoque amicorum nostrorum praecipuos a me averterent;[11] et si[12] qui adhuc pristini amoris erga me aliquid retinerent, hoc ipsi modis omnibus metu illorum dissimularent. Deus ipse mihi testis est, quotiens aliquem ecclesiasticarum personarum conventum adunari noveram, hoc[13] in damnationem meam agi credebam, stupefactus illico[14] quasi supervenientis ictum fulguris exspectabam[15] ut quasi haereticus aut profanus in conciliis traherer aut synagogis. Atque[16] ut de pulice ad leonem, de formica ad elephantem comparatio ducatur, non me mitiori[17] animo persequebantur aemuli mei quam beatum olim Athanasium haeretici. Saepe autem, Deus scit, in tantam lapsus sum desperationem ut,[18] Christianorum finibus excessis, ad gentes[19] transire disponerem atque ibi quiete sub quacumque tributi pactione inter inimicos Christi Christiane vivere. Quos[20] tanto magis[21] propitios me habiturum credebam, quanto me minus Christianum ex imposito mihi crimine suspicarentur, et ob[22] hoc facilius[23] ad sectam suam inclinari posse crederent.

---

[29] sic *BDR*.
[30] in disc. *om. BDRTY*] in discipulis *A*.
[31] aliter *E*.
[32] speciale *EF*. The abbreviation *spale* with a stroke over the *a* is used in some thirteenth and fourteenth century manuscripts both for *spirituale* and *speciale*.
[33] scribit *CEF*.
[34] *I Cor.* vi, 17, 19.
[35] qui . . . item *om. BDRY*.
[36] quia corpora] quoniam membra *F*.
[37] est *AT*.
[38] nobis *BDR*.
[39] sunt *C*] est *E*.
[40] quid *C*.
[41] qua *FY* Amb.
[42] spirituale *G*.
[43] confirmatione *EF*.
[44] tradimur *BDRY*.
[45] *add.* etiam *A*.
[46] spiritualiter *CEF*. Here *spual* with stroke. Speciale *Y*.
[47] ascribit *CEF*.
[48] eius *E*.
[49] Here *C* has *spualit* with stroke over *a*; above it uses *spale* with stroke for both *spirituale* and *speciale*.
[50] assignatur *E*.
[51] convincimus *R*] cogitamus *F* Amb.] agitamus *G*.
[52] *add.* vel *BDR;*
[53] ipsius *BDRY*.
[54] personae . . . memoria *om. C*.
[55] dedicasse *BDRY*.
[56] redimmus *T*.
[57] est *EG*.
[58] The word order of this sentence is changed in *BDRY*.
[1] *om. BDRCEFY*.
[2] *om.* Amb.
[3] Cf. Ovid, *Metamor.* III, 359.
[4] resonante *FG*] retinente*ABCDERT*.
[5] habeat Amb.] credebat vocis habet with *credebat* expunged *T*.
[6] See Appendix, pp. 212-213.
[7] gloriantur *E*.
[8] modicum *CEF*.
[9] scolaribus *E*.

(*QUOD ELECTUS IN ABBATEM ET QUA CONSIDERATIONE EIUS CEPIT*)[1]

Cum[2] autem tantis perturbationibus incessanter affligerer, atque hoc extremum mihi superesset[3] consilium ut apud inimicos Christi ad Christum confugerem, occasionem quamdam adeptus, qua insidias istas[4] paullulum[5] declinare me credidi, incidi in Christianos atque monachos[6] gentibus longe saeviores[7] atque peiores. Erat quippe in Britannia minore in episcopatu Venetensi[8] abbatia quaedam sancti Gildasii[9] Ruiensis,[10] pastore defuncto desolata, ad quam me concors fratrum electio cum assensu principis[11] terrae vocavit, atque hoc ab abbate nostro et fratribus facile impetravit. Sicque me[12] Francorum invidia ad Occidentem sicut Hieronymum[13] Romanorum expulit ad Orientem. Numquam enim[14] huic rei, sciat Deus, acquievissem, nisi ut quocumque modo has quas incessanter sustinebam oppressiones, ut dixi, declinarem. Terra quippe barbara et terrae lingua mihi incognita[15] erat, et turpis atque indomabilis illorum[16] monachorum[17] vita omnibus fere notissima,[18] et gens terrae illius inhumana[19] atque incomposita. Sicut ergo ille qui imminente sibi gladio perterritus in praecipitium[20] se collidit et, ut puncto[21] temporis mortem unam differat, aliam incurrit, sic ego ab uno periculo in aliud scienter me contuli, ibique[22] ad horrisoni undas[23] oceani, cum fugam mihi ulterius terrae postremitas non praeberet, saepe in orationibus meis illud[24] revolvebam: *A finibus terrae ad te clamavi dum anxiaretur cor meum.*

---

[10] abiectum *G; add.* me *CEF.*

[11] reverterent *CE.*

[12] si quid *CE*] qui Amb.

[13] hunc *F*] haec *Y.*

[14] ab eo *CEF.*

[15] *om. E.*

[16] aut *B.*

[17] minori *E.*

[18] ut . . . disponerem *om. C.*

[19] gentiles *Y; gentes* in the texts of this time often refers to the Saracens. Jean de Meung so translates it here; cf. C. Charrier, *Traduction de la première épître de Pierre Abélard* (Paris, 1934), p. 149.

[20] *om. E.*

[21] integre Amb.

[22] ob hoc] ab his *E.*

[23] *add.* me *BDR.*

[1] Sic *A. T* reads: de abbatia ad quam assumptus est et persecutione tam filiorum, id est, monachorum quam tryrani in eum, *om. BCDEFRY.*

[2] dum *BDRY.*

[3] esset *BDRY.*

[4] ipsas *BDRY.*

[5] paull . . . gentes *om. C.*

[6] *add.* vel *F.*

[7] insaniores with saevioribus (*s.s.*) *C*] insaeviores *A.*

[8] Venecensi *ABCDEFR*] vanetensi *E*, Morvanus was bishop of Vannes in 1125. cf. Gams *op. cit.*, p. 649.

[9] St. Gildas de Rhuys. Cf. *Gallia christ.*, XIV, 958 ff.

[10] Rivensis *BT* Amb.

[11] Conon IV was then duke of Brittany although this may well refer to a feudal lord, who by donation of land or otherwise had some voice in the appointment of the abbot. Abelard says the monks chose him with the consent of the temporal authority. Abelard became abbot of St. Gildas about 1125. Sf. D. Morice, *Histor. britan.* II, 92, for the catalogue of the abbots of St. Gildas.

[12] *om. CEF.*

[13] This probably refers to Jerome's departure for the East after the death of Pope Damasus.

[14] *om. CEF.*

[15] Abelard was a Breton but there were several dialects in Brittany. Le Pallet, his birthplace, was near the boundary line; the population likely was mixed; then, too, Abelard left there at an early age.

[16] eorum *F.*

[17] *om. CEF.*

[18] novissima *B.*

[19] inhumana . . . in *om. CEF.*

[20] punctim *F*] patrem *C*] space *E.*

Quanta enim anxietate illa etiam,[25] quam regendam susceperam, indisciplinata fratrum congregatio cor meum die ac nocte cruciaret, cum tam[26] animae meae quam corporis pericula pensarem, neminem iam latere arbitror. Certum quippe habebam quod, si eos ad regularem vitam quam professi fuerant compellere tentarem, me vivere non posse, et[27] si hoc, in quantum possem, non agerem, me damnandum[28] esse. Ipsam etiam[29] abbatiam tyrannus quidam in terra illa potentissimus ita iam diu sibi subiugaverat, ex inordinatione scilicet ipsius monasterii nactus occasionem ut omnia loca monasterio adiacentia in usus proprios redegisset, ac gravioribus exactionibus monachos ipsos quam tributarios[30] Iudaeos exagitaret. Urgebant me monachi pro necessitudinibus[31] quotidianis, cum nihil in[32] commune haberent, quod eis ministrarem, sed unusquisque de propriis olim marsupiis se et concubinas suas[33] cum filiis et[34] filiabus sustentaret.[35] Gaudebant me[36] super hoc anxiari, et ipsi quoque[37] furabantur et asportabant quae poterant ut, cum in administratione ista[38] deficerem, compellerer,[39] aut[40] a disciplina cessare, aut omnino recedere. Cum autem tota terrae[41] illius barbaries pariter exlex et indisciplinata esset, nulli[42] erant hominum ad quorum[43] confugere possem adiutorium, cum a moribus omnium pariter dissiderem. Foris me tyrannus ille et satellites sui assidue opprimebant, intus mihi fratres incessanter insidiabantur ut illud[44] Apostoli in me[45] specialiter dictum res ipsa indicaret: *Foris pugnae, intus timores.*[46]

Considerabam et[47] plangebam quam inutilem et miseram vitam ducerem, et quam infructuose tam mihi quam aliis viverem, et quantum[48] antea clericis profecissem et quod nunc,[49] eis propter monachos dimissis, nec in ipsis nec[50] in monachis aliquem fructum haberem,[51] et quam inefficax[52] in[53] omnibus inceptis atque conatibus meis[54] redderer ut iam mihi de omnibus illud[55] improperari rectissime deberet: *Hic homo coepit*[56] *aedificare et non potuit consummare.*

---

[21] praesentis *EF.*

[22] ubique *BDRY.*

[23] *add.* excubans *BDRY.*

[24] *Psalm* ix, 3.

[25] *om. BDRY.*

[26] causa *C.*

[27] quod Amb.

[28] damnificandum *EG.*

[29] quidem *BDRY.*

[30] In several countries, especially from late twelfth century on, Jews had to pay special imposts levied from time to time. Various causes contributed to the enactment of such measures: the spirit of the crusades reacted indirectly against the Jews; kings and princes used this means to raise money; the Jews practised usury, sometimes at exorbitant rates; in some instances they held extensive ownership of property, especially in cities. In France, Philip Augustus (1180-1223) confiscated their property and banished them from the royal domain for some years; they returned in 1198. I do not find any record of special imposts levied from the Jews in Northern France just at the time Abelard is writing; he is likely using the phrase in a general way and has not any particular local enactments in mind. Some information can be gained from Georg Caro, *Sozial- und Wirtschafts-geschichte der Juden im Mittelalter und der Neuzeit* I (1924), pp. 351 ff.; S. W. Baron, *The Jewish Community* II (1942), pp. 246 ff.; J. H. Bridges, *Oxford Essays* (1857), *Jews of the Empire in the Middle Ages*, pp. 213 ff. (a biased work).

[31] necessitatibus *Y.*

[32] *om. BDRY.*

[33] *add.* et *BDRY.*

[34] vel *T.*

[35] sustentarent *ACDEFY.*

[36] *om. E.*

[37] *add.* sui *BDRY.*

[38] sua *CEF; om. D.*

[39] compellerent *FG.*

[40] ut *T.*

[41] terrae illius corrupt *CF.*

[42] nullus erat *CEF.*

[43] cuius *F.*

[44] II *Cor.* viii, 5.

[45] *add.* praeparabat *E.*

[46] timor *CE.*

[47] et plan. *om. C.*

[48] om. *DR.*

[49] non with modo (*ss*). *E.*

[50] nec in ipsis *om. E.*

[51] habebam *BDRY*] habere *E.*

[52] efficax *E.*

[53] *om. CF.*

[54] meis . . . homo *om. CF.*

[55] *Luke* xix, 30.

[56] coepi *F.*

Desperabam penitus cum recordarer quae fugerem, et considerarem quae incurrerem, et priores molestias quasi iam nullas reputans, crebro apud me ingemiscens dicebam: Merito haec patior qui[57] Paraclitum, id[58] est, consolatorem deserens, in desolationem certam me intrusi et minas evitare cupiens ad certa confugi pericula.[59]

Illud autem plurimum me cruciabat[60] quod, oratorio nostro dimisso, de divini celebratione officii, ita ut oporteret, providere non poteram quoniam loci nimia paupertas vix unius hominis necessitudini sufficeret. Sed ipse quoque[61] verus Paraclitus mihi maxime super hoc desolato veram attulit consolationem, et proprio, prout debebat, providit oratorio. Accidit[62] namque ut abbas noster[63] sancti sc. Dionysii praedictam illam Argenteoli[64] abbatiam, in qua religionis habitum nostra illa iam in Christo soror potius quam uxor Heloisa susceperat, tamquam ad ius monasterii sui antiquitus pertinentem quocumque[65] modo acquireret, et conventum inde[66] sanctimonialium, ubi illa comes nostra prioratum habebat, violenter expelleret. Quae[67] cum diversis locis exules dispergerentur, oblatam mihi a[68] Domino intellexi occasionem qua[69] nostro consulerem oratorio. Illuc[70] itaque[71] reversus, eam cum quibusdam aliis de eadem congregatione ipsi[72] adhaerentibus ad praedictum oratorium invitavi. Eoque[73] illis adductis, ipsum oratorium cum omnibus ei pertinentibus concessi et donavi,[74] ipsamque postmodum donationem[75] nostram,[76] assensu atque interventu episcopi[77] terrae, papa Innocentius[78] secundus ipsis et earum sequacibus per privilegium in perpetuum corroboravit.[79]

Quas ibi quidem primo inopem[80] sustinentes vitam et ad tempus plurimum desolatas divinae misericordiae respectus cui devote serviebant in brevi consolatus est,[81] et se eis[82] quoque verum exhibuit Paraclitum, et circumadiacentes populos misericordes eis[83] atque propitios[84] effecit. Et plus, sciat Deus, ut arbitror, uno anno in terrenis commodis[85] sunt multiplicatae[86] quam ego per centum, si ibi permansissem. Quippe quo[87] feminarum sexus est infirmior, tanto earum inopia miserabilior facile humanos commovet[88] affectus,[89] et earum virtus tam Deo quam hominibus est gratior.[90] Tantam autem gratiam in oculis omnium illi sorori nostrae, quae ceteris praeerat, Dominus annuit ut eam episcopi[91] quasi[92] filiam, abbates quasi sororem, laici quasi matrem diligerent, et omnes pariter eius religionem,[93] prudentiam et in omnibus incomparabilem patientiae mansuetudinem admirabantur.[94] Quae quanto rarius se videri permittebat ut scilicet clauso cubiculo sacris meditationibus atque[95] orationibus purius vacaret, tanto ardentius eius praesentiam atque spiritualis colloquii monita hi qui foris sunt efflagitabant.[96]

---

[57] quia *ACEF.*

[58] id est *om. BDRY.*

[59] *add.* in text (*p.m.*) incidit in cillam cupiens vitare charybdim *D.* which is from the *Alexandreidos* V, Verse 2549; PL 209, 514C, of Walter of Chatillon written in the last quarter of the twelfth century. The same sentence is inserted in *Y* after *quod* just below.

[60] erudiebat *BRY.*

[61] *om. BDRY.*

[62] *add.* autem sine *C.*

[63] *om. BDRY.*

[64] Argentolii *CEFG.* The original foundation of Argenteuil went back to the time of Clothair III. Whether it was from the first a convent for nuns or monks is not known. Suger claimed he had read a charter which showed it belonged to the Abbey St. Denis from the time of Pepin. He presented the claim to Rome and probably laid a charge of irregularity of life against the nuns. By action of Pope Honorius II and King Louis VI, the convent was transferred to the ownership of St. Denis in 1129. For a full account see Enid McLeod, *Héloise* (London, 1938), pp. 93-104.

[65] quoque *E.*

[66] *om. BDRY.*

[67] quod *CE.*

[68] a Dom. *om.C.*

[69] quam *BDER.*

[70] illud C] illic *BR*] corrected to illuc *A.*

[71] ita A] namque F Amb] in quam C.

[72] ei *F.*

[73] eodemque *Y.*

[74] in 1129.

[75] dampnationem *E.*

[76] *om. F.*

[77] Hatto, bishop of Troyes. Cf. *Hist. litt. de la France* XII, p. 226.

[78] Nov. 28, 1131. Cf. PL 179, 114; Jaffé-Lowenfeld, *Regesta,* 7513; C. Charrier, *Héloise dans l'histoire et dans la légende* (Paris, 1933), pp. 261 ff. for this and confirmations by later popes of grants of property to The Paraclete.

[79] roboravit *CF.*

[80] in opere *E.*

[81] *om. CE.*

[82] ipsis *RY.*

[83] *om. EF.*

[84] *add.* eos *F*] eis *E.*

[85] praediis *FG.*

[86] See Charrier, *loc. cit.*

[87] quanto *G.*

[88] permovet *FG.*

[89] effectus *C.*

[90] gravior *BDR.*

[91] episcopus BDRY.

[92] quasi fil. *om. CEF.*

(*DE INFAMATIONE TURPITUDINIS*)[1]

Cum autem omnes earum vicini vehementer me culparent, quod earum inopiae minus quam possem et deberem, consulerem,[2] et facile id nostra saltem praedicatione valerem, coepi saepius ad eas reverti ut eis quoque modo subvenirem. In quo nec invidiae mihi murmur defuit, et quod[3] me facere sincera caritas compellebat, solita derogantium pravitas impudentissime accusabat, dicens me adhuc quadam[4] carnalis concupiscentiae oblectatione teneri qua[5] pristinae dilectae sustinere absentiam vix aut numquam paterer.[6] Qui frequenter illam beati Hieronymi querimoniam mecum volvens qua[7] ad Asellam de fictis amicis scribens ait:[8]

> Nihil mihi[9] obicitur nisi sexus meus, et hoc[10] numquam obiceretur nisi cum Hierosolymam Paula[11] proficiscitur.[12] *Et iterum*: Antequam, inquit, domum sanctae Paulae nossem, totius in me urbis studia consonabant, omnium paene iudicio dignus summo sacerdotio decernebar . . . Sed scio per bonam et malam famam pervenire ad regna caelorum.[13]

Cum hanc, inquam, in tantum[14] virum detractionis[15] iniuriam ad mentem reducerem, non modicam hinc consolationem carpebam,[16] inquiens: O si tantam suspicionis causam aemuli mei in me reperirent, quanta me detractione[17] opprimerent. Nunc vero mihi divina misericordia ab hac suspicione liberato, quomodo[18] huius perpetrandae turpitudinis facultate ablata, suspicio remanet? Quae[19] est[20] tam impudens haec criminatio novissima? Adeo namque res ista omnem huius turpitudinis suspicionem apud omnes removet ut, quicumque mulieres observare diligentius student, eis eunuchos adhibeant, sicut de Esther[21] et ceteris regis[22] Assueri puellis sacra narrat[23] historia. Legimus[24] et potentem illum reginae Candacis eunuchum universis eius gazis praeesse; ad quem convertendum et baptizandum Philippus apostolus ab angelo directus est. Tales quippe semper[25] apud[26] verecundas et honestas feminas, tanto amplius dignitatis et familiaritatis adepti[27] sunt, quanto[28] longius ab hac absistebant[29] suspicione. Ad quam quidem[30] penitus[31] removendam maximum illum Christianorum[32] philosophum Origenem, cum mulierum[33] quoque sanctae doctrinae intenderet, sibi ipsi manus intulisse[34]

---

[93] religiosam *F*] religiosi *E*.

[94] St. Bernard visited her monastery later on and wrote her a letter. Peter the Venerable wrote her after the death of Abelard. Cf. McLeod, *op. cit.*, pp. 127, 202; Charrier, *op. cit.*, p. 281 ff.

[95] et *E*.

[96] afflagitant *CE*.

[1] *om. BCDEFRY.*

[2] consularem *A*.

[3] que *C*.

[4] quidem *E*.

[5] qui Amb.

[6] parerer *B*.

[7] *om. ACE.*

[8] Epist. XLV, 2; CSEL 54, I, 1, p. 324; PL 22, 481, 484.

[9] *add.* aliud *F*.

[10] hic *E*.

[11] *add.* et Melania *F*.

[12] proficiscuntur *F*.

[13] polorum *BDRY*.

[14] corrupt *E*.

[15] detractationis *G*.

[16] habebam *CEF*] quaerebam *A*.

[17] destructione *BDR*.

[18] quo *C*.

[19] qui *E*.

[20] etiam Amb.

[21] Hester *ABERT*] Hoster *D*.

[22] regibus *E*.

[23] Cf. *Esther* ii, 3.

[24] *Acts* viii, 27 ff.

[25] *om. CEF.*

[26] praeverecundas semper (et *B*) honestas *BR*.

[27] ademptі *E*.

[28] *om. E.*

[29] assistebant *BDR*] asistebant *B*.

[30] quoque Amb.

[31] *om. CEF.*

[32] *add.* romanorum *B*.

[33] mulieribus *E*] mulieres *F*.

[34] indidisse *B*.

Ecclesiasticae Historiae[35] Liber VI[36] continet. Putabam tamen in hoc mihi magis quam illi divinam misericordiam propitiam fuisse ut, quod[37] ille minus provide creditur egisse atque inde non modicum crimen incurrisse, id aliena culpa in me ageret ut ad simile opus me liberum praepararet ac, tanto minore poena, quanto[38] breviore ac subita, ut oppressus somno, cum mihi manus inicerent, nihil poenae fere sentirem.[39] Sed quod tunc[40] forte[41] minus pertuli ex vulnere, nunc ex detractione diutius[42] plector, et plus ex detrimento famae[43] quam[44] ex corporis crucior diminutione, sicut enim[45] scriptum[46] est.[47] *Melius est nomen bonum quam divitiae multae*; et ut beatus meminit[48] Augustinus in sermone quodam *de Vita et Moribus Clericorum*:

> Qui fidens conscientiae suae negligit famam suam crudelis est: idem supra: *Providemus*, inquit, *bona*, ut ait apostolus, *non solum coram Deo sed etiam coram hominibus*. Propter nos[49] conscientia nostra[50] sufficit nobis[51] propter vos[52] fama nostra[53] non pollui,[54] sed pollere debet in vobis[55] . . . Duae res sunt, conscientia et fama. Conscientia tibi, fama[56] proximo tuo.

Quid autem horum invidia ipsi Christo vel eius membris tam prophetis scilicet, quam apostolis seu aliis patribus sanctis obiceret, si in eorum temporibus existeret, cum eos[57] videlicet corpore integros tam familiari conversatione feminis praecipue videret sociatos. Unde et beatus Augustinus, in Libro[58] *de Opere Monachorum*, ipsas etiam mulieres Domino Iesu Christo atque apostolis ita inseparabiles comites[59] adhaesisse demonstrat ut et cum eis etiam ad praedicationem procederent.

> Ad hoc enim, inquit, et fideles mulieres habentes terrenam substantiam ibant cum eis, et ministrabant eis de sua substantia ut nullius indigerent horum quae ad substantiam vitae huius pertinent.[60] Quod[61] quisquis[62] non putat[63] ab apostolis fieri, ut cum eis sanctae conversationis mulieres circuirent[64] quocumque Evangelium praedicabant . . . , Evangelium audiant[65] et cognoscant quemadmodum hoc ipsius Domini exemplo faciebant. . . . In Evangelio enim scriptum est.[66] *Deinceps et ipse iter faciebat per civitates et castella*[67] *evangelizans regnum Dei, et duodecim cum illo, et mulieres aliquae quae erant curatae a spiritibus immundis*[68] *et infirmitatibus, Maria quae vocatur Magdalene . . .*[69] *et Ioanna uxor Cuzae procuratoris Herodis et Susanna et aliae multae quae ministrabant ei*[70] *de facultatibus suis.*

Et[71] Leo nonus[72] contra epistolam Parmeniani[73] de Studii Monasterio:

---

[35] *add.* Eusebii *F.*
[36] Cf. Eusebius, *Eccles. Hist.* VI, 8.
[37] scilicet *B.*
[38] quam *CEF.*
[39] sentirent *B.*
[40] nunc *F.*
[41] forte . . . detrimentum *om. EF.*
[42] divitius *T* Amb.
[43] formae *C.*
[44] magis quam *F.*
[45] *om. F.*
[46] scribitur *BDRY.*
[47] *Proverbs* xxii, 1.
[48] *Sermo* CCCXXXV, PL 39, 1569A.
[49] vos *CE.*
[50] vestra *CE.*
[51] vobis *CE.*
[52] nos *ABDR;* propter vos *om. Y.*
[53] vestra *CE.*
[54] polluit *F.*
[55] nobis *CEDY.*
[56] proximo tuo fama (sermo *R*) *BDRY.*
[57] *om. EF.*
[58] PL 40, 552, 553.
[59] communitates *R*] comitis *B.*
[60] pertinerent *C* Amb.] obtinerent *Y.*
[61] quid *BCDRY.*
[62] si quis *CE*] quisquid *D.*
[63] *add.* non potuisse *F.*
[64] circuarent *T*] cursitarent Amb.
[65] audiat et cognoscat *F.*
[66] *Luke* viii, 1 ff.
[67] *add.* praedicans et *F.*
[68] malignis *F.*
[69] Magdelena *B.*
[70] eis *BCDEFRY.*
[71] ut *BDRY.*
[72] magnus *G.*
[73] parmenii *FG.* There is no such Epistle of Leo IX extant. St. Augustine wrote a treatise against Parmenianus in three books entitled *Contra Epistolam Parmeniani* (PL 43, 33 ff). I do not know how the name of Parmenianus crept into this text. The following extract is taken from the response of Cardinal Humbertus to a pamphlet written by Niceta, a monk from the monastery of Studii in Constantinople,

> Omnino, inquit, profitemur non licere episcopo, presbytero, diacono,[74] propriam uxorem causa religionis abicere[75] cura sua ut non ei victum et vestitum largiatur, sed non ut cum illa carnaliter iaceat. Sic et sanctos apostolos legimus egisse beato Paulo dicente:[76] *Numquid non habemus potestatem sororem mulierem*[77] *circumducendi, sicut fratres Domini et Cephas?* Vide, insipiens, quia non dixit: Numquid non habemus potestatem sororem mulierem amplectendi,[78] sed circumducendi, scilicet[79] ut mercede praedicationis sustentarentur[80] ab eis, nec tamen deinceps foret inter eos carnale coniugium.

Ipse certe Pharisaeus qui intra se de Domino ait:[81] *Hic si esset propheta, sciret utique quae et qualis esset*[82] *mulier, quae tangit eum, quia peccatrix est*, multo commodiorem, quantum ad humanum iudicium spectat, turpitudinis coniecturam de Domino concipere poterat, quam de nobis isti;[83] aut qui matrem eius iuveni commendatam,[84] vel prophetas cum viduis maxime hospitari[85] atque conversari videbat,[86] multo probabiliorem[87] inde suspicionem contrahere. Quid etiam[88] dixissent isti detractores[89] nostri, si Malchum illum captivum monachum, de quo beatus scribit[90] Hieronymus, eodem contubernio cum uxore victitantem conspicerent? Quanto id crimini conscriberent,[91] quod egregius ille doctor cum vidisset maxime commendans, ait:

> Erat illic senex quidam nomine Malchus . . . eiusdem loci indigena, . . . anus quoque in eius contubernio,[92] . . . studiosi[93] ambo religionis[94] et sic ecclesiae limen terentes ut[95] Zachariam et Elisabeth de evangelio[96] crederes, nisi quod Ioannes in medio non erat.

Cur denique a detractione sanctorum patrum se continent quos frequenter legimus, vel etiam[97] vidimus, monasteria quoque[98] feminarum constituere atque eis ministrare, exemplo quidem[99] septem diaconorum[100] quos pro se apostoli mensis et procurationi mulierum praefecerunt?[1] Adeo namque sexus infirmior fortioris[2] indiget auxilio[3] ut semper virum mulieri quasi caput praeesse apostolus statuat.[4] In cuius etiam rei signo ipsam semper velatum habere caput praecipit.[5] Unde non[6] mediocriter miror consuetudines has in monasteriis dudum inolevisse, quod, quemadmodum viris abbates, ita et[7] feminis abbatissae praeponantur[8] et eiusdem

---

against the Latins, entitled in the Latin translation (PG 120, 1011 ff; PL 143, 973 ff) *Libellus contra Latinos.* The first sentence reads: Niceta presbyter et monachus monasterii studiorum, qui praenominatur Pectoratus: Romanis de Azymis, et sabbatorum jejuniis, et nuptiis sacerdotum. This passage is found in the *responsio* of Humbertus (PG 120, 1035D, 1036A and PL 143, 997D, 998A). It is also given in Gratian, *Decretum magistri Gratiani* (Leipsic, 1879), Dist. XXXI, c. XI and attributed to Leo IX with a note that Humbert was legate of Leo IX.

The monastery was founded by Studius (Studios) about 463. He was a Roman patrician and consul in 454. The monk Michael tells of the foundation by him of this monastery in his Life of St. Theodore, chapter 29; PG 99, 145AB. Cf. *Analecta Boll.*, LII (1934), 64-65; *Lexicon für Theol. und Kirche* IX, 866-7.

[74] *add.* subdiacono.

[75] abire *R.*

[76] *I Cor.* ix, 5.

[77] mulieres *F.*

[78] amplexandi *CEF.*

[79] *om.* *BDRY.*

[80] sustentaretur *DRY.*

[81] *Luke* vii, 39.

[82] est *F.*

[83] illi *DR.*

[84] Cf. *John* xix, 27.

[85] Cf. III *Kings* xvii, 10.

[86] videbant *CEFTY.*

[87] probabilior est ipsi suspectio est *R;* corrupt also *BDY.*

[88] enim *BDRY.*

[89] detractatores *BT.*

[90] Cf. *Vita Malchi;* PL 23, 56A.

[91] conscriberant *BR*] adscriberent *Fv.*

[92] *add.* tam *F.*

[93] studiose *F.*

[94] religiosi *F.*

[95] *om. B; add.* et *DR.*

[96] *Luke* i, 5 ff.

[97] *om. BDRY.*

[98] *om. BDRY.*

[99] *add.* id est *C.*

[100] *Cf. Acts* vi.

[1] perficerunt *R*] profecerunt *B*] profitentur *DY.*

[2] fortiori *CE.*

[3] consilio *Y.*

[4] *I Cor.* xi, 5.

[5] *I Cor.* xi, 4 ff.

[6] *om. E.*

[7] *om. CEF.*

regulae professione[9] tam feminae quam viri se astringant, in qua tamen pleraque continentur quae a feminis tam praelatis quam subiectis nullatenus possunt adimpleri. In plerisque etiam locis, ordine perturbato naturali, ipsas abbatissas atque moniales[10] clericis quoque ipsis, quibus subest populus,[11] dominari conspicimus et, tanto facilius eos ad prava desideria inducere posse, quanto eis amplius habent praeesse, et iugum illud in eos gravissimum exercere. Quod Satyricus ille considerans ait:[12] Intolerabilius nihil est quam femina dives.

Hoc[13] ego saepe apud me pertractando, quantum[14] mihi liceret, sororibus illis providere, et earum curam agere disposueram, et quo me amplius revererentur,[15] corporali quoque praesentia eis invigilare et sic etiam[16] earum magis necessitudinibus subvenire. Et cum me nunc frequentior ac maior persecutio filiorum quam olim fratrum affligeret, ad eas de aestu huius tempestatis, quasi ad quemdam[17] tranquillitatis[18] portum, recurrerem, atque ibi aliquantulum respirarem et qui in monachis nullum, aliquem saltem[19] in illis assequerer fructum, ac tanto id mihi[20] fieret magis saluberrimum, quanto id earum infirmitati[21] magis esset necessarium. Nunc autem ita me[22] Satanas impedivit ut, ubi[23] quiescere[24] possim,[25] aut etiam vivere, non inveniam, sed vagus et profugus, ad instar maledicti Cain[26] ubique circumferar,[27] quem,[28] ut supra memini, *foris pugnae, intus timores* incessanter cruciant, immo tam foris quam intus,[29] pugnae pariter et timores. Et multo periculosior et crebrior persecutio filiorum adversum me saevit quam hostium. Istos quippe semper praesentes habeo,[30] et eorum insidias iugiter sustineo;[31] hostium violentiam[32] in corporis mei periculum video, si a claustro procedam;[33] in claustro autem filiorum, id est monachorum, mihi tamquam abbati, hoc est patri, commissorum, tam violenta quam dolosa incessanter sustineo machinamenta. O quoties veneno me perdere tentaverunt, sicut et in beato factum est[34] Benedicto! Ac si haec[35] ipsa causa, qua ille perversos deseruit filios, ad hoc ipsum me patenter tanti patris adhortaretur[36] exemplo,[37] ne[38] me, certo[39] videlicet opponens periculo, temerarius Dei[40] temptator potius quam amator, immo[41] mei ipsius peremptor invenirer. A talibus autem eorum quotidianis insidiis cum mihi in administratione cibi vel potus, quantum possem, providerem, in ipso altaris sacrificio toxicare[42] me moliti sunt, veneno scilicet calici immisso.[43] Qui etiam quadam die, cum Nannetum[44] ad comitem in aegri-

---

[8] praeponerentur *CE*.

[9] professioni *F*] professionem *BR*.

[10] *add.* atque C. The system of double monasteries was twofold. First, when a convent of women was subject to the abbot of a nearby monastery; we find these as far back as St. Basil's time in the East. The other, when a monastery of men was subject to the abbess of a nearby convent as at Whitby. This system was in vogue to some extent in France and Spain also. Cf. Dom U. Berlière, 'Les Monastères doubles au XIIᵉ et XIIIᵉ siècle', *Bulletin de l'Acad. Royale de Belgique*, XVIII, fasc. 3 (1923), 5-10; S. Hilpisch, *Die Doppelklöster, Entstehung und Organization* (Munster-in-Westph., 1928).

[11] populis *BR*.

[12] Juvenal, *Satires* VI, 459.

[13] hoc *A*.

[14] quantam *BRT*] quam *CE*.

[15] reverentur *ABCER*.

[16] et *E*.] om. *F*. sic . . . subvenire *om.* Amb.

[17] quamdam *B*.

[18] tranquillitatem *E*.

[19] *om. T*.

[20] corrupt C.

[21] infirmati *T*.

[22] *om. B*.

[23] ibi *C*.

[24] requiescere *CEF*.

[25] possum *E*.

[26] *Gen.* iv, 14.

[27] circumferat *ABR*] circumferor *DY*.

[28] quam C] qua *E*] quia *DY*.

[29] *add.* timores incessanter but expunged *T;* it is in all editions.

[30] habere *R*.

[31] sustineri *R*.

[32] molem *Y*.

[33] recedam *F*.

[34] Cf. St. Gregory, *Dialogi* II, 3; PL 66, 136A; U. Moricca, *Gregorii Magni Dialogi Libri IV* in *Fonti per la Storia d'Italia* (Istituto Storico Italiano, Rome, 1924), p. 81.

[35] *om. A*] hic *E*.

[36] adhortarentur *BDRY*.

[37] exempla *BDR*.

[38] non *B*.

[39] certe *BDRY*.

[40] *om. BDRY*.

[41] immo mei] in memeth *R*] in memet ipsius *B*] meimet ipsius*DY*.

[42] intoxicare *EF* Amb.

[43] Abelard certainly was a priest at this time.

[44] Nanneti BCERT] Vanneti D. om. Y.

tudine sua visitandum venissem, hospitatum me ibi in domo cuiusdam fratris mei carnalis,[45] per ipsum qui in comitatu nostro erat famulum, veneno interficere machinati sunt, ubi videlicet me minus[46] a tali machinatione providere[47] crediderunt. Divina autem dispositione tunc actum est ut dum cibum mihi apparatum non curarem, frater quidam ex monachis, quem[48] mecum adduxeram,[49] hoc cibo[50] per ignorantiam usus,[51] ibidem mortuus[52] occumberet,[53] et famulus ille, qui hoc praesumpserat, tam conscientiae[54] suae quam testimonio ipsius rei perterritus, aufugeret.[55]

Ex tunc itaque, manifesta omnibus eorum nequitia, patenter iam coepi eorum, prout poteram, insidias declinare, et iam[56] a conventu abbatiae me[57] subtrahere et in cellulis cum paucis habitare. Qui si me transiturum aliquo[58] praesensissent, corruptos per pecuniam latrones in viis aut semitis ut me interficerent opponebant. Dum autem in istis laborarem periculis, forte me die quadam de nostra lapsum equitatura manus Domini vehementer collisit, colli videlicet mei canalem confringens; et[59] multo[60] me amplius haec fractura[61] afflixit et debilitavit quam prior plaga. Quandoque horum indomitam rebellionem per excommunicationem coercens, quosdam[62] eorum, quos magis formidabam, ad hoc compuli ut fide sua seu sacramento publice mihi promitterent[63] se ulterius ab abbatia penitus recessuros, nec me amplius in aliquo inquietaturos. Qui publice et impudentissime tam fidem datam quam sacramenta facta violantes,[64] tandem per auctoritatem Romani Pontificis Innocentii, legato proprio ad hoc destinato, in praesentia comitis et episcoporum hoc ipsum iurare compulsi sunt et pleraque alia. Nec sic adhuc quieverunt. Nuper autem cum,[65] illis quos praedixi eiectis, ad conventum abbatiae rediissem et, reliquis fratribus, quos minus suspicabar, me committerem, multo hos peiores quam[66] illos repperi. Quos iam quidem non de veneno sed de gladio in iugulum meum tractantes, cuiusdam proceris terrae conductu vix evasi. In quo etiam adhuc laboro periculo, et quotidie quasi cervici meae gladium imminentem suspicio ut inter epulas vix respirem,[67] sicut[68] de illo legitur[69] qui cum Dionysii tyranni potentiam[70] atque opes conquisitas maximae imputaret beatitudini, filo latenter appensum super se gladium suspiciens,[71] quae[72] terrenam potentiam felicitas[73] consequatur edoctus est. Quod nunc quoque ipse de paupere monacho in abbatem promotus incessanter experior, tanto scilicet miserior, quanto ditior effectus, ut nostro[74] etiam exemplo eorum qui id sponte appetunt ambitio refrenetur.

Haec, dilectissime frater in Christo, et ex diutina[75] conversatione[76] familiarissime comes, de calamitatum mearum historia in quibus, quasi a cunabulis, iugiter[77] laboro, tuae me desolationi atque iniuriae illatae scripsisse sufficiat ut, sicut in exordio praefatus sum epistolae, oppressionem tuam in comparatione mearum aut nullam aut modicam esse iudices, et tanto eam patientius feras, quanto minorem consideras, illud semper in consolationem assumens quod membris suis de membris diaboli Dominus praedixit:[78] *Si me persecuti sunt, et vos persequentur.*[79] *Si*[80] *mundus vos odit, scitote quoniam*[81] *me priorem vobis*[82] *odio habuit. Si de mundo fuissetis, mundus*[83] *quod suum erat diligeret. Et omnes*, inquit[84] Apostolus, *qui volunt pie vivere in Christo persecutionem patientur.* Et alibi:[85] *Aut*[86] *quaero hominibus placere? Si adhuc hominibus placerem,*[87] *Christi servus non essem.* Et Psalmista:[88] *Confusi sunt, inquit, qui hominibus placent quoniam Deus sprevit eos.* Quae[89] diligenter beatus attendens Hieronymus cuius me praecipue in contumeliis detractionum[90] heredem conspicio ad Nepotianum scribens ait:[91]

---

[45] *Carnalis* as opposed to *spiritualis*. Cf. note 16, p. 175.
[46] *add.* cavere *CEF.*
[47] *om. CEF.*
[48] quam *B.*
[49] conduxeram *B.*
[50] huic *E.*
[51] *om. CEF.*
[52] *om. BDRY.*
[53] occumbit *BDRY.*
[54] *add.* ente *A.*
[55] effugeret *DRY*] effugit *B*] affugeret *C.*
[56] et iam] etiam Amb.
[57] meae *ET.*
[58] aliqua *BDRY.*
[59] in *B.*
[60] merito *E.*
[61] factura *T.*
[62] quorumdam *C.*
[63] *add.* non *CEF.*
[64] violentes *BDR.*
[65] tamen *C.*
[66] quod *R.*
[67] respirent *E.*
[68] Cicero, *Tusc. Disp.* V, 21.
[69] leg with *i* over *g T.*
[70] potestatem *G.*
[71] aspiciens Amb.
[72] qui BR] quam CE] quem Y.
[73] felicitatis *CE.*
[74] nostro etiam] magis et *E.*
[75] divina *ADY*] diuturna *F.*
[76] conservatione *BRY.*
[77] magis *CE.*

> Si adhuc, inquit Apostolus,[92] hominibus placerem,[93] Christi servus non essem. Desinit[94] placere hominibus et servus factus est Christi.

Idem[95] ad Asellam[96] de fictis amicis:[97] Gratias ago Deo[98] meo, quod dignus sim[99] quem[100] mundus oderit. Et ad Heliodorum[1] monachum:

> Erras, frater, erras, si putas[2] umquam[3] Christianum persecutionem non pati . . . *Adversarius noster*[4] *tamquam leo rugiens devorare quaerens circuit*, et tu pacem putas? *Sedet in insidiis cum divitibus*[5] etc.[6]

His itaque documentis atque exemplis animati, tanto securius ista[7] toleremus,[8] quanto iniuriosius accidunt. Quae[9] si non ad meritum nobis, saltem ad purgationem aliquam proficere non dubitemus. Et quoniam omnia divina dispositione[10] geruntur,[11] in hoc se saltem quisque fidelium in omni pressura consoletur,[12] quod nihil inordinate fieri umquam[13] summa Dei bonitas permittit, et quod,[14] quaecumque perverse fiunt, optimo fine ipse terminat. Unde et ei de omnibus recte[15] dicitur: *Fiat voluntas tua.* Quanta denique diligentium Deum illa est ex auctoritate apostolica consolatio qua[16] dicit[17] *Scimus quoniam diligentibus Deum omnia cooperantur in bonum.* Quod[18] diligenter ille sapientum[19] sapientissimus attendebat, cum[20] in Proverbiis diceret:[21] *Non contristabit iustum quidquid ei acciderit.* Ex quo manifeste a[22] iustitia eos recedere demonstrat, quicumque pro aliquo[83] sui[24] gravamine his irascuntur quae erga se divina dispensatione geri non dubitant, et se propriae voluntati magis quam divinae subiciunt,[25] et ei quod in verbis sonat: *Fiat voluntas tua*, desideriis occultis repugnant[26] divinae voluntati propriam anteponentes.[27] Vale.[28]

---

[78] *John* xv, 20.
[79] persequantur *C.*
[80] *John* xv, 18, 19.
[81] quia *F.*
[82] *om. BDRY.*
[83] *add.* secundum *C.*
[84] II *Tim.* iii, 12.
[85] *Gal.* i, 10.
[86] an *CEF*] haud Amb.
[87] *add.* et *BDRY.*
[88] Cf. lii, 6.
[89] quod *CEF.*
[90] detractantium *F.*
[91] Epist. LII, 13; PL 22, 537; CSEL 54, I, 1, p. 436.
[92] apostoli *B.*
[93] *add.* et *BDR.*
[94] desiit *F.*
[95] illud *CE*] et illud *F.*
[96] *Epist.* XLV, 6; PL 22, 482; CSEL 51, I, 1, p. 327.
[97] amicitiis *E.*
[98] Domino *E.*
[99] sum *BCDEFRY.*
[100] quam *CD.*
[1] *Epist.* XIV, 4; PL 22, 349; CSEL 54, I, 1, p. 49.
[2] corrupt *C.*
[3] numquam *ABCDERY.*
[4] vester *ABT. add.* scilicit diabolus *CEF.*
[5] *add.* etc. *E; add.* in occultis interficiat hominem (innocentem) *CF.*
[6] *om. CF.*
[7] ita *CRT.*
[8] tollemus *E.*
[9] quod *CEF.*
[10] dispensatione *G.*
[11] disponuntur et *BDRY.*
[12] consolaretur BDR. corrected Y.
[13] numquam *BCEDRY.*
[14] *om. ACEF.*
[15] *add.* et *A.*
[16] quae Amb.
[17] *Romans* viii, 28.
[18] quid *A*] quae *CEF.*
[19] sapientiam *DT; om.* Amb.
[20] tamen *C.*
[21] *Proverbs* xii, 21.
[22] a iust.] amicitia *BR.*
[23] alio *BR.*
[24] suo Amb.
[25] subiecerunt *R.*
[26] repugnat *BRT.*
[27] anteponens *BRT*] anteponunt voluntatem Y.
[28] *om. BDY.*

(APPENDIX)

TO WHOM DOES ABELARD REFER IN THE TEXT ll. 31 ff., p. 202.

THE doctors of Paris who censured Abelard's works (PL 178, 109A) interpreted this passage as referring to St. Norbert and St. Bernard. But so far as our records go, it is difficult to find documentary evidence for this interpretation.

We have no sermons of St. Norbert or other texts which contain an attack on Abelard, and the passages from St. Bernard's works which criticize Abelard are written after 1135, the *terminus a quo* of this text.

According to this passage, Abelard was still at the Paraclete. Now, the nuns were expelled from Argenteuil in 1128 and were installed in the Paraclete likely in 1128 or 1129, certainly before 1131 when Pope Innocent II confirmed their possession of the Paraclete. He says that at this time, or just before, his former rivals, likely Alberic and Lotulf, stirred up two men against him. These latter, Abelard complains, went up and down the countryside preaching against him on the score both of his life and of his doctrine, with such success that they brought him into disrepute with ecclesiastical and civil authorities, and turned some of his friends against him. Abelard felt that at every meeting of ecclesiastics his condemnation was being discussed. He became so alarmed and discouraged that he considered fleeing to some Saracen land where he could find peace.

There are several difficulties. Abelard links together two men who, if they are St. Norbert and St. Bernard, did not, so far as our records go, attack him at the same time. Abelard is speaking of a period when he was still at the Paraclete. But of course that does not settle the question. Certainly both St. Norbert and St. Bernard preached sermons that have not been preserved. The two saints were close friends, as is clear from many of St. Bernard's letters. It was he who donated the site of the first monastery, Prémontré, of the Premonstratensians. We know also that Abelard did not always have the kindliest feelings towards St. Norbert, for in his sermon[1] *on St. John the Baptist* he ridicules the saint over an unsuccessful attempt to raise a man from the dead; and this was also one of the points upon which the doctors of Paris imposed a censure on d'Amboise's edition of Abelard's works. In the life of St. Norbert, edited by P. Wilmans,[2] mention is made of a Council which the editor identifies with that of Soissons (1121). Although the Life does not say so, it is quite possible that St. Norbert was present. If St. Norbert was active against Abelard during these years, in all probability St. Bernard knew of it. And yet it appears that St. Bernard was not too familiar with Abelard's works until he received the letter[3] of William of St. Thierry calling attention to his errors and complaining of St. Bernard's silence regarding such a grave matter;[4] this letter was likely written in 1139. In St. Bernard's reply, he makes no mention of any part he had already taken in opposition to Abelard, and distinctly states[5] that up to that time he knew nothing of most, if not all, of these matters. Further, in the letter drawn up by the Bishops after the Council of Sens (1140) and sent to Pope Innocent, it is stated[6] that St. Bernard had frequently heard of Abelard's errors from various sources and especially in the "aforementioned book of theology" and in other works of Abelard which he happened to read, and that having inspected them carefully, he had had meetings with Abelard,[7] first in private and then before witnesses, and had in a kindly and friendly manner admonished him to correct his errors and restrain his pupils from such questions. All this certainly implies that St. Bernard's activity against

---

[1] PL 178, 605B.

[2] MGH, Auct. XII, 670 ff.

[3] PL 182, 531 ff.

[4] In the *Life of St. Bernard* by Alanus it is stated that Abelard was denounced to St. Bernard. PL 185, I, 513D.

[5] *Ibid.*, 533B.

[6] *Ibid.*, 541AB.

[7] This is confirmed by Geoffrey's *Life of St. Bernard*, PL 185, I, 311A.

Abelard was recent. Also, in Abelard's letter[8] to St. Bernard, defending the use of *supersubstantialem* in the *Pater Noster*, which was certainly written after he had left the Paraclete, there is nothing which suggests estrangement based upon St. Bernard's having preached against him.

Some light perhaps is thrown on this problem by a letter[9] discovered some twenty years ago by Dr. R. Klibansky, written by Abelard to a group of his adherents whom he addresses as *socii* and who had sent a message of their esteem to Abelard. Let us quote from this letter:

> Ille quippe occultus iamdudum inimicus qui se hucusque amicum immo amicissimum simulavit in tantam nunc exarsit invidiam ut nunc scriptorum meorum titulum ferre non posset quibus gloriam suam tanto magis humiliari credidit, quanto magis me sublimari putavit. Dudum autem graviter ingemuisse audieram quod illud opus nostrum de sancta trinitate prout dominus concessit a nobis compositum theologiae intitulaveram nomine. Quod ipse tandem minime perferens stultilogiam magis quam theologiam censuit appellandam . . . Sciatis autem quod antequam dilectionis vestrae viderem nuncium, me iam audisse quorumdam relatione quanta ille dacianus meus in me veneni sui probra vomuerit. Primo quod Senoni in praesentia domini archiepiscopi et multorum amicorum meorum, quod deinde Parisius de profundo nequitiae suae coram nobis vel aliis eructaverit. Dominus itaque archiepiscopus iuxta petitionem vestram litteras ad eum direxerat, si in accusatione mei perseverare vellet, me paratum habere in octavis Pentecostes super his quae obiecit capitulis respondere.

The title of this letter which is in twelfth century hand carries the phrase *Contra Bernardum* and the content would bear this out. But the letter does not mention him by name; it is a question of interpretation. This letter must have been written just before the Council of Sens. If we assume that it is directed against St. Bernard, Abelard states in it that although for a long time St. Bernard had been secretly[10] against him, yet up to the present he had pretended to be very friendly. In other words, St. Bernard had not yet openly broken with Abelard, much less preached against him on the ground of his life and doctrine. This squares with what was said above of St. Bernard's manner in their private conferences. Abelard had heard that St. Bernard had for a long time been objecting to Abelard's calling his book theology, and said that it should be called "stultology". St. Bernard repeats this sentiment in his tractate[10a] or letter to Innocent II in which he says: "on the very threshold of his Theology (I should say rather his 'stultology')", Abelard goes on to say that before he had seen the messenger from the *socii*, others had told him of the recent activities of "his Dacianus",[11] that he bitterly assailed Abelard before the Archbishop of Sens and many of Abelard's friends and then in Paris in Abelard's presence; and that it was in accordance with the request of the *socii* that the Archbishop had notified him that if he were to persist in attacking Abelard that the latter would be ready to answer him at Sens on the Octave of Pentecost.

Both this letter and the paragraph from the *Historia Calamitatum* apply well to the years 1139 and 1140. But it is hard to see how Abelard could have made this passage in *Historia Calamitatum* apply to the years of his stay at the Paraclete.

---

[8] PL 178, 335B ff.

[9] Heidelberg, *cod.* 359, 8, fols. 14^v-15^v. As Dr. Klibansky has stated that he intends to publish this letter, I refrain from giving it in full.

[10] This is confirmed by a quotation (which I am unable to verify) given in PL 182, 352B, a note to *Letter* CLXXXVII of St. Bernard.

[10a] *Epistola* CXC *seu Tructatus*, 4; PL 182, 1061B.

[11] Dacianus was the persecutor of St. Vincent, the deacon martyr, whom Abelard mentions in the beginning of the letter. J. G. Sikes, *Peter Abailard* (Cambridge Univ. Press, 1932), p. 228, takes *Dacianus meus* as applying to Stephen, Bishop of Paris. I can see no grounds in the text of the letter for such an interpretation.

Mediaevalia

I. The First Traces of the So-called Cerbanus Translation of St. John Damascene, *De fide orthodoxa* III, 1-8.

IN HIS second edition of *Le mouvement théologique du XIIᵉ siècle*,[1] the late J. de Ghellinck rejects the suggestion, made by R. L. Szigeti,[2] that the so-called Cerbanus translation (1134-1138) of *De fide orthodoxa* III, 1-8, reached Peter Lombard through the courtesy of Gerhoh of Reichersberg (d. 1169). J. de Ghellinck based his argument on what he rightly calls *les relations inamicales* between Gerhoh and the *magistri* of Paris. To prove the priority of Peter Lombard's use of the translation, he could have cited a text from Lombard's *Collectanea on Romans* I, 3,[3] composed before 1142-1143, but since the passage shows unmistakable influences of the Burgundio version made in 1148-1150, J. de Ghellinck discarded it as a later interpolation.[4] In view of a text from *De fide orthodoxa* III, 8, definitely derived from the translation published by Szigeti and found in Gerhoh's *De gloria et honore Filii hominis*, c. 12, n. 4, completed about the year 1163, both de Ghellinck[5] and Szigeti[6] could have legitimately concluded that Lombard was the first Latin theologian to make use of what appears to be the first Latin translation of (part of) St. John Damascene's well known work which Lombard entitled *De Trinitate*,[7] while the two manuscripts used by Szigeti bear the title *De incarnatione Verbi*.[8]

However, the first author to quote texts from this version was not Peter Lombard, for neither de Ghellinck nor Szigeti noticed that Gerhoh made use of it almost twenty years before he completed *De gloria et honore Filii hominis*. The quotations occur in a letter to Eberhard II of Bamberg (1146-1172) and in his *Liber contra duas haereses*, c. 2, written after 1143. Gerhoh's reference to Eberhard's recent consecration—*vos, cum nuper sitis unctus in episcopum*[9]—enables us to date the letter as written in 1146 or shortly after.[10] On the occasion of his consecration, Eberhard had joked about Gerhoh's christological "heresy"[11] and Gerhoh was certainly not the type of man that would delay an answer to such an accusation.

In this letter, Gerhoh cites the translation as a work of St. Basil under the title *De dispensatione Dei*. The following comparison proves its identity with the version published by Szigeti:

Gerhoh (PL 194, 1067CD)	*Szigeti* (*Op. cit.*, p. 10) (*Joannis Damaceni de incarnatione Verbi* III, n. 3).
In libro enim *De dispensatione Dei* ait (sanctus Basilius) inter caetera: Nos Christum unius compositae naturae dogmatizamus, neque ex	Nos autem Christum *non* unius compositae naturae dogmatizamus, neque

---

[1] (Paris, 1948), p. 400.

[2] *Translatio Latina Joannis Damasceni* (*De orthodoxa fide III, 1-8*) *saeculo XII in Hungaria confecta* (Budapest, 1940), p. 24. Szigeti's assumption that Cerbanus translated it is based on the not fully convincing circumstance that in both known manuscripts it follows immediately on Maximus, *De charitate*, which alone Cerbanus states to have translated.

[3] PL 191, 1307D. *De fide orthodoxa* III, 3, ed. Szigeti, p. 10. *Sent.* III, d. 7, c. 2, ed. Quaracchi II (1916), p. 585. Cf. John of Cornwall, *Eulogium*, c. 9; PL 199, 1066A.

[4] *Op. cit.*, p. 215, note 6.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 401. Compare PL 194, 1114D-1115A with *De fide orthodoxa* III, 8, ed. Szigeti, p. 20.

[6] *Op. cit.*, p. 24. It is of interest to note that some seven years earlier Eberhard of Bamberg cited the same passage as corrected by Lombard, *Sent.* III, d. 9, c. 1, *ed. cit.*, p. 591 f. *Ep.* XVI; PL 193, 562BC.

[7] *Sent.* I, d. 19, c. 9, ed. Quaracchi I (1916), p. 133.

[8] Szigeti, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

[9] PL 194, 1067BC.

[10] Eberhard's predecessor, Egilbert, died on May 22, 1146. Cf. P. B. Gams, *Series Episcoporum* (Leipzig, 1931), p. 259.

[11] See H. Weisweiler, 'Drei unveroeffentl. Briefe aus dem christol. Streit Gerhohs v. Reichersberg', *Scholastik*, 13 (1938), 24.

alteris alterum sicut ex anima et corpore homo noster aut sicut ex quatuor elementis corpus, sed ex alteris eadem esse, ex deitate enim et humanitate. *Ipse seipsum unxit, ungens quidem ut Deus, unctus autem ut homo.* Deum perfectum et hominem perfectum eundem esse et dici ex duabus naturis et in duabus naturis esse confitemur. Id autem, videlicet, quod est Christi nomen personae dicimus non uno modo dici sed duarum naturarum esse significativum. Hic ipse est enim hoc et illud. *Unctio autem humanitatis deitas est.*	ex alteris alterum sicut ex anima et corpore hominem aut sicut ex quatuor elementis corpus, sed ex alteris eadem esse, ex deitate enim et humanitate. Deum perfectum et hominem perfectum eundem et esse et dici ex duabus et in duabus naturis esse confitemur. Id autem, videlicet, quod est Christus nomen personae dicimus non uno modo dici sed duarum natararum esse significativum. *Ipse enim seipsum unxit, ungens quidem ut Deus, unctus autem ut homo.* Ipse enim est hoc et illud. *Unctio autem humanitatis deitas est.*

Peter Lombard cites only part of this text *with corrections* based on the Burgundio version.[12] Whatever caused the transposition of the italicized phrases in Gerhoh's work, they were probably more closely united in his source as can be gathered from the next quotation found in Gerhoh's *Liber contra duas haereses*, c. 2: *Denique, ut ait sanctus Basilius in libro* De dispensatione Dei: *Homo unctus, Deus ungens; unctio vero humanitatis deitas est.*[13]

There is no obvious reason to explain how Gerhoh came to the title *De dispensatione Dei* and its attribution to St. Basil, for in the same chapter he assigns it to John Damascene. Offering a long passage from the same version[14] of *De fide orthodoxa* III, 7, he states: *Unde in libro* De dispensatione Dei *ait ipse Joannes Damascenus . . .*[15] The text in *De gloria et honore Filii hominis*[16] is likewise attributed to John Damascene but the title is omitted. To account for the confusion, I am inclined to believe that in Gerhoh's codex the eight chapters from Damascene's work followed immediately on the *De dispensatione Dei* attributed to St. Basil.[17] In the two known manuscripts containing the translation edited by Szigeti, the tractate *De incarnatione Verbi* follows immediately on *De charitate ad Elpidium* and an author as prolific and hard pressed for time as Gerhoh was might easily have fallen victim to a similar mistake. Since the Latin version, published by Szigeti behind what is to-day called the "Iron Curtain", is not readily available,[18] the reader may compare the following transcription from Szigeti's edition with Gerhoh's quotation:

> Confitemur ipsum unum Filium Dei, et post humanitatem unum, et Filium hominis eundem, unum Christum, unum Dominum unigenitum Filium et Verbum Dei, *Jesum Dominum nostrum. Duas ipsius generationes veneremur*, unam quidem ex Patre, ante saecula, ultra causam et rationem et tempus et naturam, et unam autem in ultimis propter nos et secundum nos et ultra nos, *quoniam propter nostram salutem secundum nos factus est homo ex muliere; et in tempore ultra nos*, quoniam non ex semine sed ex Spiritu sancto et sanctissima Theotoco; ultra legem, quoniam non solum Deum ipsum praedicamus nudum nostra humanitate neque hominem dicentes ipsum

---

[12] *Sent.* III, d. 7, c. 2, *ed. cit.*, p. 585. Instead of "Christum *non* unius naturae compositae dogmatizamus", the Quaracchi editors marked the variant of *Ms* Vat. *Lat.* 688 "Christum *ut* unius naturae compositae dogmatizamus", which agrees more closely with Gerhoh's omission of *non*. Gerhoh's reading is that of the original in PG 94, 989A.

[13] PL 194, 1171BC.

[14] Szigeti, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

[15] PL 194, 1171B.

[16] PL 194, 1114D-1115A. See *supra*, note 5.

[17] Concerning similar false attributions to St. Basil, see O. Bardenhewer, *Gesch der altk. Literatur* III (Freiburg i.B., 1923), p. 145.

[18] I take this opportunity to thank Fr. Gabriel of Notre Dame University for sending me his own copy.

> nudum deitate, nec alium et alium, sed unum et eundem, simul Deumque et hominem, Deum perfectum et hominem, totum Deum et totum hominem, eundem totum Deum et cum carne ipsius et totum hominem et cum deitatis ipsius divinitate. Per id quod est dicere "perfectum Deum et perfectum hominem", complementum et non-defectum ostendimus naturarum. Per id vero quod est dicere "totum Deum et totum hominem", singularitatem et non-divisionem monstramus naturae.[19]

Part of this citation, corrected with the help of the Burgundio version, occurs in the *Sentences*[20] but there can be no doubt concerning the identity of the so-called Cerbanus version and the translation used by Gerhoh. It is by no means improbable that Lombard's attention was drawn to it either through Gerhoh's work *Against two heresies* or his letter to Eberhard. But whether Lombard obtained his copy through Hungarian students, as Szigeti suggests with some probability, or through German scholars, as one might assume with equal likelihood, is a matter of speculation.[21]

N. M. HARING S.A.C.
Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies.

II. *Ens Diminutum*: a Note on its Origin and Meaning.

THE influx of Graeco-Arabian philosophical literature into western Europe in the thirteenth century enriched it with new ideas and made an important contribution to its philosophical vocabulary. Through Latin translations of Arabian works new terms found their way into mediaeval philosophy, some of which appear rather strange today, but which are perfectly understandable in the light of their historical origin. The following pages are concerned with one of these terms: *ens diminutum*. Mediaeval philosophers, especially Duns Scotus and his followers, used the expression to designate being in the mind in contrast to being outside the mind. The former was considered a diminution of the latter, a lesser type of being: a notion still found today in our philosophical literature.[1] Its origin, however, is to be found in the text of Aristotle's *Metaphysics* and its Arabian translation.

In Book *E* (VI) of the *Metaphysics* Aristotle distinguishes three meanings of the term "being":[2] (1) the accidental, (2) the true, (3) things included in the ten categories. By the accidental is meant what happens neither always nor in most cases, *e.g.* that a man is pale. Being in the sense of the true is that produced in the mind as the result of judgment. Only the third type of being, things contained in the ten categories, is being in the full sense of the word, and hence is the concern of the metaphysician:

> That which *is* accidentally, and that which *is* in the sense of being true must be dismissed. For the cause of the former is indeterminate, and that of the latter is some affection of the thought, and both are related to the

---

[19] *De fide orthodoxa* III, 7, ed. Szigeti, p. 19. The first italicised phrase has the following variant in Gerhoh: ut Domini nostri Jesu Christi duas generationes veneremur. The second italicized part was, I assume, omitted in Gerhoh's *scriptorium* because of the twofold *ultra nos, quoniam.* Szigeti notes a similar, though shorter omission in one manuscript.

[20] *Sent.* III, d. 8, c. 2, *ed. cit.*, p. 590.

[21] Gerhoh may have obtained it "from the Greeks" as Eberhard insinuates with undisguised displeasure. Cf. *Epp.* XV f.; PL 193, 547B and 555BC.

[1] Cf. *e.g.* the statement of Gabriel Marcel: . . .an effigy is, when all is said and done, nothing but a likeness; metaphysically it is *less* than the object, it is a diminution of the object. . . . In saying, 'It depends upon us that the dead should live on in our memory', we are still thinking of the idea in terms of a diminution or an effigy. G. Marcel, *The Philosophy of Existence* (London, 1948), pp. 23-24.

[2] Ch. 2, 1026a33 ff.

> remaining genus of being, and do not indicate the existence of any separate class of being.[3]

The *remaining genus of being* (τὸ λοιπὸν γένος τοῦ ὄντος) here referred to is that which is divided into the ten categories and which Aristotle has just called being in the full sense of the word.[4] The other two types of being, the accidental and the true, which do not designate any separate class of being, are said to be related to this other type.

However, the Arabian version of the *Metaphysics* gives a different interpretation to this passage. Where the Greek reads λοιπόν (remaining), the Arabian reads nāquis (diminished). The *remaining genus of being* thus becomes in the Arabian the *diminished genus of being*, and this type of being is said to include the accidental and the true. Hence, whereas in the Greek these two types of being are said to be related to the other or remaining kind of being, namely that which is divided into the ten categories, which is being in the full and perfect sense, in the Arabian version they are said to be in a *diminished* genus of being.[5]

This Arabian interpretation of Aristotle's text came into the Latin *Metaphysica Nova*, which translates the Arabian as follows:

> Dimittamus ergo ens quod est quasi accidens et quod est quasi verum; causa enim unius eorum non habet definitionem, et causa alterius est cognitio. Et utrumque est in genere diminuto entis, et non sunt ex eis quae significant esse entis.[6]

It is difficult to understand why the Arabian translator rendered the text in this way. True, the idea he expresses is implied by Aristotle, for the Stagirite calls the being divided into the categories being in the full and perfect sense, giving us to understand that the other two types of being contrasted with it fall short of its perfection. But it does not seem that the adjective λοιπόν admits the translation *diminished*. However, the verb from which it is derived (λείπω) has the secondary meaning of *to be wanting or incomplete*. It is possible that the Greek manuscript used by the Arabian translator had another reading, perhaps λεῖπον which, as the present participle of λείπω could be translated *diminished*.

However this may be, Averroes followed the Arabian interpretation of the text in his long Commentary on the *Metaphysics*, which, when translated into Latin, popularized the expression *ens diminutum*. The Latin version of Averroes' text is as follows:

> Deinde dicit (*scil.* Aristoteles): Dimittamus ergo ens, etc., id est, dimittamus igitur perscrutari perscrutationem de ente quod est per accidens, et de ente quod est veridicans, scilicet quod est in anima. Ens enim quod est per accidens non habet causam terminatam, et quod est veridicans non habet etiam causam nisi animam; et ideo utrumque numeratur in genere entis diminuti, et ideo perscrutandum est de ente perfecto, quod est ens extra animam.[7]

The earliest Latin commentators on the *Metaphysics* adopted the terminology of the Arabian-Latin version and Averroes' Commentary. Thus Roger Bacon, who wrote his Questions on the *Metaphysics* at Paris about 1250, uses *ens diminutum* to designate both the accidental and the true. Referring to Averroes, he says that *ens per accidens* is not truly being. There can be no certain knowledge of it, for it has no definite cause. Hence it is the most diminished part of being: *quantum ad istam partem diminutissimam quae est ens per accidens est incertitudo in ista scientia.*[8]

---

[3] Ch. 4, 1027b33. (Ross translation).

[4] Cf. 1027b31. This is the interpretation of the Greek commentators. Cf. Alexander of Aphrodisias, *In Aristotelis Metaphysica Commentaria* I (Berlin, 1891), p. 458, l. 17. (This part of the Commentary, however, is of doubtful authenticity); also Asclepius, *op. cit.*, VI, p. 374, l. 19. Cf. also W. D. Ross, *Aristotle's Metaphysics* I (Oxford, 1924), p. 366.

[5] I am indebted to Prof. H. A. Wolfson for this information concerning the Arabian text.

[6] *Aristotelis Metaphysicorum Libri XIIII cum Averrois Cordubensis in Eosdem Commentariis* (Venice, 1574), fol. 152B.

[7] *Op. cit.* VI, *t. c.* 2, fol. 152H-I.

After he has treated of this type of diminished being, which is found outside the mind, he considers the other type, the true, which is found within the mind. This latter kind of *ens diminutum*, he says, is not the being of incomplex truth (*verum incomplexum*), for this is not the work of the intellect but the truth of the thing. The diminished being which is in the intellect, produced by the intellect as by an efficient cause, is complex truth (*verum complexum*), namely the truth of judgment.[9] In making this precision Bacon is following both Aristotle and Averroes, for whom truth is the work of judgment, not of simple apprehension.

Like Roger Bacon, Adam of Buckfield, who wrote one of the first Latin commentaries on the *Metaphysica Nova* (before 1250), places both the accidental and the true in the genus of diminished being. But for him, the latter, as being in the mind, has a special claim to the title; it is *ens per se diminutum*:

> . . . nunc dimittendum est ens per accidens et ens per se diminutum, quod tamen est in anima sicut verum, quoniam unum istorum, scilicet ens per accidens, non habet causam terminatam; aliud autem, scilicet ens verum, quod non habet causam nisi animam vel intellectum. Propter quod utrumque istorum est in genere entis diminuti, et neutrum est ens completum et perfectum.[10]

There is an interesting remark in Adam's Commentary which indicates that one of the translations of the *Metaphysics* used by him warned of the mistaken translation of λοιπόν. He says that his translation here reads "diminished", but another translation adds at this point "in the Greek, *another*".[11] This *alium in graeco* may be a marginal note in the manuscript of the other translation of the *Metaphysics* which we know he used in making his Commentary.[12] Some reader probably compared the translation with the Greek text, noted the faulty rendering of the word, and corrected it in the margin.

The Greek text of the *Metaphysics* (Books 1-10, 12-14) was available in the first half of the thirteenth century and it was translated into Latin. This version has been called the *Metaphysicae Mediae Translationis*.[13] It translates λοιπόν correctly as *reliquum*, not *diminutum*:

> Quare accidens quidem et verum ens praetermittendum; huius enim causa

---

[8] *Questiones Supra Libros Prime Philosophie Aristotelis* (Opera hactenus inedita Rogeri Baconi X, ed. R. Steele, Oxford, 1930), p. 184.

[9] Habito de ente diminuto quod est ens per accidens extra animam, queritur de ente diminuto quod est verum in anima. Et circa hoc primo queritur, an de vero complexo et falso complexo determinet hic, et de incomplexo similiter. . . .Solutio: de vero complexo solum determinat, quod est ens diminutum apud animam. Ad objectum, esse apud animam multipliciter; aut sicut apud apprehendentem, et sic utrumque verum est apud animam; aut esse apud animam sicut apud causam efficientem, sic verum incomplexum (*lege* complexum) solum est apud animam, quia istud solum causatur ab animam et est ens diminutum et ens rationis. *Op. cit.* pp. 188-189.

[10] Adam of Buckfield, *In VI Meta.* Balliol, *Ms.* 241, fol. 34^rab; I have corrected this manuscript slightly from Gonville and Caius, *Ms* 367, fol. 208^vb-209^ra.

[11] Et est nostra translatio ibi diminuta (sic). Unde secundum aliam translationem addit ibi *alium in graeco*. Balliol, *Ms* 241, fol. 33^va; Gonville and Caius, *Ms* 367, fol. 208^ra.

[12] Buckfield says that this other translation was made by Johannes; but it has not yet been identified. Cf. M. Grabmann, *Mittelalterliches Geistesleben* II (Munich, 1936), p. 149.

[13] Cf. G. Lacombe, *Aristoteles Latinus* I (Rome, 1939), p. 62.

> infinita, illius vero mentis aliqua passio; et utraque circa reliquum genus entis, et non extra ostendunt entem tam naturam entis.[14]

Accordingly, the commentators who used this version, and not the Arabian-Latin *Metaphysica Nova*, avoided the latter's interpretation of Aristotle's text. This was the case with St. Albert, who wrote his Commenary on the Greek-Latin version about 1270. The expression *ens diminutum* does not occur in this part of his Commentary. However, his interpretation of the above-quoted passage is still somewhat strained. After explaining that the cause of the accidental is indefinite, and the cause of the true is the intellect, he goes on to say that both of these causes concern a genus of being which is other than, and extraneous to, that which is truly being. Hence he understands the *utraque* of the above text to refer to the two *causes in question,* not to the two types of being, the accidental and the true. And the *reliquum genus entis*, although not called diminished being, is still interpreted to be the accidental and the true, not being in the perfect sense.[15]

Although St. Albert does not use the expression *ens diminutum* at this point in his Commentary, he does elsewhere, showing that he was acquainted with Averroes' use of the expression to designate both accidental being outside the mind and the true within the mind.[16]

When William of Moerbeke revised the older Greek-Latin version of the *Metaphysics*, he too rendered λοιπόν *reliquum.* His text reads as follows:

> Quod quidem ut accidens, et quod ut verum ens, praetermittendum. Causa enim hujus quidem indefinita, illius vero mentis aliqua passio, et utraque circa reliquum genus entis, et non extra ostendunt entem aliquam naturam entis.[17]

Thus St. Thomas, who commented on this version, avoided the reading *diminutum.* But like St. Albert he interpreted *reliquum genus entis* to mean accidental being and being in the mind, not perfect being in reality. These two types of being are said to concern *some* genus of being, and not the *per se* being which is in things:

> Et alia ratio est, quia "utrumque", scilicet ens verum et ens per accidens, sunt circa aliquod genus entis, non circa ens simpliciter per se quod est in rebus; et non ostendunt aliquam aliam naturam entis existentem extra per se entia.[18]

St. Thomas, however, knew of the reading *diminutum* in the Arabian-Latin version and in Averroes' Commentary, for he refers to it at least once.[19] But he does not use the expression very often, preferring such terms as *ens rationis intentio*, *esse intentionale*, to designate being in the mind.[20]

---

[14] *Meta.* VI, The Folger Shakespeare Library, *Ms. Smedley*, n. 3, fol. 323ᵛ.

[15] Igitur cum quaeruntur entis genera et partes, praetermittendum est accidens per accidens, sicut supra diximus, quod non est in aliquo genere entis. Et est praetermittendum etiam verum quod est sicut ens: quia, sicut jam ostendimus, illud etiam quod non est in aliquo genere entis, et accidentis quidem causa est indefinita et incerta, sicut ostendimus superius: hujus autem, veri videlicet, causa est mentis aliqua passio: et utraque istarum causarum est circa genus entis quod reliquum est et extraneum ab eo quod est vere ens in aliquo genere entis determinato existens. Et ideo neutrum istorum entium ostendit aliquid determinatum extra in rebus ratam entitatem habentibus: neutrum enim horum aliquam habet unam entis naturam. St. Albert, *In VI Meta*, tr. III, c. 2; ed. Borgnet VI (Paris, 1890), p. 400.

[16] Dicitur enim ens secundum accidens, et ens per se. Et secundum accidens quidem dicitur ens diminutum. Ens enim diminutum dicitur dupliciter: quoniam id quod casus est entis, eo quod cadit a principiis entitatis, dicitur per accidens esse secundum suum nomen. Dicitur etiam ens diminutum, quod habet esse in anima, quod accidit omni enti: et hoc est verum, cujus oppositum non ens est quasi falsum. . . . Sicut ergo dictum est, ens communiter acceptum multipliciter accipitur. Uno quidem modo ens dicitur per accidens et diminutum, sive sit in re, sive in anima. Secundo autem modo dicitur ens per se, quod habet entis principia. Et hoc dividitur secundum figuras categoriae. *Op. cit.*, tr. II, c. 1, p. 388.

[17] Moerbeke's version is contained in *Sancti Thomae Aquinatis In Metaphysicam Aristotelis Commentaria*, ed. Cathala (Turin, 1935), p. 369.

[18] *Op. cit.* VI, 4, n. 1243, p. 372.

Siger of Brabant, in dependence upon Averroes, uses *esse diminutum* to designate being in the mind, in contrast to the being outside the mind which is divided into the ten categories.[21]

Godfrey of Fontaines, moving in the same metaphysical tradition as Siger, says that diminished being is that produced by the created intellect in judgment. It is not the being things have in the divine mind, for there they are really identical with the divine essence. Neither is it the essential or existential being things have outside the mind, which are their true and real being, and which can be conceived as an incomplex object. Rather, diminished being is that which things have within the created mind when it forms a judgment about them.[22]

In order to extend the notion of diminished being to the divine ideas, all that was necessary was to conceive them as produced by the divine mind analogous to the way in which we give being to things within our mind. It appears that Henry of Ghent was the first to take this step. For him, the divine ideas are really distinct from the divine essence. God gives them their intelligible being as our intellect gives being to its ideas. And as the latter are diminished being with respect to existing things, so the divine ideas are diminished with respect to God Himself. There is this difference, however, between the diminished beings in God's mind and in ours: the latter can in no way have true being outside our intellect, whereas the beings within the divine mind can also exist in reality through God's creative activity.[23]

---

[19] Et ideo virtus instrumenti inquantum hujusmodi, secundum quod agit ad effectum ultra id quod competit sibi secundum suam naturam, non est ens completum habens esse fixum in natura, sed quoddam ens incompletum, sicut est virtus immutandi visum in aere, inquantum est instrumentum motum ab exteriori visibili; et hujusmodi entia consueverunt intentiones nominari, et habent aliquid simile cum ente quod est in anima, quod est ens diminutum, ut dicitur in VI *Metaphys. In IV Sent.* 1, 1, 4, sol. 2; *Opera Omnia X* (Paris, 1873), p. 21.

[20] Cf. H. D. Simonin, 'La notion d'*intentio* dans l'oeuvre de s. Thomas d'Aquin', *Revue des Sciences Philosophiques et Théologiques*, XIX (1930), 456-460. In dependence upon the *Liber de Causis* St. Thomas also calls forms and accidents, which do not subsist, diminished beings. Indeed, all creatures are *diminuta* in comparison with God, for they cannot create. *Diminutum* as used here has reference to imperfection in operation. Cf. *Liber de Causis* 21; ed. Bardenhewer (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1882), p. 183; St. Thomas, *Expositio super Librum de Causis*, lect. 22; *Opuscula Omnia* I (Paris, 1927), pp. 285-6.

[21] Averroes V *Metaphysicae* dicit sic: dictio "homo est" uno modo est problema de genere, alio modo de accidente. Secundum quod praedicatur esse diminutum vel esse in effectu, sic est problema de accidente. Sed sic dictio "homo est", secundum quod praedicatur esse non diminutum, sed qualitativum vel quantitativum, sic est problema de genere. Siger de Brabant, *Questions sur la Métaphysique*, ed. C. Graiff (Louvain, 1948), Introductio, 7, p. 13, ll. 68-74. Further on, when commenting on the fifth book of the *Metaphysics*, Siger explains that the being predicated accidentally of anything is being in the mind, for it is accidental to it whether or not it be known. The *esse* a thing has of its own nature, however, is not accidental to it or predicated accidentally of it. Cf. V, 22, p. 359, ll. 59-68.

Why does Siger in the text quoted say that *esse in effectu*, or actual existence, as well as being in the mind, is predicated accidentally of a thing; and why does he contrast it with essential being, which he calls non-diminished? Does he mean that *esse in effectu*, as well as the being in the mind, is diminished being? Yet actual existence is really identical with essence for Siger; it is not really an accident of essence. (Cf. Intro. 7, pp. 11-22). A further study of Siger's *Metaphysics* is needed to resolve these problems.

[22] Res praedicamentales praeter esse quod habent in seipsis non habent nisi triplex esse, scilicet in mente divina, sed ut sic non sunt in genere quia ut sic non sunt realiter aliud ab essentia divina, et sic habent esse omnino illimitatum et indeterminatum ad genus. Item in conceptu intellectus creati, sed ut sic etiam non sunt in genere, quia ut sic non habent esse simpliciter et perfecte sed esse diminutum et imperfectum. . . . Et ideo in quantum manet res secundum esse essentiae manet etiam secundum esse existentiae et e converso, et in quantum intelligitur de uno intelligitur de alio et e converso, intellectu simplici non componente quod est esse diminutum. Godfrey of Fontaines, *Quodlibet IV*, 2 (Les Philosophes belges II, ed. M. DeWulf and A. Pelzer, Louvain, 1904, pp. 234-235). Cf. *Quodlibet II*, 2, p. 61.

[23] Est talis haec Dei cognitio in cognoscendo se secundum rationem formae exemplaris, a quo secundum rationem causae formalis habent esse aliquid per essentiam ipsa

Of all mediaeval philosophers, Duns Scotus uses the expression "diminished being" most frequently.[24] For him, moreover, it has the exclusive meaning of being in the mind. We have seen that Averroes and others after him considered both the accidental, which is outside the mind, and the true, which is within the mind, diminished being. As far as I know, Scotus does not use the term with the former meaning. *Ens diminutum* is always *ens rationis*, *ens cognitum*, distinguished from the existent as the less perfect from the more perfect:

> Quod est tantum ens rationis, tantum habet esse in intellectu, quia ens rationis non causatur ab obiecto nisi inquantum cognitum, et ut sic non habet esse nisi in intellectu, quod est ens diminutum, ex VI *Metaph.*[25]

What precisely is this diminished being within the mind? Scotus tells us that it is not something objectively in the intellect, like the universals to whch it primarily turns its gaze. Neither is it something which exists in the intellect only subjectively, like understanding and science, for these are real forms in the category of quality. Rather, being in the mind is a relational being produced by the reason. Once the mind has conceived the realities which primarily move it to understand, it reflects upon them and upon itself as knowing them, and compares them to each other and to itself. This relation of comparison, which is the fruit of reflective knowledge, is precisely what Scotus means by diminished being.[26] It belongs, therefore, to the realm, not of first, but of second intentions.[27]

Now, for the Subtle Doctor such a relation of reason is found in the divine intellect as well as in the human. Several moments, not of time but of nature, can be distinguished in the divine knowledge. God first knows Himself absolutely. Then He produces the divine ideas in their intelligible being. In a third moment He compares Himself to these intelligible ideas and a relation is established between Himself and them. In still a fourth moment God in some way reflects on this relation and knows it.[28] It is owing to this doctrine of God's

---

exemplata in esse suo cognito; et hoc quemadmodum intellectus noster entia facta ab ipso constituit in esse cognito, quae sicut sunt diminuta entia respectu aliorum existentium quorum intellectus noster non est causa . . . sic enim ista eadem entia (*id est*, vera entia) respectu entis quod Deus est sunt diminuta entia, non tamen sic diminuta sicut sunt entia operata ab intellecto nostro, quia illa nullo modo nata sunt habere aliquod esse verum extra intellectum praeter esse cognitum quod habent in intellectu.

Ista autem non sunt sic diminuta respectu entis quod Deus est, et existentia in esse cognito quin in illo esse sint aliquid ad se per essentiam, quod natum est Deo efficiente etiam existere extra divinum intellectum praeter esse cognitum in esse existentiae, quod est esse verum et perfectum. Henry of Ghent, *Quodlibet IX*, 2 (Venice, 1613), fol. 65^{r}. Cf. J. Paulus, *Henri de Gand* (Paris, 1938), pp. 88 ff.

[24] Cf. the references to *ens diminutum* in P. Minges, *Joannis Duns Scoti Doctrina Philosophica et Theologica* I (Quaracchi, 1930), p. 15; also in *Lexicon Scholasticum Philosophico-Theologicum. . .*, ed. M. Garcia (Quaracchi, 1910), p. 244.

[25] *Opus Oxon.* I, d. 13, n. 7 (Quaracchi, 1912), vol. 1, p. 738.

[26] Nec est tertio (definitio) entis rationis quod est tantum ens diminutum; quia proprie quid, sicut et ens, non competit nisi enti reali, patet V et VI *Metaph.* Nec intelligo hic ens rationis quod est in intellectu obiective (quia sic omne universale est in anima), nec illud quod est tantum in intellectu subiective (quia sic intellectio et scientia sunt in anima, quae tamen sunt formae reales, et in genere qualitatis); sed intelligo ens in anima tamquam secundo consideratum, non tamquam primo consideratum, ad quod considerandum movetur primo anima a re extra, sed tamquam ens in primo considerato, inquantum consideratum; et tale ut in summa sit dicere, non est nisi relatio rationis, quia nihil habet praecise esse in considerato, ut considerato, nisi comparatio qua consideratum comparatur ad aliud per actum considerantis. Ens ergo diminutum, ut hic accipitur universaliter, est ens rationis. *Opus Oxon.* IV, d. 1, q. 2, n. 3; *Opera Omnia* XVI (Paris, 1894), pp. 100-101.

[27] Omnis intentio secunda est relatio rationis, non quaecumque, sed pertinens ad extremum vel actum intellectus componentis vel dividentis, vel saltem conferentis unum ad alterum; hoc patet, quia intentio secunda, secundum omnes, causatur per actum intellectus negociantis circa rem primae intentionis, qui non potest causare circa obiectum nisi tantum relationem rationis vel relationes rationis. *Opus Oxon.* I, d. 23, n. 2 (Quaracchi, 1912), vol. 1, p. 935. Ens diminutum . . . est ens logicum proprie; unde omnes intentiones secundae de tali ente praedicantur. *In VI Meta.* q. 3, n. 15; *Opera Omnia* VII (Paris, 1892), p. 346.

[28] Cf. *Opus Oxon.* I, d. 35, n. 10, p. 1158.

production of His ideas in their intelligible being and His reflexive knowledge of them in relation to Himself as knower that Scotus can speak of diminished being within the divine mind. The divine ideas are not the absolute natures things receive when they are created in the real world and which are true and perfect being. Within the divine mind such a nature has only an *esse cognitum*, a being which is not absolute but relative, since it necessarily implies a relation to God as knower; and as understood under this relation to God's knowledge it is diminished: *illud ut acceptum sub ista comparatione ad scientiam Dei diminuitur.*[29]

It is not the purpose of this note to discuss in detail the ramifications of the doctrine of *ens diminutum* in Scotism and other mediaeval philosophies, but simply to point out its origin and meaning. From what has been said it appears that its origin is to be found in the Arabian translation of the *Metaphysics* and Averroes' Commentary on it. The Latin translations of these works propagated the notion among western writers in the thirteenth century. Originally it meant being both in the sense of the accidental and the true. Gradually the former meaning was lost and *ens diminutum* came to mean simply the being found in the mind. As to the precise meaning of this type of being, our authors agree that the mind produces it within itself by an act of judgment, or at least by an act of comparison of what it knows to itself as knower. It is thus a being peculiar to the mind and distinct from that which either actually or possibly exists in the real world. Sometimes it is said to be the being of truth, produced in judgment. At other times it is called the second intention of the intellect. These two descriptions, however, are not too far removed from each other; for, as Averroes says, the being of truth is a second intention,[30] and, as Scotus says, every second intention involves a judgment or at least an act of the intellect comparing one thing with another.[31] In brief, then, we may say that *ens diminutum* is simply the second intention of the intellect.

ARMAND MAURER C.S.B.
Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies.

III. Absolon's Hair.

CHAUCER introduced the clerk and factotum of the parish in *The Miller's Tale* with a description from which one can easily deduce that he was an effeminate small-town dandy.[1] The poet began by naming him Absolon and calling attention to his abundant crop of hair:

> Now was ther of that chirche a parissh clerk,
> The which that was ycleped Absolon.
> Crul was his heer, and as the gold is shoon,
> And strouted as a fanne large and brode;
> Ful streight and evene lay his joly shode.[2]

---

[29] *Opus Oxon.* I, d. 36, n. 8 (Quaracchi, 1912), vol. 1, p. 1175. In this passage and its context Scotus uses not only the Averroist notion of *ens diminutum*, but also the logicians' doctrine of *determinatio diminuens*, especially as taught by Siger of Courtrai. Cf. Siger of Courtrai, *Fallaciae* (Les Philosophes belges VIII, Les Oeuvres de Siger de Courtrai, ed. G. Wallerand, Louvain, 1913), pp. 82-83.

[30] Cf. Averroes, *Epitomes in Libros Metaphy.* tr. 1 (*Aristotelis Metaphysicorum Libri XIIII* . . . Venice, 1574), fol. 358C.

[31] Cf. *supra*, note 27.

[1] In most of the analogues to *The Miller's Tale* Absolon's role is taken by a smith. If this was so in his source, Chaucer evidently decided against the occupation for the duped lover lest he appear too much like the rough-and-ready Miller. In addition, by creating an effeminate and squeamish character for whom no punishment could be more severe or appropriate and no cure more effective than to be rejected by Alisoun in her unladylike fashion, Chaucer could heighten the humor of his downfall.

[2] *Canterbury Tales* I (A), 3312-3316. *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, ed. F. N. Robinson (Boston, 1933).

Since Absolon was given such a quantity of golden hair, his name could not have been a coincidence. Chaucer had in mind, of course, Absalom, the son of David, who was the most beautiful man in Israel, and whose hair was exceedingly luxuriant. The Vulgate reads:

> Porro sicut Absalom vir non erat pulcher in omni Israel et decorus nimis; a vestigio pedis usque ad verticem non erat in eo ulla macula. Et quando tondebat capillum (semel autem in anno tondebatur, quia gravabat eum caesaries), ponderabat capillos capitis sui ducentis siclis pondere publico.[3]

These two verses, clear enough in themselves, cannot tell us what was thought of Absalom's hair and beauty in the Middle Ages. The answer to this question might throw another beam of light, however small, on the rejected suitor of *The Miller's Tale.*

Biblical commentators of the Middle Ages are more concerned with the treason or rebellion of Absalom against his father than with his hair.[4] Those few who discuss the second of the verses quoted above, however, say that his hair *signifies* excess. Thus Hugo of St. Victor writes: 'The appetite of the flesh nourishes and produces hair because it nourishes excesses of thought: this hair is burdensome to the mind while *the earthly habitation presseth down the mind that museth on many things*' [*Wisdom*, ix, 15].[5] To Adam Scotus the hair of Absalom signifies excess of the flesh, concupiscence of the eyes and the pride of life: *Vae etiam tibi, o perfide Absalon! Quem gravat caesaries, superfluitas videlicet carnis, concupiscentia oculorum, et superbia vitae, quae in mundo sunt.*[6] One will recall that Absolon of *The Miller's Tale*, with his excess of hair and excessive combing of it, is indeed very much under the influence of all three vicious inclinations.

These passages, however, are only a specific application of the general allegorical signification for hair, given at least from the time of St. Gregory the Great to John Gower, the contemporary of Chaucer: hair, being superfluous to human flesh, signifies some kind of superfluity or excess. For those who are unfamiliar with allegorical exegesis of this kind, further demonstration with another text might not prove an uninteresting digression. According to the rite of purification in *The Book of Numbers*, Levites are to shave all the hairs of their flesh.[7] In the *Aurora* or *Biblica versificata* Peter Riga gave the ordinary interpretation of this rite:

> *Cum de uitandis concupiscentiis tractaretur, adiunctum est quod leuite radant omnes pilos.*
>
> Quisque leuita pilos radat de carne: leuita
> Dicitur *assumptus* presbiterosque notat;
> Humana pilus est in carne superfluus, illud
> Quod mens illicite cogitat ergo notat.

---

[3] *II Regum*, xiv; 25-26.

[4] Walter Map's interest was the same. In giving the character of Prince Henry, son of Henry II, who died at Martel in 1183, he made a spirited comparison of the Prince to Absalom rebelling against King David (cf. *De nugis curalium*, ed. Thomas Wright [Camden Society, 1850], pp. 139-140, or the English translation by F. Tupper and M. B. Ogle [London, 1924], pp. 178-180). Ralph de Diceto in connection with the same event gave many instances of filial rebellion and among them the story of Absalom (*Historical Work*, ed. William Stubbs [Rolls Series, 1876] I, p. 356).

[5] *Miscellanea* IV, xxxii, *De caesarie Absalonis;* PL 177, 714A: Appetitus carnis caesariem nutrit et producit, quia cogitationum superflua nutrit: quae caesaries gravat mentem dum *deprimit terrena inhabitatio sensum multa cogitantem* [*Sapientia*, ix, 15].

[6] *De triplici genere contemplationis* II, iv; PL 198, 816A. In his third sermon on Sts. Peter and Paul, St. Bonaventure gives a similar significance to Absalom without mentioning his hair—that is, the flesh, the world, and the devil: *Absalom*, quia lascivus, significat carnis vitium; quia totus vanus, significat mundum; sed quia tyrannus, significat diabolum, qui in suis membris persequitur Christum. (*Opera omnia*, Quaracchi, IX, 553*b*.)

[7] *Num*. viii,7: et radant omnes pilos carnis suae.

Quem Deus assumit ut ei deseruiat, omnes
  Motus ex animo radere debet homo.
Quod radi, non euelli, pilus ipse iubetur
  Doctrine magnum non leue pondus habet:
Radices non extirpat rasura pilorum,
  Sed rasi crescunt fructificantque pili.
Sic licet expellas omnes de pectore motus,
  Non tamen hinc penitus cuncta fugare potes.
Hoc de carne trahis quia semper alit caro pugnam,
  Intus habes cum quo prelia semper agas;
Ergo necesse manet tibi semper inesse nouaclam
  Vt possis omnes hinc resecare pilos,
Nam resecans culpas studiosi cura laboris
  Seu forfex dici siue nouacla potest.[8]

The matter of these verses is nothing but a paraphrase of what St. Gregory had written on the subject in his *Moralia*,[9] but Peter Riga used a more convenient work which St. Paterius had compiled by arranging excerpts from the *Moralia* to form a commentary on the various books of Scripture.[10] On the other hand, two centuries after the *Aurora*, John Gower used lines 127-132 from the passage above as lines 1911-1916 of the third book of *Vox Clamantis*.[11]

Peter Comestor is not concerned with the signification of Absalom's hair, but rather with its quantity. In his *Historia scholastica*, he refers to Josephus as his authority for saying that Absalom's hair was so abundant that it would have been difficult to cut it every nine days. Then he adds that the hair which was cut once a year weighed two hundred shekels, and that perhaps this was the weight of the shearing, or perhaps for this price women purchased the hair to adorn their own.[12] Peter Riga softens the last suggestion as follows:

Aurea cesaries in uertice uertitur; anno
  Tonsa semel siclis digna meretur emi.[13]

The commentators have thus made Absalom unattractive not only because of his treason, but also because of his hair.

On the other hand, the popular conception of Absalom as the ideal of physical beauty, so prevalent after the twelfth century, took its origin from verse 25 of the *Second Book of Kings*: 'But in all Israel there was not a man so comely, and so exceedingly beautiful as Absalom: from the sole of the foot to the crown of his head there was no blemish in him.' The very wording of the verse, especially the last part, was an invitation to some poet familiar with the principles of the 'arts of poetry' to fill in the details of a portrait the Bible had merely outlined. And so Peter Riga made a full and elegant inventory description of Absalom's perfections from crown to toe in an *effictio*, which conforms to the rules and models of the 'arts of poetry' and handbooks of rhetoric of the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries,[14] although this was the method to be used in presenting feminine beauty. This full length portrait deserves special consideration because Chaucer must have read it;[15] and even though this reading occurred quite early in his literary career and he probably did not advert to it in writing *The Miller's Tale*, yet his conception of the Biblical character may have been influenced by it.

---

[8] *Aurora*, 'Numbers,' ll. 119-136 (from my edition in preparation). The *Aurora* was written in the last quarter of the twelfth century.

[9] *Moralia* V, xxiii; PL 75, 711D-712A.

[10] *Expositio Vet. et Nov. Testamenti* IV, *Super Numeros*, iii; PL 79, 762D-763A. The heading in the *Aurora* follows Paterius' formula for citation without giving his reference data. St. Isidore of Seville used either Gregory or Paterious in writing his comments on the text in Numbers (cf. *Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum, In Numeros*, xii, 12; PL 83, 344A), and Strabo merely directed the reader of the *Glossa ordinaria* to Gregory, giving the reference with the *incipit* and *explicit* of the passage (PL 113, 396D).

[11] *The Complete Works of John Gower*, ed. G. C. Macaulay, IV, *Latin Works* (Oxford, 1902), p. 159.

[12] *Historia scholastica, Lib. II Regum*, xiv; PL 198, 1336C: Porro Absalon erat decorus nimis, cujus caesaries secundum Josephum tanta erat, ut vix novem diebus tonderi potuisset. Quam semel in anno tonsam, ponderabat ducentis siclis. Forte hujus ponderis erat tonsura ejus. Vel hoc pretio emebant eam mulieres, ut subornarent crines suos.

[13] *Aurora*, 'II Kings,' ll. 49-50. The thirty-six line description of Absalom from the *Aurora*, along with a free translation of it into Old French verse, is printed in my article 'The Old French Verse *Bible* of Macé de la Charité, a Translation of the *Aurora*,' *Speculum*, XXII (1947), 233-234.

The description begins, rhetorically enough, by stating that the young Absalom was preeminent among the sons of David for his countenance, since he contended with the stars or with roses in beauty. Nature showered him with so many of her gifts that she was in want thereafter, while he was the phoenix without an equal. Not one blemish did she leave in him; beauty cloaked him from head to foot. Crown, forehead, eyes, nose, teeth, mouth, cheeks, chin, neck, hands, breast, feet—all are beautiful without spot:

> In quibus enituit uultu puer Absalon astris
> Siue rosis certans oris honore sui.
> Compluit hunc tanto diues Natura decore
> Quod sitiens et egens post sua dona fuit.
> Pre cunctis pueris quos ornat gratia forme
> Felix et fenix iste fit absque pare.
> Vnam nec maculam Natura reliquit in isto;
> Ad caput a planta transuolat iste decor:
> Vertex, frons, oculi, nasus, dens, os, gena, mentum,
> Colla, manus, pectus, pes sine labe nitent.[16]

Each item in this inventory is then described in at least one couplet, beginning at the crown with the golden hair worthy to be purchased with shekels, as already quoted. Then the forehead, whiter than the swan or the untrodden snow:

> Frontis planities albedine certat olori
> Siue niui nullo que pede trita fuit.[17]

And so on down the face, until, on arriving at the chin, one is relieved to find that Absalom had a beard beginning to bloom even if it was the only thing that indicated that he was a man:

> Mentum nascenti florens lanugine, sexum
> Femineum dampnans, indicat esse uirum.[18]

---

[14] Most of the important 'arts of poetry' are later than the *Aurora*, but Peter Riga, in both practice and theory, was already in the current of the rhetorical Latin poetry which they teach. The practice can best be seen in his short poems, which are quite rhetorical and which he collected in the first book of *Floridus aspectus;* his contribution to the theory is his treatise on rhetorical figures, which is called *Colores verborum* and which forms the second book. Probably he wrote the grammatical work from which Alexander of Villa Dei borrowed the matter for the section 'De preteritis et supinis' in his *Doctrinale* (cf. Max Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters* III [Munich, 1931], pp. 829-830).

[15] Chaucer mentions the *Aurora* in *The Book of the Duchess*, having taken from it the origin of music (ll. 1160-1169):

> Although I koude not make so wel
> Songes, ne knewe the art al,
> As koude Lamekes sone Tubal,
> That found out first the art of songe;
> For as hys brothers hamers ronge
> Upon hys anvelt up and doun,
> Therof he took the firste soun,—
> But Grekes seyn Pictagoras,
> That he the firste fynder was
> Of the art, Aurora telleth so.

For a full discussion of the passage see Karl Young, 'Chaucer and Peter Riga,' *Speculum*, XII (1937), 299-303. Even though it cannot be demonstrated that Chaucer read more in the *Aurora* than the passage referred to, nevertheless the popularity of the work and Gower's reading, rereading and unrestrained borrowing from it make Chaucer's reading of a whole manuscript practically certain.

[16] *Aurora*, "II Kings," ll. 41-48.

[17] *Idem*, ll. 51-52.

[18] *Idem*, ll. 63-64.

Then in like manner, member by member, to the feet. But that beard becomes a precious thing indeed, when a comparison of the complete description of Absalom is made with that of Helen which Matthew of Vendome gave in his *Ars versificatoria* as a model to be followed in describing beautiful ladies; and this judgment is confirmed when one reads the *Poetria nova* of Geoffrey of Vinsauf on how to portray feminine beauty.[19]

Peter Riga knew that he had cast Absalom in the mold marked 'feminine', for when he came to expand the 'Gospel' in his second edition of the *Aurora*, he used the description of Absalom again, *mutatis mutandis* (sometimes changing only the gender of pronouns and adjectives), as the chief part of his portrait of the Blessed Virgin Mary.[20] Nor did John Gower let Riga's portrait of Absalom go unnoticed. In the third chapter of the fifth book of *Vox clamantis*, with close attention to the rules or the convention Gower describes a beautiful woman, the desire for whom very frequently deprives the ensnared hearts of soldiers of their powers of good judgment: *Hic describit formam mulieris speciose, ex cuius concupiscencia illaqueata militum corda racionis iudicio sepissime destituuntur.*[21] Eight lines which Gower borrowed from the *Aurora*, six of them from the portrait of Absalom, are firmly embedded in the description. It is certain that Gower took them from the portrait of Absalom and not from that of the Blessed Virgin, because he was using a manuscript of the first edition;[22] he was doing exactly what Peter Riga had done two hundred years earlier in the second and third editions—applying to a woman what had originally been written to describe a man. The Absalom lines are immediately recognizable in the following:

Vertex, frons, oculi, nasus, dens, os, gena, mentum,
Colla, manus, pectus, pes sine labe nitent,

---

[19] *Ars versificatoria* I, 56, and *Poetria nova*, ll. 562-599 (Edmond Faral, *Les arts poétiques du XII^e et du XIII^e siècle* [Paris, 1924], pp. 129-130 and 214-215. After stating that the type of beauty appreciated in Middle English literature does not differ greatly from that found in other medieval literatures, W. C. Curry says: the type of feminine beauty praised by the poets in their catalogs of charms is, without an exception, a blonde, whose hair is golden or like gold wire, eyes sparkling bright and light blue in color, cheeks lily-white or rose-red, forehead broad and without wrinkles, red lips, white evenly set teeth, long snow-white arms, and white hands with long slender fingers, etc. And whereas the poets generally give comparatively little space to the description of the manly beauty of the hero of romance and legend, they never leave us in doubt as to his great stature, enormous strength, broad chest and shoulders, or to his noble character and manly virtues (cf. *The Middle English Ideal of Personal Beauty; as Found in the Metrical Romances, Chronicles, and Legends of the XIII, XIV, and XV Centuries* [Baltimore, 1916], pp. 3-5).

[20] Concerning the editions and redactions of the *Aurora*, see 'The Old French Verse Bible of Macé de la Charité,' *Speculum*, XII, 227-228.

A comparison of the two portraits shows that some lines and couplets are identical, that some have undergone a necessary change in the gender of certain words, that others are still further adapted and some few are dropped. The opening lines of the description of Absalom, quoted above, are changed as follows:

Tanto compluit hanc diues Natura decore
  Quod mirata fuit nil superesse sibi.
Non habuit similem, non est habitura sequentem
  Terra; parens phenix hec fuit absque pare.
Vnam nec maculam Natura reliquit in ista;
  Ad caput a planta transuolat iste decor.
Colla, supercilia, coma, frons, oculi, gena, nasus,
  Os, dens, labra, manus, pes sine labe nitent.

(*Aurora*, 'Gospel,' 89-96)

Some lines have been added to the description of the Blessed Virgin, however, for which there are no corresponding lines in the description of Absalom.

[21] *Vox clamantis* V, iii, the heading (Macaulay, p. 203).

[22] Evidence for Gower's use of a manuscript of the first edition of the *Aurora* may be indicated briefly: every borrowed line or passage can be found in the first edition, whereas not a single line of the recognized borrowings (approximately 450 lines in all) comes from a book added in the second and the third editions of Peter Riga or from the interpolated matter of Aegidius of Paris in his first and second redactions; and most important, Gower's readings, except for changes which seem to be his own, are those of the first edition. For the purpose of comparing texts of the *Aurora* and *Vox clamantis*, Macaulay's choice of *Ms Bodley* 822 was not a happy one, for this manuscript appears to be a 'wild' text of Aegidius of Paris's first redaction. An excellent manuscript for recognizing borrowings is *Ms Lat. CCCXXV* of Merton College, Oxford; it is one of the first edition.

Vnam nec maculam solam natura reliquit,
Ad caput a planta transuolat iste decor:
Humanam speciem transcendit forma puelle,
Excedens hominem numinis instar habet;
Pre cunctis aliis, quas ornat gracia forme,
Felix et fenix ista fit absque pare.[23]

It seems probable that any poet of the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries, familiar with the convention of the inventory portrait for describing feminine beauty and recalling the scriptural passage concerning Absalom's beauty, would already see in the biblical description an uncompleted *effictio* which needed only to be filled out with the proper poetic or rhetorical flourish of details. He would think as Peter Riga thought, and his portrait would be as feminine as masculine. For Geoffrey of Vinsauf says in the *Poetria nova* that, if you wish to create feminine beauty fully, you do it thus:

Femineum plene si vis formare decorem,
Praeformet capiti Naturae circinus orbem;
Crinibus irrutilet color auri; lilia vernent
In specula frontis; . . . . .

Having given thirty-five lines of such matter to be imitated, he concludes his instruction with the sentence:

. . . . Et sic
A summo capitis descendat splendor ad ipsam
Radicem, totumque simul poliatur ad unguem.[24]

which immediately reminds one of the couplet of the *Aurora* paraphrasing the Vulgate:

Vnam nec maculam Natura reliquit in isto
  Ad caput a planta transuolat iste decor.

Nowhere does the Bible state the color of Absalom's hair, and yet by the end of the thirteenth century everyone knows that it was golden in color and luster or blond. Since Absalom was most beautiful, he was thought to have hair which corresponded to the contemporary ideal of personal beauty conventionalized by the *effictio* in Latin poetry and vernacular romances. Blond hair in descriptions of men was appreciated, but the color seems to have been the ideal for women's and maidens' hair.[25] Matthew of Vendome in his model describes Helen's hair as follow:

Auro respondet coma, non replicata magistro
  Nodo, descensu liberiore jacet;[26]

and, as we have already seen, Geoffrey instructs writers of poetry to let the color of gold shimmer in a lady's hair. Peter Riga is the first poet I have found to give Absalom golden hair, *aurea cesaries*, and Macé de la Charité expands the words thus:

---

[23] *Vox clamantis* V, 113-120 (Macaulay, p. 204). Lines 117-118 were taken from a passage about the Blessed Virgin which appeared even in the first edition of the *Aurora*:

Humanam speciem transcendit forma puelle,
  Excedens hominem numinis instar habet;
Pauperat artificis nature dona decoris
  Certans aurore splendidus oris honor.
Missus ad hanc Gabriel sic cepit: "Aueto. . ."

(Merton Coll., *Lat. Ms.* CCCXXV, f. 109^{v}.)

[24] *Poetria nova,* ll. 562-565 and 597-599 (Faral, pp. 214, 215). This work was written between 1208 and 1213.

[25] Curry discusses hair of all shades in *The Middle English Ideal of Personal Beauty*, pp. 11-34.

[26] *Ars versificatoria* I, 56, ll. 7-8 (Faral, p. 129).

Si cheviol blonde et plus que sor
Erent resemblant à fin or.[27]

When Jean de Meun in *Le Roman de la Rose* referred to Absalom with his 'blond tresses' as a type of beauty,[28] the tradition was well established; any poet would have said the same thing.

Although the portrayal of Absalom's beauty owed much to the convention of the *effictio*, the popularization of Absalom as a type of beauty was brought about at least in part by the frequent appearance of his name in *Ubi sunt* poems. The popularity of the *Ubi sunt* theme in the Middle Ages is well known.[29] Absalom appears in probably the most famous of the *Ubi sunt* poems, sometimes called *De mundi vanitate*, or *Rhythmus de contemptu mundi*, or *Cur mundus militat?* from its opening lines, and variously ascribed to St. Bernard, to Walter Map, and to Jacopone da Todi with scarcely better reasons in one case than in another. Here Absalom is placed among the illustrious because of his beauty alone; others are more celebrated for other things than he:

Dic ubi Salamon olim tam nobilis?
  vel Samson ubi est dux invincibilis?
  vel pulcher Absolon vultu mirabilis?
  vel dulcis Jonathas multum amabilis?[30]

St. Bonaventure must have recalled this poem or something similar when he wrote the following in an *Ubi sunt* passage in his *Soliloquium*:

> *Ubi sapiens, ubi scriba, ubi conquisitor huius saeculi*? Ubi Salomon sapientissimus? ubi Alexander potentissimus? Ubi Samson fortissimus? ubi Absalom speciosissimus? Ubi Assuerus gloriosissimus? Ubi caesares potentissimi? Ubi reges et principes inclyti?[31]

The poem was not without progeny in English. Under the title *Cur Mundus Militat?* a Middle English translation of the poem appears to have been popular. These are the lines in which we are interested:

Telle me where is salamon, sumtyme a kinge riche?
or sampson in his strenkeþe, to whom was no man liche?
Or þe fair man absolon, merueilous in chere,
or þe duke ionatas, a weel biloued fere?[32]

---

[27] See *supra*, n. 13.

[28] *Le Roman de la Rose*, 13869-13872 (ed. Ernest Langlois, SATF)

Non, par Deu! pas, se ce fust ores
Absalon o ses treces sores,
Ou Paris, fiz le rei de Troie,
Ne l'en portast el ja menoie.

Langlois merely commented in the notes: Ce n'est pas par la Bible que Jean de Meun a pu être renseigné sur la coleur des "tresses" d'Absalon.

[29] Etienne Gilson wrote ('De la Bible à François Villon,' *Les idées et les lettres* [Paris, 1932], p. 19):

> Comme il est aisé de le voir, la formule *Ubi est* est devenue aux XII^e^ et XIII^e^ siècles une sorte de banalité théologique, et l'on peut s'attendre à la voir revenir presque inévitablement lorsque reparaît l'idée de la mort et de la vanité des biens de ce monde. On voit aussi que le thème biblique primitif s'est accru, chemin faisant, de deux éléments nouveaux: l'énumération des noms d'hommes ou de femmes illustres; l'insistance plus marquée sur la fragilité de la beauté féminine. . . . L'un et l'autre apparaissent dans des écrits religieux; mais ils semblent avoir été cependant des trouvailles de littérateurs et, sauf rectification ultérieure par les nouveaux textes que l'on ne manquera pas de découvrir, nous serions plutôt disposés à voir dans ces évocations de Samson ou de Salomon par les théologiens et prédicateurs, une preuve de l'influence exercée par la littérature profane sur la littérature sacrée qu'une preuve de l'influence inverse.

The article is followed by a useful appendix, 'Tables pour l'histoire du du thème *Ubi sunt?*,' pp. 31-38.

[30] *De mundi vanitate*, 11. 13-16 (*The Latin Poems Commonly Attributed to Walter Mapes*, ed. Thomas Wright [London, 1841; Camden Society], p. 147; with variations, in PL 184, 1313; and elsewhere).

[31] *Soliloquium* II, 3 (*Opera omnia*, VIII, 45b).

[32] *Cur Mundus Militat?* 11. 13-16 (*Religious Lyrics of the XIVth Century*, ed. Carleton Brown [Oxford, 1924], p. 238). For the nine manuscripts and various printings of the

Considering St. Bernard the author of the original, John Skelton (c. 1460-1529) writes thus in his poem 'On the Death of the Noble Prince, King Edward the Fourth:'

> Why should a man be proud or presume high?
>   Saint Bernard thereof nobly doth treat,
> Saith a man is but a sack of stercorry,
>   And shall return unto wormes meat.
>   Why, what 'came of Alexander the Great?
> Or else of stronge Sampson, who can tell?
>   Were not wormes ordained their flesh to frete?
> And of Salomon, that was of wit the well?
> Absolon proffered his hair for to sell,
>   Yet for all his beauty wormes eat him also;
> And I but late in honour did excel
>   *Et, ecce, nunc in pulvere dormio!*[33]

Cur mundus militat? continued popular in English into the seventeenth century[34] —but this is taking us too far afield. To return to the Middle Ages, attention might be called to John Lydgate's 'As a Mydsomer Rose,' so named from the refrain line with which eleven of the fifteen stanzas end: 'Al stant on chaung lyke a mydsomyr roose.' Four stanzas call the roll of the famous departed; Absalom is among the biblical group:

> Wher is now Dauid, the moost worthy kyng
>   Of Iuda and Israel, moost famous and notable?
> And wher is Solomon moost souereyn of konnyng,
>   Richest of bildyng, of tresour incomparable?
>   Face of Absolon, moost fair, most amyable,
> Rekne vp echon, of trouthe make no gloose,
>   Rekne vp Ionathas, of frenship immutable,
> Al stant on chaung lyke a mydsomyr roose.[35]

Once lists of people famous for particular attributes or accomplishments had been compiled and popularized in *Ubi sunt* poetry, the same lists, in whole or in part, might be adapted or imitated by poets seeking types or models of various virtues or perfections to use as standards for comparison in eulogies or

---

poem see Carleton Brown and Rossell Hope Robbins, *The Index of Middle English Verse* (New York, 1943; the Index Society), no. 4160. Another Middle English paraphrase of the Latin poem is listed as no. 3475, but it has not been printed.

[33] *The Complete Poems of John Skelton*, ed. Philip Henderson (London, 1931), p. 3. Spellings have been modernized in this edition. The allusion to the sale of Absalom's hair would indicate that the possible interpretation of 'two hundred shekels' as the price of the shearings, not the weight, was still current (cf. Peter Comestor's interpretation, *supra*). Skelton's poem was further popularized by being included in *A Mirror for Magistrates*, a popular success, which ran through numerous editions between 1559 and 1610. The poem is the nineteenth and last tragedy in the edition of 1559 (*The Mirror for Magistrates*, ed. Lily B. Campbell [Cambridge, 1938], pp. 236-239).

[34] 'The Translation of the blessed Saint Barnards verses, conteynyng the vnstable felicitie of this wayfaring worlde' is the first poem in *The Paradise of Dainty Devices*, which ran at least to the tenth edition between 1576 and 1606. Each stanza is preceded by the Latin.

Where is the sacred king, that Salomon the wyse?
Whose wysdome, former time, of duetie did commend:
Where is that Samson strong, that monstrous man in syze?
Whose forced arme, dyd cause the mighty pillers bend.
Where is the peareles Prince, the freendly Ionathas?
Or Absolon, whose shape and fauour did surpasse.

The Paradise of Dainty Devices (1576-1606), ed. Hyder Edward Rollins (Cambridge, Mass., 1927), p. 6; see also the notes, pp. 180-182, for other paraphrases or adaptations.

[35] 'As a Mydsomer Rose,' ll. 65-72 (*The Minor Poems of John Lydgate*, ed. H. N. MacCracken, Part II, Secular Poems [EETS, 192], p. 783).

descriptions of their own heroes and heroines. The transition, I believe, can be illustrated by two devotional poems. The well-known early Middle English 'Love Rune' of the Franciscan Thomas of Hales, written at the request of a certain nun, develops an applied *Ubi sunt* theme—that the world's love is false and fickle, that worldly lovers pass like the wind or the shaft from the bow, and that the only worthy lover for her is Christ. In the second stanza after the exact *Ubi sunt* formula is used:

Hwer is paris & heleyne
þat weren so bryht & feyre on bleo,
Amadas & dideyne, [Idoine]
tristram, yseude and alle þeo,
Ector, wiþ his scharpe meyne,
& cesar . . . . . .[36]

we meet the fair Absalom used as a type for a comparison: though an earthly lover were as rich as King Henry or as fair as Absalom who never had an equal on earth, his pride or value would not be worth a herring:

Þeyh he were so riche mon
as henry vre kyng,
And al so veyr as absalon
þat neuede on eorþe non euenyng,
Al were sone his prute a-gon,
hit nere on ende wrþ on heryng.
Mayde, if þu wilnest after leofmon
ich teche þe enne treowe king.[37]

'Of Clene Maydenhod' is very similar to this poem in ideas and phrasing as well as identical in stanza form, although it was written a century later. In it there is no stanza comparable to 'Hwer is paris & heleyne,' but Absalom and two of his ordinary companions in the *Ubi sunt* roll are used in the comparison of lovers: an earthly lover as fair as Absalom, as strong as Samson and as wise as Solomon would be nothing compared to Christ.

Heddest þou founden such a feere
Þat weore so feir as Absolon,
And þer-to so strong to tere
As in his tyme was Sampson,
So Riche þer-to þat he were
And so wys as Salomon;
I-wis, to him riht nouȝt hit were
Þat þou hast chosen to þi lemmon.[38]

Nowhere perhaps can the influence of the *Ubi sunt* catalogue of types be more clearly seen than in the balades of Eustache Deschamps. Of his use of the *Ubi sunt* theme itself Gilson wrote that it would be almost more accurate to call it an abuse.[39] Hence there is no need to cite passages which begin *Où est* or *Où sont*; instead, the following stanza which makes affirmations rather than asks questions is offered as the next step.

---

[36] 'Friar Thomas de Hales' Love Ron,' 11. 65-69. The poem may be found in *English Lyrics of the XIIIth Century*, ed. Carleton Brown (Oxford, 1933), pp. 68-74, or in *An Old English Miscellany*, ed. R. Morris (EETS, 49), pp. 93-99. It was probably written in the early part of the reign of Henry III (1216-1272) but after the coming of the Franciscans to England in 1224.

[37] *Idem*, ll. 81-88.

[38] 'Of Clene Maydenhod,' 11. 17-24 (*The Minor Poems of the Vernon MS.*, Part II, ed. F. J. Furnivall [EETS, 117], p. 465).

[39] Gilson, *op. cit.*, p. 24: Ce serait peu de dire que ce poète a fait usage du thème biblique dont nous suivons l'histoire, il serait presque plus juste de dire qu'il en a abusé.

Crisès est mort qui tant pot amasser,
Et Salomon n'a peu sens detenir:
Sanson Fortin a fait la mort finer
Et Absalon le tresbel deperir,
Alixandre le grant roy enfouir;
Et puisque tous devons suir leur train,
Ne nous chaille fors de l'ame servir,
Car homme n'est qui ait point demain.[40]

A similar list of types might be used in a lady's praise of her lover, and Absalom of course would be the type of beauty:

A Salomon puet estre comparez
Pour son savoir; de biauté ensement
A Absalon; et de force parez
Au roy Hector et Sanson proprement;
A Seneques de meurs, d'enseignement;
Et a Paris, qui bien d'amours joy;
Mais d'eulz trestous est nul le parlement
Aux grans vertus de mon loyal amy.[41]

Or the types might be used in a humorous balade: brother Bernard does not care to be a Julius Caesar, or an Alexander, or a David, or to have the wisdom of Solomon or the beauty of Absalom; his only inclination is to drink plenty of wine:

Je n'ay cure, se dist frere Bernars,
D'aler conquerre les estranges paiz,
Ne d'estre preux ou Julius Cesars
Ou comme furent Alixandre et Daviz,
  Ne du sans de Salomon,
Ne que j'aye le beauté d'Absalon,
Qu'a nulle rien qui soit ne sui enclin
Fors que tousjours assez boire de vin.[42]

As long as a writer uses Absalom as a type of beauty with reference to a man, his beauty is thought of as masculine handsomeness; but whenever even as a type he is mentioned in connection with a lady's beauty or is listed with ladies because of his beauty, by that very fact it becomes less masculine and more feminine. Something happens to him comparable to what takes place when he is described in an *effictio* like that which Peter Riga made of him. For how masculine can his beauty be, if a lady is a composite of his head and Helen's bright face?

Chief d'Absalon, clere face d'Elayne,
Vers yeux rians, corps de gente façon.[43]

---

[40] Balade CCCCXXVII (*Personne ne peut être assuré du lendemain*), ll. 17-24 (*Oeuvres complètes de Eustache Deschamps*, [SATF] III, p. 233).

[41] Balade CCCCXXXII (*La dame fait l'éloge de son ami*), ll. 9-16 (Deschamps, III, p. 239).

[42] Balade DCCCXXVI (*Profession de foi de frère Bernard*), ll. 1-8 (Deschamps, IV, p. 347). The types may be met almost anywhere, for example, in the sermon to Lancelot in *La queste del Saint Graal* (ed. Albert Pauphilet [Les classiques français du moyen âge, no. 33], p. 125): '. . . et dist que li premiers peres avoit esté par fame deceuz, et Salemons li plus sages de toz les terriens, et Sansons Fortins li plus forz de toz homes, et Absalon li filz David li plus biax hons dou siecle;' or in the story of Bellerophon in the *Ovide moralisé* (ed. C. de Boer, II [Amsterdam, 1920], p. 134-135.

En sens sormonta Salomon.
Sormonta? Voire, ce fist, mon,
Et en force le fort Sanson:
Ce prouverai je par raison.
  (IV, 5918-5921)
Si fu plus biaux que Absalon.
Bellorophons l'apela l'on.
  (IV, 5932-5933)

[43] Balade CCCCLXVIII (*Autre portrait d'une dame*), ll. 1-2 (Deschamps, III, p. 286).

or if a lover implies that he sees Absalom's beauty when he sees his lady?

> Ne quier veoir la beauté d'Absalon
> . . . .
> Je voy assez, puis que je voy ma dame.[44]

In Chaucer's balade in the prologue to *The Legend of Good Women*, Absalom and Jonathan are the only men who along with nearly a score of women famous for beauty or fidelity are told to yield in any respect to 'my lady' (or Alceste):

> Hyd, Absolon, thy gilte tresses clere;
> Ester, ley thou thy meknesse al adown;
> Hyd, Jonathas, al thy frendly manere;
> Penalopee and Marcia Catoun,
> Make of youre wifhod no comparysoun;
> Hyde ye youre beautes, Ysoude and Eleyne:
> My lady cometh, that al this may disteyne.[45]

Absalom heads the list only because of the beauty of his hair, and Jonathan is here because he is the type of friendship and because Absalom is named; for both are characters which belong to the *Ubi sunt* catalogue, from which the balade is only a few steps removed. This last point can be illustrated by the analogue, Balade XLII of *Pièces attribuables à Deschamps*. In the first stanza the lover says that:

> Hester, Judith, Penelopé, Helaine,
> Sarre, Tisbé, Rebeque et Sarry,
> Lucresce, Yseult, Genevre, chastellaine
> La trés loyal nommée de Vergy,
> Rachel aussi, la dame de Fayel[46]

were never so precious a jewel of honor, generosity, good sense, beauty, and worth as is his very sweet lady. The next stanza continues the list with men, all of whom are named in the *Ubi sunt* roll of one poem or another:[47]

> Se d'Absalon la grant beauté humaine,
> De Salomon tout le senz sanz demy,
> D'Alixandre l'avoir et le demaine,
> Des .IX. preux eusse et leur prouesce aussy
> Et la force, syque se aucun appel
> Avoye, ne seroie bon ne bel
> Ne digne assez pour sy trés noble flour
> Con est ma trés doulce dame d'onnour.[48]

Although Absalom and Helen both are accepted types of beauty, Absalom has no competitors among the men as Helen does among the women. In addition, Absalom's great beauty or golden hair might be referred to in praises or descriptions of the beauty of a lady, whereas Helen's beauty or bright face ('that launched a thousand ships,' according to Marlowe) is never mentioned in the eulogy of a man.

At the beginning of this paper the question was asked: What was thought of

---

[44] Balade XLVII, ll. 1, 8 (Deschamps, X, *Pièces attribuables à Deschamps*, p. LIV).

[45] *The Legend of Good Women*, ll. 249-255 (Robinson, p. 574).

[46] Balade XLII, ll. 1-5 (Deschamps, X, p. XLIX).

[47] We have already seen that Lydgate included Absalom and Solomon in his biblical group in 'As a Mydsomer Rose;' here we can add:

> And where is Alisaundir that conqueryd al? 77
> The worthy nyne with al ther hih bobbaunce? 92

[48] Balade XLII, ll. 9-16 (Deschamps, X, p. XLIX-L).

Absalom's hair and beauty in the Middle Ages? We have found an answer in three parts: (1) to biblical commentators Absalom's hair signified some kind of excess, which might be further particularized as excess of the flesh, concupiscence of the eyes, and the pride of life; (2) some poets, familiar with the use of the *effictio* for the description of heroines, thought of Absalom's beauty as rather feminine; and (3) some other poets, influenced directly or indirectly by the catalogue of types in *Ubi sunt* poems, came to the same view, for Absalom was used as a type of beauty first with reference to men and then occasionally with reference to women. Chaucer therefore acted deliberately when he gave the parish clerk of *The Miller's Tale* the dubious honor of the name of Absolon, for none could have been more appropriate for the effeminate dandy which he created.

PAUL E. BEICHNER C.S.C.
University of Notre Dame.

IV. Siger of Brabant and an Averroistic Commentary on the *Metaphysics* in Cambridge, *Peterhouse Ms* 152.

In last year's volume of *Mediaeval Studies* I drew attention to the connection between the anonymous Questions on the *Metaphysics* contained in Cambrai *Ms* 486 and those of Siger of Brabant.[1] The similarities between them suggest that the Questions in the Cambrai manuscript are either another redaction of Siger's *Metaphysics* or the work of a writer who took his inspiration from them. Recently I have come upon another anonymous Commentary which bears an even greater resemblance to Siger's Questions. It is contained in Cambridge, Peterhouse *Ms* 152.[2] This codex contains an anonymous Commentary on the *Liber de Causis* and eight groups of Questions on the *Metaphysics*. Two of the latter are the works of St. Albert and Peter of Auvergne; the others are anonymous. The Questions which concern us here occupy folios 51^r-103^v. They form a Commentary on Books II-VII of the *Metaphysics*. The incipit is:

> Cum in omni scientia debeat aliquid esse suppositum cuius partes quaeruntur, imprimis videndum est quid ponendum sit pro supposito.

The work ends abruptly in the seventh Book with the statement: *De hoc septimo non plura.*

The Questions are written on vellum, two columns to the folio. They were written about the middle of the fourteenth century and are probably of English provenance. The writing is a neat bookhand with moderate abbreviations. There are occasional corrections in the margins and between the lines by the same hand.

The incipit of these Questions differs only slightly from that of the Questions in Munich *Ms Clm.* 9559 which bear Siger's name.[3] And the Questions in the two manuscripts, with some exceptions, run parallel to each other. Since Siger thought Theophrastus and not Aristotle was the author of Book I of the *Metaphysics*,[4] he neglects it almost completely in *M*. In its place there are eight Questions which form a sort of introduction to the work. We find the same introduction in *PH*. The manuscript begins with Book II, the first six Questions corresponding to the introduction of *M*. Only Questions 2 and 5 are missing. In Book II of *M* there are 19 Questions, of which 15 are in *PH* along with 9 other ones. Some of the latter, however, take the place of the *commenta* with which the Questions in *M* are interspersed. The Questions in *M* extend only to Book V inclusive. Those of *PH* go to Book VII, as do those in the Paris manuscript of Siger's *Metaphysics.*

---

[1] '*Ms* Cambrai 486: Another Redaction of the *Metaphysics* of Siger of Brabant?', *Mediaeval Studies* XI (1949), 224-232.

[2] Cf. Montague R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Peterhouse* (Cambridge, 1899). The manuscript is described on pp. 179-180.

[3] Cum in omni scientia debeat esse aliquid suppositum cuius partes et passiones per se quaeruntur, imprimis videndum est quid ponendum sit hic pro supposito. The Munich and Paris manuscripts of Siger's *Metaphysics* have been edited by C. Graiff, *Siger de Brabant, Questions sur la Métaphysique* (Philosophes médiévaux I, Louvain, 1948). The incipit of the Munich manuscript is found on p. 1. In this article the Munich manuscript will be designated *M*; Paris *P*; Cambrai *C*; Peterhouse *PH*.

[4] Cf. C. Graiff, *op. cit.*, p. 27, ll. 41-43.

The well-known Question on *esse* and *essentia* is present in *PH* as it is in *M*, *P* and *C*. In that manuscript it has the same structure and order of ideas as in the other manuscripts and presents the same Averroistic position on the problem. It is interesting to notice that in this Question the name of Albert the Great, which appears in the margin of *M* opposite his doctrine, is found in the text of *PH* (*Fuit etiam opinio Alberti . . .*).[5] In this manuscript Albert's name appears three times in the course of the argument. Immediately after, Thomas Aquinas is referred to by name (*Alia est hic opinio, et fuit Thomae de Aquino*), where his name appears in the margin of *M*. Like *M, PH* again refers to Thomas Aquinas in the reply to objection seven. The final objection is also identified by *PH* as based on St. Thomas' doctrine (*Ad aliud quod similiter fuit medium Thomae . . .*)[6]

The treatment of the problem of the eternity of the world in *PH* is also parallel to that in *M* and *P*. The argumentation and final solution, inspired by Averroes, are essentially the same. Where *M* has been censured with heavy strokes of ink which make the lines illegible, we can read in *PH* the proof of the eternity of matter and the impossibility of creation from the point of view of human reason.[7] The same doctrine is in *P*, but, as is generally the case with that manuscript, the treatment is very brief and concise. *PH* adds some interesting details, particularly in the precautionary statement, frequently found in Siger's works, that what is said here is contrary to Faith and the truth, but according to human reason.

> Est autem istud contra[8] quod supposimus verum esse. Nec sunt quaerendae rationes humanae in his quae fidei sunt, quia rationibus probari non possunt; sed secundum Avicennam in quinto tractatu suae *Metaphysicae*,[9] in credibilibus[10] quae fidei sunt credendum est testimonio Prophetae. Et credo quod sicut ea quae fidei sunt per rationem humanam probari non possunt, ita sunt aliquae rationes humanae ad opposita eorum quae per humanam rationem dissolvi non possunt. Propter hoc tamen in his quae fidei sunt non est errandum. Sed est alia vis[11] credendi ea quam per rationem humanam, ut dictum est. Propter etiam ea quae fidei sunt non est velanda intentio Philosophi, sicut quidam voluerunt, dicentes Philosophum non intendere mundum simpliciter esse aeterum, et alia huiusmodi. Via enim credendi intentionem Philosophi est ratio humana, et alia est via ad credendum quae sunt fidei, ut dictum est.[12]

In view of this evidence it is possible that *PH* is another manuscript of Siger's Questions on the *Metaphysics*. A more complete study of it is needed before its relations to the other known manuscripts can be determined with any certainty, but it appears to have close affinity to them. *M* and *P* are student reportations of Siger's lectures and have many of the faults of that type of manuscript.[13] *PH* is a polished work and appears to have been carefully edited. So it is possible that *PH* represents the definitive redaction of Siger's *Metaphysics*. The fact that it refers to the doctrines of St. Albert and St. Thomas in the past tense suggests that, at least in its present form, it was written after their death; at the earliest 1280. On the other hand, the fact that Thomas Aquinas is not referred to as a Saint suggests that it was composed before 1323, the year of his canonization.[14] Siger died between 1281 and 1284. Although his professional career seems to have ended with his condemnation in 1277, it is not impossible that he wrote the definitive redaction of his *Metaphysics* after that date. It is also possible that *PH* represents the work of a follower of Siger who took his master's lecture notes or those of students and put them in a more polished form. In any case it definitely belongs to the Sigerian group of manuscripts of the *Metaphysics* and deserves further study by students of Siger's philosophy and Latin Averroism.

---

[5] Fol. 52^{ra} (new numbering).

[6] Fol. 52^{vb}.

[7] Fol. 62^{vb}-63^{r}.

[8] *Add.* fidem, deleted.

[9] The text referred to seems to be: Oportet autem te scire quod promissio alia est quae fide recipitur, quia non est via ad probandum eam nisi credendo testimonio prophetae. Avicenna, *Meta.*, t. 9, c. 7 (ed. Venice, 1508, fol. 106^{v}).

[10] *Add.* non est his. Non est may be deleted.

[11] The context suggests *via.*

[12] Fol. 63^{ra}. Some phrases in *M* parallel to this text remain legible. Cf. Graiff, *op. cit.*, p. 139, ll. 34-43; also *P*, p. 140, ll. (19)-(26).

[13] Cf. C. Graiff, *op. cit.*, pp. x-xxi.

ARMAND MAURER C.S.B.
Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies.

---

[14] According to Msgr. Grabmann, after 1323 frater Thomas de Aquino was designated *sanctus* in the manuscripts. Cf. *Die Werke des H. Thomas von Aquin* (Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie und Theologie des Mittelalters XXII, Heft 1-2, Münster i. W. 1931), p. 119. Msgr. Grabmann refers here, however, to the methods of naming St. Thomas in the *Initia* of his own works. The rule may not be as exact in simple references to St. Thomas in other manuscripts.

Bibliographia Gotica

A Bibliography of Writings on the Gothic Language to the End of 1949

FERNAND MOSSÉ

FOREWORD

IN COMPILING this bibliography which endeavours to include every article or book dealing primarily with Gothic philology and grammar from the discovery of the *Codex Argenteus* to the end of 1949, my aim has been twofold; many items have been listed which are of value today only for the historian of one of the most fascinating chapters of Germanic philology; on the other hand, I hope that nothing important for the modern study of Gothic has been omitted.

The present bibliography attempts to be as comprehensive as possible, but at the same time it is meant to be a working bibliography—neither a Wulfila allusion book nor an *omnium gatherum* on Germanic philology a propos of Gothic. I beg the reader to remember that it is sometimes difficult to know exactly where to draw the line.

Three of the following chapters have been made purposely selective, namely those dealing with the history of the Goths, runic inscriptions and etymology. From the point of view of the linguist, the history of the Goths is only a side issue; exhaustive bibliographical data on Gothic runic inscriptions are easily to be found in H. Arntz, *Bibliographie der Runenkunde* (No. 16) and *Die einheimischen Runendenkmäler des Festlandes* (No. 322); finally it would have been a sheer waste of time to repeat the very complete, though indeed not absolutely exhaustive, references to etymological discussions to be found in the latest edition of Feist's *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der gotischen Sprache* (No. 1245), a work which is sure to be in the hands of those who may use the present bibliography. Therefore only what has been published on that subject since 1938 will be found here.

Within every section of this bibliography items have been classified according to their date of publication, unless statement is made to the contrary. The reader interested only in recent studies will therefore be able to skip over much antiquated matter.

In the international conditions of the past few years when this bibliography was compiled and at a time when many libraries are still more or less inaccessible, such a task could not have been performed without the assistance of many scholars. For their readiness in providing me with information required I especially wish to thank M. Maurice Pollet (London), Prof. B. Trnka (Prague), and E. Hirdman (Stockholm). I am indebted to the librarians and other officials of Paris and Strassbourg Universities as well as to those of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, for their unfailing courtesy and constant helpfulness. To previous bibliographers my obligations are obvious.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.. 239
I. BIBLIOGRAPHY........... 243
II. HISTORY OF GOTHIC PHILOLOGY............ 244
III. ORIGINS OF GOTHIC PHILOLOGY............ 245
IV. GENERAL SURVEYS....... 249
V. THE GOTHS
A. ETHNOGRAPHY............. 249
B. HISTORY
1. General Works......... 250
2. The Goths in Italy..... 250

3. The Goths in Eastern Europe 250
C. ORIGINAL HOME 251
D. THE GOTHS AND CHRISTIANISM 252
E. THE NAME OF THE GOTHS 252
VI. WULFILA
A. BIOGRAPHY
1. Life and Activities 253
2. Date of his Death 254
3. Wulfila's Seal 254
4. His Name 254
B. DOGMATIC POSITION 254
VII. COLLECTIVE EDITIONS 255
VIII THE GOTHIC BIBLE: THE CODEX ARGENTEUS
A. HISTORY 257
B. EDITIONS 257
C. CRITICAL STUDIES 258
D. SEPARATE EDITIONS 259
IX. THE GOTHIC BIBLE: THE PALIMPSESTS
A. THE CODEX CAROLINUS
1. Editions 260
2. Critical Studies 261
B. THE CODICES AMBROSIANI
1. Editions 260
2. Critical Studies 261
C. OTHER STUDIES ON THE EPISTLES 262
D. THE OLD TESTAMENT FRAGMENTS 262
E. THE GIESSEN MANUSCRIPT 262
X. THE GREEK ORIGINAL OF THE GOTHIC VERSION
A. RECONSTRUCTION 262
B. LATIN INFLUENCE 263
XI. THE *SKEIREINS*
A. EDITIONS 263
B. CRITICAL STUDIES 264
XII. RUNIC INSCRIPTIONS
A. COLLECTIVE WORKS 264
B. SPECIAL STUDIES
1. The Pietrcassa Ring 265
2. The Dahmsdorf Müncheberg Spearhead 266
3. Assumed Gothic Inscriptions 266
XIII. OTHER REMNANTS
A. THE CALENDAR 267
B. THE NAPLES AND AREZZO DEEDS 267
C. THE SALZBURG-VIENNA MANUSCRIPT 268
D. THE EPIGRAM 268
E. VERONA MANUSCRIPT MARGINAL NOTES 268
F. LOST MANUSCRIPTS 268
G. APPENDIX: MODERN COMPOSITIONS 268
XIV. TEXTUAL EMENDATIONS AND REMARKS
A. MATTHEW 268
B. JOHN 269
C. LUKE 269
D. MARK 270
E. THE EPISTLES 270
F. THE OLD TESTAMENT 270
G. OTHER MONUMENTS
1. The *Skeireins*. 2. The Arezzo Deed. 3. The Calendar 270
XV. CRIMEAN GOTHIC
A. BUSBECQ'S LETTERS: EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS 271
B. REPORTS AND STUDIES 271
XVI. GRAMMAR: GENERAL AND COMPARATIVE
A. COMPARATIVE STUDIES OF *IE* WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO GOTHIC
1. General Treatment 272
2. Special Studies 272
B. COMPARATIVE STUDIES OF THE GERMANIC LANGUAGES
1. General Treatment 273
2. Special Studies 274
C. COMPARATIVE GRAMMARS OF GOTHIC 274
D. PARADIGMS 275
XVII. GRAMMARS AND HANDBOOKS 275
APPENDIX: READERS AND PRIMERS 277
XVIII. COLLECTIVE ARTICLES ON GRAMMATICAL POINTS 279
XIX. ALPHABET, SCRIPT AND PRONUNCIATION
A. ALPHABET AND SCRIPT 280
B. PRONUNCIATION
1. General Studies. 2. Speccial Studies. 3. The Testimony of Other Languages 282
XX. PHONOLOGY
A. GENERAL
1. Collective and General Studies 283
2. Syllabification 283
3. Final Syllables 283
4. Foreign Words 284
B. VOCALISM 284
C. CONSONANTISM
1. Detailed Treatment 285
2. The Verschærfung 287
XXI. MORPHOLOGY
A. GENERAL STUDIES 288
B. NOUNS
1. Substantives
(*a*) *General*.—(*b*) *Gender*.—(*c*) *Vocalic Stems*.—(*d*) *u-Stems*.—(*e*) *Consonantal Stems* 288
2. The Cases
(*a*) *Singular Nominative*.—(*b*) *Genitive*.—(*c*) *Dative*.—(*d*) *Plural Nominative*.—(*e*) *Accusative*.—(*f*) *Genitive*.—(*g*) *Dative* 289
3. Foreign Substantives 290
4. Adjectives
(*a*) *General*.—(*b*) *The Cases*.—(*c*) *Comparatives*. 291
5. Adverbs 291
6. Numerals 292
7. Pronouns
(*a*) *Personal*.—(*b*) *Other Pronouns* 292

C. THE VERBS
1. Strong Verbs 293
2. Reduplicating Verbs 293
3. Weak Verbs 294
4. The Weak Preterite 294
5. Preterite-Present Verbs 295
6. Inflection 295
7. *hiri* 295
8. Participles 295
9. The Medio-Passive 295
XXII. WORD-FORMATION
A. GENERAL WORKS 295
B. DERIVATION
1. General Studies 296
2. Special Studies 296
C. COMPOSITION 298
D. APPENDIX: Formation of Indefinite Pronouns 299
XXIII. SYNTAX
A. GENERAL WORKS 299
B. THE ELEMENTS
1. The Substantive
(a) Use of the Cases, General.—(b) Genitive.—(c) Dative and Instrumental.—(d) Absolute Constructions.—(e) Cases after Prepositions 300
2. The Adjective
(a) Use of the Weak Form.—(b) Comparative.—(c) Adverbs 301
3. The Pronouns 301
4. The Definite Article 302
5. The Verb
(a) The Passive.— (b) Number.—(c) Reflexive Verbs.—(d) The Aspect.—(e) The Tenses.—(f) Moods: The Optative.—(g) Auxiliary Verbs.—(h) The Imperative.—(i) The Infinitive.—(j) The Participles.—(k) Rection. 302
C THE SIMPLE SENTENCE
1. Concord 305
2. Nominal Sentence 305
3. Negation 305
4. Interrogation 305
D. THE COMPLEX SENTENCE
1. General Studies 305
2. Coordination of Sentences 305
3. Subordination
(a) Adjective Clauses.—(b) Other Clauses: (α) Conjunctions. (β) Types of Subordinate Clauses. (γ) Mood of the Subordinate Clause 306
E. WORD ORDER 307
XXIV. TRANSLATION TECHNIQUE AND STYLE 308
XXV. DICTIONARIES
A. DICTIONARIES AND GLOSSARIES 309
B. OTHER LANGUAGE-GOTHIC GLOSSARIES AND LISTS 310
XXVI. ETYMOLOGY
A. ETYMOLOGICAL DICTIONARIES WITH GOTHIC REFERENCES 310
B. ETYMOLOGICAL DICTIONARIES OF GOTHIC PROPER 310
C. RECENT INVESTIGATIONS (SINCE 1938) 311
XXVII. VOCABULARY
A. GENERAL 312
B. CHRISTIAN TERMINOLOGY 312
C. SEMANTICS
1. Semantic Word-Groups 312
2. Separate Words 313
3. Synonyms 313
D. PROPER NAMES
1. Biblical Proper Names in Gothic 314
2. Gothic Proper Names 314
E. LOAN-WORDS
1. Foreign Loan-Words in Gothic
(a) Latin.—(b) Greek.—(c) Celtic.—(d) Other Sources 315
2. Gothic Loan-Words in Other Languages
(a) German. — (b) Romance. (α) General. (β) Italian. (γ) French. (δ) Spanish. (ε) Rumanian.—(c) Balto-Slavic.—(d) Greek.—(e) Albanian.—(f) Indian Languages.—(g) Finno-Ugrian.—(h) Other Languages 316
XXVIII. APPENDIX: Readers containing Gothic Excerpts 319
INDEX OF AUTHORS 321

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AaNO	Aarbøger for nordisk oldkyndighed og historie.
ABA	Abhandlungen der philologisch-historischen Klasse der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin (Abhandlungen der Berliner Akademie).
AfdA	Anzeiger für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur.
AGI(t)	Archivio Glottologico Italiano.
AJPh	American Journal of Philology.
ALG	Archiv für Literaturgeschichte.
AllgZ	Allgemeine Zeitung.
AllgLB	Allgemeines Literaturblatt.
ANF	Arkiv för nordisk filologi.
AnglBeibl	Beiblatt zur Anglia.

Anz f KdVorzeit	Anzeiger für Kunde der deutschen Vorzeit.
APA	Abhandlungen der Königlich preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse.
APhS	Acta Philologica Scandinavica.
ASA	Königlich sächsische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philologisch-historische Klasse, Abhandlungen.
ASG	Abhandlungen der philologisch-historischen Klasse der Königl. sächsischen Gesellschaft (*later* Akademie) der Wissenschaften.
ASNS	Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen u. Literaturen.
Ath	The Athenaeum.
ATSv	Antikvarisk Tidskrift för Sverige.
AUL	Acta Universitatis Lundensis.
BB	Bezzenberger Beiträge (zur Kunde der indogermanischen Sprachen).
Berl-Germ.	Germania, von der Berlinischen Gesellschaft für deutsche Sprache und Alterthumskunde hrsg. von Friedr. Heinr. von der Hagen.
BfGW	Blätter für das (bayrische) Gymnasialschulwesen.
BMB	Monatsberichte der Königl. preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin.
(B)phW	Berliner philologische Wochenschrift.
BSB	Sitzungsberichte der Königl. Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Phil.-hist. Klasse.
BSL	Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris.
CA	Codex Argenteus.
CMF	Casopis pro moderní filologii.
DLZ	Deutsche Literaturzeitung.
ESt	Englische Studien.
FF	Forschungen und Fortschritte.
FUF	Finnisch-ugrische Forschungen.
Geogr. Z	Geographische Zeitschrift.
Germ	Germania, Vierteljahrsschrift für deutsche Altertumskunde.
GGA	Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen.
GHÅ	Göteborgs Högskolas Årsskrift.
GR	The Germanic Review.
GRM	Germanisch-Romanische Monatsschrift.
HistVj sch	Historische Vierteljahrsschrift (*formerly* Deutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft.
Hist Zs	Historische Zeitschrift.
IF	Indogermanische Forschungen.
IFAnz	Anzeiger für indogermanische Sprach- und Altertumskunde.
Jb	Jahresbericht für germanische Sprachwissenschaft.
Jenaer LZ	Jenaer Literaturzeitung.
JEGPh	Journal of English and Germanic Philology.
KB	Leipziger Kritische Beiträge.
Kl Schr(ift)	Grimm, Jacob, *Kleinere Schriften,* Berlin, 1864-1890, 8 vols.

Lang	Language, Journal of the Linguistic Society of America.
LB	Literaturblatt (für germanische und romanische Philologie).
LB Frankf. Z	Literaturblatt der Frankfurter Zeitung.
LF	Listy Filologické.
Lit. Echo	Literarisches Echo.
LUÅ	Lunds Universitets Årsskrifter, Avd. I.
LZ	Literarisches Zentralblatt (*formerly* Centralblatt) für Deutschland.
LZg	Literaturzeitung (*later* Deutsche Literaturzeitung).
MAGW	Mitteilungen der anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien.
MDU	Monatshefte für deutschen Unterricht.
MLN	Modern Language Notes.
MLR	The Modern Language Review.
MPh	Modern Philology.
MSL	Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique de Paris.
Neoph	Neophilologus (Groningen).
NGWG	Nachrichten von der Königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaft und der Georgia Augusta Universität zu Göttingen.
NJkA	Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum, Geschichte und deutsche Literatur und für Pädagogik.
NkZ	Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift.
NM	Neuphilologische Mitteilungen (Helsinki).
NPhR	Neue Philologische Rundschau.
NordRev	Nordisk Revy.
NQ	Notes and Queries.
NTF	Nordisk Tidskrift for Filologi.
NTF (S)	Nordisk Tidskrift for Filologi (Sverige).
NT	Norsk Tidsskrift.
NTS	Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap.
NTVK	Nordisk Tidskrift för Vetenskap och Konst.
OCA	Om Codex Argenteus, see No. 223.
Paulys Real-Enz	Paulys Realenzyklopädie für klassische Altertumswissenschaft.
PBB	(Paul und Braunes Beiträge), Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur.
PFLUS	Publications de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Strasbourg.
PGrundr$^{1\,2\,3}$	Grundriss der germanischen Philologie hrsg. von Hermann Paul (1st [2nd, 3rd] edition).
PhQ	Philological Quarterly.
PMLA	Publications of the Modern Language Association of America.
PSB	(Prager Sitzungsberichte) Sitzungsberichte der Königlich böhmischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, Kl. für Philosophie, Geschichte und Philologie.
QF	Quellen und Forschungen zur Sprach- und Culturgeschichte der germanischen Völker.
RC	Revue Critique d'Histoire et de Littérature.
RG	Revue germanique.
RIGI	Rivista indo-greca italica, Naples.
RLg	Reallexikon der deutschen Literaturgeschichte.
RLGA	Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde (Hoops).

SBVS	Saga-Book of the Viking Society.
Spec	Speculum.
StN	Studia Neophilologica, Uppsala.
StPh	Studies in Philology.
Sv hist T	Svensk historisk Tidskrift.
TheolLB	Theologisches Literaturblatt.
TheolLZ	Theologische Literaturzeitung.
TNO	Tidskrift for Nordisk Oldkyndighed.
TNT	Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsche Taal- en Letterkunde.
UUÅ	Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift.
WJL	Wiener Jahrbücher der Literatur.
WKPh	Wochenschrift für klassische Philologie.
WMB	Wissenschaftliche Monatsblätter.
WS	Wörter und Sachen.
WSB	(Wiener Sitzungsberichte) Sitzungsberichte der phil.-hist. Kl. der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien.
Year's Work	The Year's Work in English Studies.
ZfdA	Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur.
ZfdB	Zeitschrift für deutsche Bildung.
ZfDk	Zeitschrift für Deutschkunde.
ZfdMa	Zeitschrift für deutsche Mundarten.
ZfdPh	Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie.
ZfdW	Zeitschrift für deutsche Wortforschung.
ZfGw	Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft.
ZfkTh	Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie.
ZfnW	Zeitschrift für neutestamentliche Wissenschaft.
ZföG	Zeitschrift für die österreichischen Gymnasien.
ZfrPh	Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie.
ZfRw	Zeitschrift für Religionswissenschaft.
ZfVK	Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde.
ZfwTh	Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie.
Z(O)NF	Zeitschrift für (Orts)Namenforschung.
ZvS (=*KZ*)	Kuhns Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung.

FESTSCHRIFTE

Mélanges offerts à M. Charles ANDLER, Publications de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Strasbourg, XXI (1924).

Beiträge zur germanischen Sprachwissenschaft. Festschrift für Otto BEHAGHEL, Heidelberg, 1924. (Germanische Bibliothek II, 15).

Festschrift Adalbert BEZZENBERGER zum 14. April 1921 dargebracht. Göttingen, 1921.

Aufsätze zur Sprach- und Literaturgeschichte, Wilhelm BRAUNE zum 20. Februar 1920 dargebracht. Dortmund, 1920.

Studies in Honor of Hermann COLLITZ presented by a group of his pupils and friends on the occasion of his 75th birthday. Baltimore, 1930.

G. O. CURME, *Volume of Linguistic Studies* edited on the occasion of his 70th birthday. Baltimore, 1930. (Language Monographs published by the Linguistic Society of America, VII).

Festschrift Friedrich KLUGE zum 70. Geburtstag am 21. Juni 1926. Tübingen, 1926.

K. KRETSCHMER, *Beiträge zur griechischen und lateinischen Sprachforschung.* Berlin, Wien, Leipzig, 1926.

Xenia Lideniana, Festskrift tillägnad Prof. Evald LIDÉN på hans femtiårsdag. Stockholm, 1912.

Festschrift Eugen MOGK zum 70. Geburtstag am 19. Juni 1924. Halle, 1924.

Beiträge zur Runenkunde und nordischen Sprachwissenschaft Gustav NECKEL zum 60. Geburtstag. Leipzig, 1938.

Mélanges Renier. Recueil de travaux publiés par l'Ecole pratique des Hautes Etudes (Section des Sciences historiques et philologiques) en mémoire de son président, Léon RENIER. Paris, 1887.

Mélanges de Linguistique offerts à M. Ferdinand de SAUSSURE. Paris, 1908.

Studien zur Sprach- und Kulturgeschichte. Festschrift zu Ehren von Josef SCHATZ. Hrsg. von H. Ammann. Innsbruck, 1948.

Donum natalicium Schrijnen. Versameling van opstellen door oudleerlingen en bevriende vakgenooten opgedragen aan Mgr. Dr. Jos. SCHRIJNEN. Nijmegen-Utrecht, 1929.

Beiträge zur Deutschkunde. Festschrift Theodor SIEBS zum 60. Geburtstag. Emden, 1922.

Philologische Studien. Festgabe für Eduard SIEVERS zum 1. Oktober 1896. Halle, 1896.

Germanica. Eduard SIEVERS zum 75. Geburtstag. Halle 1926.

Streitberg-Festgabe, herausgegeben von der Direktion der vereinigten sprachwissenschaftlichen Institute an der Universität zu Leipzig. Leipzig, 1924.

Mélanges linguistiques offerts à M. J. VENDRYES par ses amis et ses élèves. Paris, 1925.

Philologische Studien aus dem romanisch-germanischen Kulturkreis Karl VORETZSCH zum 60. Geburtstag. Halle, 1927.

Festschrift Ernst WINDISCH zum 70. Geburtstag am 4. September 1914. Leipzig, 1914.

Beiträge zur deutschen Philologie. Festgabe Julius ZACHER dargebracht. Halle, 1880.

I. BIBLIOGRAPHY

(Cf. also No. 205)

1. JULIUS, Nikolaus H., *Bibliotheca germano-glottica oder Versuch einer Literatur der Alterthümer, der Sprache und Völkerschaften der Reiche germanischen Ursprungs und germanischer Beymischung.* Hamburg, 1817, XXIV+100p.

2. EBERT, Friederich Albert, *Allgemeines bibliographisches Lexikon.* Leipzig, Bd. I 1821, Bd. II 1830.

[Col. 991-992: editions of Gothic texts from Junius to Mai (1814) and Büsching]

3. HOFFMAN [von Fallersleben], Heinrich, *Die deutsche Philologie im Grundriss.* Breslau, 1836, XXXXII+239p. 4°.

[Bibliography pp. 135-138. Gothische Grammatik. Anhang. Gothische Sprachdenkmäler]

4. HERRMANN, Carl Heinrich, *Bibliotheca Germanica. Verzeichnis der vom Jahre 1830 bis Ende 1875 in Deutschland erschienenen Schriften über altdeutsche Sprache und Literatur nebst verwandten Fächern.* Halle, 1878, 341p.

(Bibliotheca philologica, IV)

5. BARTSCH, Karl, 'Bibliographische Uebersicht der Erscheinungen auf dem Gebiete der deutschen [*later*: germanischen] Philologie,' *Germ* VIII (1863) ff.

[Continued by the following]

6. *Jahresbericht über die Erscheinungen auf dem Gebiete der germanischen Philologie,* hrsg. von der Gesellschaft für deutsche Philologie in Berlin. Leipzig, 1880 ff.

7. BECHSTEIN, R., 'Die germanische Philologie vorzugsweise in Deutschland seit 1870, Ein encyklopädischer Ueberblick,' Schmid, K.A., *Encyklopädie des gesamten Erziehungs- und Unterrichtswesens* VI (Leipzig, 1885) 21-56.

8. von BAHDER, Karl, *Die deutsche Philologie im Grundriss.* Paderborn, 1883, XVI+456p.
[Very complete]
Rev.: *LZ* 1882, 1669; *LB* 1883, 49-50; ZfdPh XV, 379-381; *LZg* III, 85-86; *Germ* XXVIII, 252; 384; *AfdA* IX, 1312; *Academy* No. 556, p. 473.

9. POTT, A. F., *Zur Literatur der Sprachenkunde Europas.* Leipzig, 1887, 193p.
(Internationale Zs. für allg. Sprachwissenschaft, Suppl. I)
Rev.: *BPhW* XVII (1889) 539-541.

10. LOEWE, R., 'Gotisch,' *Ergebnisse und Fortschritte der germanistischen Wissenschaft im letzten Vierteljahrhundert,* hrsg. von R. Bethge, Leipzig, 1902, 26-37.

11. MANACORDA, Guido, *Germania filologia.* Cremona, 1909, 281p.

12. *Indogermanisches Jahrbuch.* Strassburg (afterwards Berlin), 1914 ff.

13. BAESECKE, Georg, *Deutsche Philologie.* Gotha, 1919, XI+132p.
(Wissenschaftliche Forschungsberichte, III)
[Gothic: pp. 16-25]
Rev.: *JEGPh* XX (1921) 157-185.

14. LOEWENTHAL, Fritz, *Bibliographisches Handbuch zur deutschen Philologie.* Halle, 1932, XII+218p.

15. ARNTZ, Helmut, 'Urgermanisch, Gotisch und Nordisch,' *Festschr. Behaghel* (Heidelberg, 1934).
[Gothic: 62-65]

16. ARNTZ, Helmut, *Bibliographie der Runenkunde.* Leipzig, 1937, XVI+293p.

17. GUCHMAN, M. M., 'N. Ja. Marr i gotskij jazyk,' *Jazyk i myšlenie* VIII (1937) 279-288.
[N. Ja. Marr and the Gothic language; Marr's investigation of Gothic from the Japhetic viewpoint]

II. HISTORY OF GOTHIC PHILOLOGY

18. SCHRÖDER, J. H., 'Bidrag till moesogothiska literaturens historia,' *Svea, tidskrift för vetenskap och kunst,* IV (Uppsala, 1821) 91-108.

19. von RAUMER, Rudolf, *Geschichte der germanischen Philologie vorzugsweise in Deutschland.* München, 1870, XI+743p.
(Geschichte der Wissenschaften in Deutschland. Neuere Zeit, IX)

20. SCHULTE, J. W., 'Gothica Minora,' *ZfdA* XXIII (1879) 51-64, 318-336, XXIV (1880) 324-355.

21. PAUL, H., 'Geschichte der germanischen Philologie,' *P. Grundr* (Strassburg, 1889) I, 9-151.
Rev.: *DLZ* IX (1890) 281 f.; *LB* IV (1890) 133-135.

22. BURDACH, Konrad, 'Die nationale Aneignung der Bibel,' *Festschrift Mogk* (Halle, 1924) 1-14, 231-334. *Passim.*

23. STREITBERG, W., V. MICHELS und M. H. JELLINEK, *Germanisch. I, Allgemeiner Teil und Lautlehre.* Berlin and Leipzig, 1927-1936, VII+455p.
(Geschichte der idg. Sprachwissenschaft, II,2)

24. GRAPE, Anders, *Ihreska handskriftssamlingen i Uppsala Universitets bibliotek.* 2 vol. Uppsala, 1949, XXIV+797, VIII+797p.
[Vol. I contains a very detailed biography of J. Ihre; in vol. II, pp. 61-69, a catalogue of Ihre's manuscript papers dealing with Gothic.]

III. ORIGINS OF GOTHIC PHILOLOGY

25. GESNER, Conrad, *Mithridates. De differentiis lingvarum tum veterum tum quae hodie apud diversas nationes in toto orbe terrarum in usu sunt.* [Zurich] 1555, (2)+(156)p.

[De lingua germanica, 27-44b; speaks about the Goths, pp. 44 and 44b but gives no quotation from Gothic]

26. GOROPIUS, Johannes Becanus, *Origines Antwerpianae sive Cimmeriorum Becceselana novem libros complexa.* Antwerp, 1569, f°.

[Pp. 740-750: *The Lord's Prayer* in Gothic (black letters) with a literal commentary; p. 750: *Mk i,* 7 followed by brief explanations]

27. MEGISER, Hieronym., *Specimen quinquaginta diversarum atque inter se differentium linguarum et dialectorum; videlicet Oratio Dominica et quaedam alia ex sacris litteris, totidem linguis expressa.* Frankfurt, 1592 [another edition 1603].

[Quotes *The Lord's Prayer,* the *Hail Mary* and *Simeon's Canticle* in Gothic; cf. Massmann, *ZfdA* I (1841) 310]

28. VULCANIUS, Bonaventura, *De Literis et Lingua Getarum sive Gothorum Item de Notis Lombardicis Quibus accesserunt Specimina variarum Linguarum, quarum Indicem pagina quae Praefationem sequitur ostendit.* Leiden, 1597, (16)+110p.

[Pp. 1-30: the Gothic alphabet; 31-42: specimens of Gothic (*The Lord's Prayer, Magnificat, Nunc dimittis*) printed in wooden types inspired by the script of *CA*]

29. MEGISER, Hieronym., *Thesaurus polyglottus vel Dictionarium multilingue: ex quadragintis circiter tam veteris, quam novi . . .* Frankfurt, 1603.

[Quotes a few Gothic words]

30. EYNDIUS, Jacobus, *Chronici Zelandiae libri duo.* Middelburg, 1634, 4°.

[P. 97: the beginning of *The Lord's Prayer* in Gothic, *Mt* vi, 9-10 which, the author says, had been communicated him by J. SCALIGER, cf. *OCA* 130, No. 1]

31. MARSHALL, Thomas, *Observationes de versione Gothica.*

[Printed in No. 224, pp. 385-486]

32. VERELIUS, Olav, *Manuductio compendiosa ad Runographiam Scandicam antiqvam recte intelligendam.* Uppsala, 1675, (4)+76p. f°.

[Ch. II: De Ulphila, primo Runorum vel Gothicarum litterarum inventore]

33. KIRCHMAIER, Georg. Casp., (*Dissertatio philologica*) *de lingua vetustissima* (*vernacula*) *Europae Scytho-Celtica et Gothica.* Wittenberg, n.d. (1686), (6)+48p. 4°.

[Reprinted by J. Oelrich in No. 81, 3-64 with remarks of his own, 339-355; extracts published in German in *KB* VIII, 76-94 and in *Greifswaldische Kritische Versuche* I (1742) 154-175]

34. HICKES, George, *Institutiones Grammaticae Anglosaxonicae et Moesogothicae.* Oxford, 1689, (26)+114p. 4°.

[Reprinted in No. 37]

35. HEUPELIUS, G. F., *Dissertatio historico-philologica de Ulphila, seu versione IV evangelistarum Gothica.* Wittenberg, 1693.

[Reprinted in No. 61, Part I, 261-300, and in No. 62, Appendix, 3-14, with remarks by J. Oelrich, 15-20]

36. SOEDERMAN, Andreas, *Ulphilam Gothorum episcopum, sub Praesidio Johannis Esbergii, . . . dissertatione graduali publico examini modeste exhibet* A. S. Stockholm, 1700.

[On Wulfila's life and works. Reprinted in No. 62, Appendix, 21-48]

37. HICKES, George, *Linguarum veterum septentrionalium Thesaurus Grammatico-criticus et archaeologicus.* Oxford, 1705, 2 vol. f°.

[Contains reprint of No. 34, pp. 1-23. Gothic text printed from matrixes of the Junian font]

38. GRUTERUS, Janus, *Inscriptiones antiquae totius orbis Romani in corpus absolutissimum redactae . . . ingenio ac cura J. Gr., auspiciis Jos. Scaligeri ac M. Velseri.* Part I. Heidelberg, 1602, f°. [Another edition Amsterdam, 1707]

[Pp. CXLVI-CXLVIII: a few specimens in Gothic script, *Mt* vi, 7-16, *Mk* i, 1-18, with German rendering in parallel column]

39. WOTTON, W., *Linguarum veterum septentrionalium Thesauri grammatico-critici et archaeologici, auctore Geo. Hickesio, conspectus brevis per Gul. Wottonum. Cui ab antiquae literaturae septentrionalis cultore adjectae aliquot notae accedunt. Cum appendice ad notas, cum figuris.* London, 1708.

[Pp. 1-74: a long review of Hickes's Thesaurus]

40. TEN KATE, Lambert, *Gemeenschap tussen de Gottische spraeke en de Nederduytsche, vertoont. I. bij eenen Brief nopende deze Stoffe. II. bij eene Lijste der Gottische Woorden, gelijkludig met de onze, getrokken uyt het Gothicum Evangelium. III. bij de Voorbeelden der Gottische Declinatien en Conjugatien nieulijks in haere classes onderscheyden. Alles gerigt tot Ophelderinge van den ouden Grond van't Belgisch.* Amsterdam, 1710, 84p. 4°.

(I=pp. 3-20; II=pp. 20-44; III=pp. 50-84)

40*a*. van der HOEVEN, A., *Lambert ten Kate. De* 'Gemeenschap tussen de gottische spraeke en de nederduytsche' *en zijne onuitgegeven geshcriften over klankkunde en versbouw.* The Hague, 1896, VIII+176p.

(Utrecht Dissertation)

41. NEUHAUS, Samuel, *Dissertatio historico-critica de antiquissimis linguae Germanicae monumentis Gothico-Theotiscis, quam sub praesidio Christiani Schoettgenii . . . auct. Resp. S.N.* Stargard, 1723, 16p. 4°.

[Pp. 4-7: summary and description of Junius's edition. Reprinted in No. 61, II, 97-128; extract in *KB* I, 185-204]

42. WACHTER, Joh. Georg., 'Dissertatio de lingua Codicis Argentei,' *Miscellanea Berolinensia,* Continuatio I (1723) 40-47.

[On the etymology of Gothic words. Reprinted in *KB* I, 150-156 and in No. 62, Appendix, 61-70, with notes by J. Ihre]

43. BOLMSTEDT, Johan, *Dissertatio gradualis de antiquis Bibliorum versionibus . . .* Lund, 1733, (4)+44+(4)p. 4°.

[Pp. 36-38: De versione Gothica]

44. STUSS, Joh. Heinr., *Consilium de Thesauro Teutonico altero tertioque adornando, et versione IV Evangeliorum Gothica denuo edenda eruditis proponit* J.H.S. Gotha, 1733, 4°.

[Contains: X and XI the Gothic text of *Mt* vi, 24 with notes. Reprinted in No. 61, II, 129-174; extracts in *KB* II, 413-437]

45. BJÖRNER, Eric Julius, *Cogitationes critico-philologicae de orthographia linguae sviogothicae tam runica quam vulgari . . .* Stockholm, 1742, (32)+141+(3)p. 4°.

[Pp. 101-141 prints in parallel columns Gothic and Icelandic texts of *Mt* v-viii and *Lk* viii-ix]

46. IHRE, Joh., *Dissertatio de usu antiquitatum in illustranda lingua Svio-Gothica . . .* Stockholm, 1746, 28p. 4°.

[Quotes Gothic about the etymology of a few Swedish words]

47. IHRE, Joh., *Dissertatio philologica. Ulphilas illustratus.* Stockholm, n.d. (1752, 1755), (22)+58+(2)+(4)+59+198p. 4°.

[New readings and corrections in the Gospels of Matthew and Mark (1752), Luke and John (1755) with Latin renderings, exhaustive commentary and index; reprinted in No. 62, 1-96]

48. IHRE, Joh., *Specimen glossarii Ulphilani primum . . .* Uppsala, n.d. (1753). (6)+20p. 4°.

[Reprinted in No. 62, 273 ff. *A* to *atdriusandei,* preface 298-301]

49. IHRE, Joh., *Specimen glossarii Ulphilani secundum . . .* Uppsala, n.d. (1753), (8)+21–52p. 4°.

[Same remarks; preface reprinted 301-308]

50. IHRE, Joh., *Specimen glossarii Ulphilani tertium . . .* Uppsala, n.d. (1753), (8)+51–74p. 4°.

[Same remarks; preface reprinted 309-312]

51. IHRE, Joh., *Dissertatio academica de lingua codicis argentei.* Uppsala, n.d. (1754), (6)+26p. 1 plate.

[Sundry remarks and polemics; reprinted in No. 62, 257-272]

52. IHRE, Joh., *Dissertatio philologica de reliquiis linguae geticae . . .* Uppsala, n.d. (1758), (2)+24p. 4°.

[Study of non-Wulfilian Gothic texts; Crimean Gothic remains; reprinted in No. 65, 75-153, in a Dutch translation]

53. SOTBERG, Erik Bref, *Den Swenska Mercurius,* 1759, pp. 121-131.

[On the Wolfenbüttel fragments published by Knittel, cf. No. 258 and Ihre's projected edition, cf. No. 259]

54. GORDON, Joannis, *Specimen animadversionum criticarum in priscam evangeliorum versionem Gothicam item novae ejusdem versionis interpretationis latinae.* Edinburgh, 1760.

[Notes on certain passages of Matthew and interpretations of several passages in the gospels, with remarks by Ihre. Printed in No. 60, 134-154; reprinted in No. 62, Appendix, 49-60]

55. IHRE, Joh., *Fragmenta versionis Ulphilanae, continentia particulas aliquot epistolae Pauli ad Romanos, haud pridem ex codice rescripto Bibliothecae Guelferbytanae eruta, et a Francisco Antonio Knittel, Archidiacono, edita, nunc cum aliquot annotationibus typis reddita.* 1763.

[Important observations on the Gothic text of the *Epistle to the Romans* published the year before by Knittel, see No. 258. Reprinted in No. 62, 97-137. and in Dutch, No. 65, 307-371]

56. IHRE, Joh., *Dissertatio de originibus l(inguae) Latinae & Graecae, inter Moesogothos reperiundis.* 1763.

[On the (Latin and Greek) origin (=etymology) of some Gothic words in the Caroline codex. Printed in No. 55, 48-62; reprinted in No. 62, 137-148]

57. IHRE, Joh., *Dissertatio de verbis Moesogothorum.* 1763.

[Morphology of Gothic verbs with examples and index. Printed in No. 55, 62-90 and in No. 62, 149-182]

58. SEMLER, Joh. Salomo, *Versuch einer Erläuterung einer alten Spur einer gothischen Uebersetzung.* Halle, 1764, 4°.

[Points out the outward resemblance of the *CA* with a "barbarisch lateinische Stelle" which comes at the end of *Cod.* Brixianus]

59. (IHRE), *Dissertatio gradualis de Gothis Graeciae aboriginibus.* Uppsala. n.d. (1767), 10p. 4°.

[On the common origin of Goths and Greeks]

60. IHRE, Joh., *Analecta Ulphilana, duabus comprehensa dissertationibus, prima De Codice Argenteo & litteratura gothica, altera De Moesogothorum nominibus substantivis & adjectivis. Mantissiae loco accedunt Joannis Gordon Specimen animadversionum criticarum in priscam euangeliorum versionem gothicam, nec non* Joh. G. Wachteri *Dissertatio de lingua Codicis Argentei. Additis utrique Annotationibus.* Uppsala, 1769, 169p. 4°.

[Reprinted in No. 62, 183-256]

61. OELRICHS, Joan., *Germaniae litteratae opuscula historico-philologico-theologica emendatius et auctius recusa edidit* J. O. Bremen, 1772-1774, 2 vol., 531 and 369p.

[Reprints vol. I, 261-300 No. 35, with, pp. 333-531, remarks by the editor; vol. II, 3-64, No. 33; 97-128, No. 41; 129-174, No. 44; 339-355, observations on Kirchmaier's treatise]

62. IHRE, Joh., Johannis ab Ihre . . . *Scripta versionem Ulphilanam et linguam Moeso-Gothicam illustrantia, ab ipso doctissimo auctore emendata, novisque accessionibus aucta, iam vero ob praestantiam et raritatem collecta, et cum aliis scriptis similis argumenti edita ab* Antonio Friderico Büsching . . . Berlin, 1773, (4)+312+70+(2)p.4°.

[A privately printed collection of treatises published between 1750 and 1770 containing Nos. 35, 36, 42, 48, 51, 54-57 and 60]

Rev.: *Hirts Orientalische und exegetische Bibliothek*, Bd. VII, 157-172; *Lemgoer, Auserlesene Bibliothek der neuesten deutschen Litteratur*, Bd. VII (1775); (Ihre's reply to that review was published in Schinmeier No. 64, Part IV, Appendix 2, pp. 104-111); *Nya lärda Tidningar* I (Stockh., 1774), 289-292, 305-306, 329-331, 369-371 (E. Sotberg).

63. MICHAELER, Carl, *Tabulae parallelae antiquissimorum teutonicae linguae dialectorum Moesogothicae, Franco-Theotiscae, Anglosaxonicae et Islandicae subjectis monumentis selectissimis.* Innsbruck, 1776.

[Excerpts from Hickes's Grammar, No. 34; pp. 33-41: quotations from the Gothic gospels taken from Gruter, No. 38]

64. SCHINMEIER, Joh. Adolph, *Versuch einer vollständigen Geschichte der schwedischen Bibelübersetzungen und Ausgaben* . . . Flensburg and Leipzig, 1777-1782, 4°.

[Part IV, Appendix 2 contains a good history of the *CA* and reprints Ihre's article mentioned above No. 62]

65. STEENWINKEL, *Taalkundige Mengelingen.* Leiden, 1781-1785, 5 fasc. 460p.

[Contents: Taalkundige Verhandeling over de overblijfsels der Getische Taal, door Andr. Malmenius uit het Latijn vertaald, 73-153; Verhandeling over de Gemeenschap der Gotische en Nederduitsche Taal, 217-270; Woordelijke Vertaling uit het M.G. in het Nederduitsche van eenige Hooftstukken van den Brief van Paulus aan de Romeinen, 272-293; Het 'Onze Vader', 294-297; De Lofzang van Maria, 298-303; De Lofzang van Simeon, 304-305; Aanmerkingen over eenige Moesogothische Woorden in den Brief van Paulus aan de Romeinen voorkommende, 307-371; Aanmerkingen en Uitleggingen eeniger Woorden op het Onze Vader, door eenen onbekenden Schrijver, 373-386; Aanmerkingen over zommige moesogothische Woorden in den Lofzang van Maria en Simeon, 387-408; Aanmerkingen over eenige oude Nederduitsche Woorden welke in den Brief van Paulus aan de Romeinen uit het moesogothisch gebruikt sijn, 411-433]

66. FANT, E. M., 'De Codice Ulphilano coenobii werdinensis, aliisque veteris versionis s. bibliorum gothicae vestigiis observationes,' *Nova acta regiae societatis scientiarum Upsaliensis* VI (1799) 320-327.

[A review of publications on Gothic]

XVIIIth Century Dictionaries in which Gothic is Quoted

68. TEN KATE, Lambert, *Aanledning tot de kennisse van het verhevene Deel der Nederduitsche Sprake.* Amsterdam, 1723, 2 vol. 4°.

69. SCHILTER, Joh., *Thesaurus antiquitatum Teutonicarum.* Ulm, 1728, 3 vol. f°.

70. WACHTER, Joh. Georg., *Glossarium Germanicum, continens origines & antiquitates totius linguae germanicae et omnium pene vocabulorum vigentium et desitorum.* Leipzig, 1737, 2 vol. f°.

71. IHRE, Joh., *Glossarium suiogothicum in quo tam hodierna usu frequentate vocabula, quam in legum patriarum tabulis aliisque aevi medii scriptis obvia explicantur, et ex dialectis cognatis, Moesogothica, anglo-saxonica, alemannica, islandica ceterisque gothicae et celticae originis illustrantur.* Uppsala, 1769, f°.
[Swedish dictionary with etymologies]

IV. GENERAL SURVEYS

72. RASZMANN, A., 'Gothische Sprache und Literatur,' *Ersch und Grubers Encyklopädie,* I. Sect., 75. Theil, Leipzig, 1862, 294-348.

73. MEYER, Leo, 'Ueber die gotische Sprache,' *Sitzungsberichte der gelehrten estnischen Gesellschaft zu Dorpat* (1860) 3-25.
[Rapid sketch of the question]

74. RAMSAY, W. M. and C. D., *The Gothic Handbook; being an Introduction to the History of the Goths and to the Study of the Gothic Tongue.* London, 1889, 141p.
Rev.: *Ath* 3236, 595; *MLN* V, 2 (1890) 96-98.

75. SIEVERS, E., 'Gotische Litteratur,' *PGrundr* II¹ (1889) 65-70.

76. STREITBERG, W., 'Gotische Literatur,' *PGrundr* II² (1901) 1-28.

77. CHADWICK, Hector Munroe, 'Gothic Language,' *Enc. Br.* XII (1911) col. 275*b*-276*b* (14th ed., X, 551-552.)

78. SCHÜTTE, G., 'Gotisk Sprog og Litteratur,' *Salmonsens Konversations Leksikon,* 2nd ed., Copenhagen, 1920, IX, col. 918*b*-919*b*.

79. de BOOR, H., 'Gotische Literatur,' *RLdLG*, Berlin, 1925-1926, I, 456-456.

80. HESSELMAN, Bengt, 'Gotiska språket,' *Nordisk Familjebok,* 3rd ed., Stockholm, 1928, VIII, col. 865-866.

81. PLATE, Rud., *Geschichte der gotischen Literatur.* Berlin and Bonn, 1931, 83p.
(Dümmlers philol. Hilfsbücher)
Rev.: *NM* XXXIII (1932) 243; *LB* LIV (1933) 291-292; *GR* XIX (1931) 309.

82. HELLQUIST, Elof, 'Gotiska språket,' *Svensk Uppslagsbok*, Malmö, XI, (1949), 974-975.

V. THE GOTHS

A. ETHNOGRAPHY

83. ZEUSS, K., *Die Deutschen und die Nachbarstämme.* Munich, 1837, VIII+780p.
[Reprinted Göttingen, 1904 and Heidelberg, 1925]

84. FÖRSTEMANN, Ernst, *Geschichte des deutschen Sprachstammes.* Nordhausen, 1875, 2 Bde.
[Bd II, 4. Buch: Die Gothen, pp. 1-170]

85. KOSSINNA, G., 'Die ethnologische Stellung der Ostgermanen,' *IF* VII (1896) 276-312.

86. MUCH, R., 'Goten und Ingvaeonen,' *PBB* XVII (1899) 178-221.

87. LOEWE, R., *Die ethnische und sprachliche Gliederung der Germanen.* Halle, 1899, 60p.
(Festschrift der Gesellschaft für deutsche Philologie zu Berlin)
Rev.: *Museum* VII (1899) 111 f.; *ASNS* CIII (1899) 161; *AfdA* XXVII 113 ff.; *ZfdPh* XXXII 502 ff.; *IFAnz* XII 98 ff.; *LB* (1901) 97 ff.

88. BREMER, O., 'Ethnographie der germanischen Stämme,' *PGrundr*² III 734-960.
[Especially pp. 815-827]

Rev.: *AfdA* XXVIII (1902) 4-18 (G. Schütte).

89. MUCH, R., *Deutsche Stammeskunde.* 2nd ed. Berlin-Leipzig, 1905; 3rd ed. 1920
(Sammlung Göschen, No. 126)

90. SCHMIDT, L., *Allgemeine Geschichte der germanischen Völker bis zur Mitte des sechsten Jahrhunderts.* Munich and Berlin, 1909, XIV+244p.
[The Goths: pp. 83-130]

91. FREEMAN, Edg. Aug., 'Goths,' *Enc.* Br. XII (1911) col. 272*b*-275*b*.

92. MUCH, R., 'Goten,' *RLGA* II (1915) 304-306.

93. SCHÖNFELD, M., 'Goti,' *Paulys Real-Enz.*, Suppl. III (1918) col. 797-845.
Rev.: *IFAnz* XL (1922) 32-41 (von Grienberger).

94. SCHÜTTE, G., 'Goter,' 'Gotogermaner,' *Salmonsens Konversations Leksikon,* 2nd ed., Copenhagen, 1920, IX, col. 913*a*-915*a;* 921*a*-923*b*.

95. SCHÜTTE, G., *Our Forefathers, The Gothonic Nations.* Cambridge, vol. I, 1929; vol. II, 1933
[Especially vol. II, 1-62]

96. BOETHIUS, S. J., 'Goter,' *Nordisk Familjebok* VIII, 3rd ed., Stockholm, 1928, col. 861.

B. HISTORY*

1) General Works

97. BRADLEY, Henry, *The Goths, from the earliest Times to the End of the Gothic Dominion in Spain.* London, 1898, XX+376p.

98. SCHMIDT, L., *Die Geschichte der Ostgermanen.* Berlin, 1910, V+493p. 2 maps; 2nd ed., Munich, 1934, VII+648p. 2 maps.
(Geschichte der deutschen Stämme bis zum Ausgange der Völkerwanderung. 1. Abt.)
Rev.: *AfdA* XXVI (1913) 113-117 (R. Loewe); *ANF* XXXVI (1920) 170 (G. Schütte).

99. SCHMIDT, L., 'Die letzten Ostgoten,' *ABA* (1943) No. 10. 15p. 4°.

2) The Goths in Italy

100. MANSO, Joh. Casp. Friedr., *Geschichte des ostgotischen Reiches in Italien.* Breslau, 1824, XIV+491p.

101. RAPPAPORT, R., *Die Einfälle der Goten in das römische Reich bis auf Konstantin.* Leipzig, 1900, 138p.
Rev.: *DLZ* (1900) 2154 f.; *LZ* (1900) 1005 f.; *ZföG* LI (1900) 8-9; *BphW* XX (1900) 433 f.; *WKPh* XVII (1900) 96 f.; *AfdA* (1901) 199 f.; *Hist Vjschr* III (1901) 528 f.; *Hist Zs* LXXXV 483 f.

102. HODGKIN, Thomas, *Italy and her Invaders. 376-476.* Oxford, 1880, 2 vol.
[Vol. 1: The Visigothic Invasion; vol. 2: The Hunnish and Vandal Invasion]

103. VILLARI, P., *Le invasioni barbariche in Italia.* Milan, 1901.

3) The Goths in Eastern Europe

104. HERSCHEL, 'Die tetraxitischen Gothen,' *Anz. f. Kunde d. deutschen Vorzeit,* Neue Folge VI (1859) col. 13-16, 93-95.

105. BRUUN, Th., 'The Goths of the Black Sea and the Traces of their Long Stay in Southern Russia,' *Chernomorye* II (Odessa, 1880).
[In Russian]

106. TOMASCHEK, K., *Die Goten in Taurien.* Vienna, 1881, 75p.
(Ethnologische Forschungen über Ost-Europa und Nord-Asien. I)
Rev. *LZg* (1881) 1116-1117.

---

* A selective bibliography.

107. BRAUN, F., *Die letzten Schicksale der Krimgoten.* St. Petersburg, 1890, 88p.

Rev.: *LB* (1891) 1; *LZg* XII (1891) 419; *AfdA* XVII (1891) 167 f.

108. LOEWE, R., *Die Reste der Germanen am Schwarzen Meere. Eine ethnologische Untersuchung.* Halle, 1896, XII+271p.

Rev.: *Museum* IV (1896); *Hist Zs* LXXIX (1897) 88 f.; *ZfdPh* XXX (1897) 121-136; *LZ* (1897) 1671 f.; *AfdA* XXIII (1897) 121-129; *DLZ* (1897) 1942-1945; *Globus* LXX (1897) 293-297; *Revue des quest. scient.* 2me série IX (1897) 598-606; *Hist Zs* N.F. XLIII (1897) 80-90; *ZfVK* VI (1897) 449-451; *NTF* (1897) 136-145; *ZföG* XLIX (1898) 246-251; *IFAnz* IX (1898) 193-209; *SvhistT* XVIII (1898) 32-35; *Di antichita classica* (1898) 54 f.; *Egyetemes philol. Közlöny* (1898) 933-940; *Engl. Hist. Rev.* XIV (1899) 812.

109. USPENSKY, Th. J., 'Vopros o Gotakh,' *Trudy 9. arkheologičeskogo s'jezda* (Moscow, 1897) II, 96-97.

[On the Goths in Russia; communication to the 9th Congress of Archaeology in Vilna, 1893]

110. ASPELIN, 'Die Spuren des Einflusses der Gothen auf die Kultur Nordrusslands,' *Trudy 8. arkheologičeskogo s'jezda* (Moscow, 1897) III, 55.

111. BRAUER, Th., 'Razyskanija v oblasti Goto-slavianskich otnašeny,' (Untersuchungen auf dem Gebiete der gotisch-slavischen Beziehungen) I. Die Goten und ihre Nachbarn vor dem 5. Jh. Erste Periode: Die Goten an der Weichsel. *St. Petersburg, Akad.* XX (1898) 392p.

(Sbornik otd. russk. jaz. akad., 64 No. 12)

Rev.: *AslPh* XXII (1901) 237 ff.; *IFAnz* XII (1901) 282; *FUF*, Anz I (1901) 214-216.

112. GOETZE, A., 'Die Krimgoten,' *PBB* XXVI (1901) 313-315.

113. LOEWE, R., 'Jakob Ziegler über die Geschichte der Krimgoten,' *PBB* XXVI (1901) 561-568.

114. EBERT, Max, *Südrussland im Altertum.* Bonn and Leipzig, 1921, XIII+436p.

(Bücherei der Kultur und Geschichte, 12)

115. PATSCH, Carl, 'Beiträge zur Völkerkunde von Südosteuropa,' III. Die Völkerbewegung an der unteren Donau in der Zeit von Diokletian bis Heraklius. 1. Bis zur Abwanderung der Goten und Taifalen aus Transdanuvien. *WSB* CCVIII/2 (1928) 68p. 1 map.

116. KELEMINA, J., 'Goti na Balkanu,' *Casopis za zgodovino in narodopisje* XXVII (1932) 121-136.

[The Goths in the Balkans; with German summary]

117. LA BAUME, Wolfg., *Urgeschichte der Ostgermanen.* Danzig, 1934, 167p. num. illustr.

(Ostland-Forschungen, 5)

[Prehistoric finds]

118. VASILIEV, Alex. Alexandrovich, *The Goths in the Crimea.* Cambridge (Mass), 1936, X+292p. 1 map.

(Academy Monographs, 11)

119. SCHINDLER, R., *Die Besiedlungsgeschichte der Goten und Gepiden im unteren Weichselraum auf Grund der Tongefässe.* Leipzig, 1940.

120. ULRICI, Alb., *Gothen, Aisten und Slaven an der Ostsee, ein Beitrag zur Bestimmung ihrer Wohnsitze in den ältesten Zeiten.* Eilenburg, 13p.

(Progr.)

C. ORIGINAL HOME

121. BECKERS, W. J., 'Vom germanischen Norden in seiner frühesten geschichtlichen Zeit: Teutonen, Goten, Kimbern,' *Geogr. Z.* XVIII (1912) 502-515.

Rev.: *Deutsche Erde* XII (1913) 69-70.

122. FLIGIER, 'Die Ursitze der Goten,' *MAGW* IX (1879) 15-17.

123. KOCK, Axel, 'Är Skåne de germanska folkens urhem?' *SvhistT* XXV (1905) 1-23.

124. OXENSTIERNA, Eric, 'Die Heimat der Goten,' *FF* XVII (1942) 299-301.

D. THE GOTHS AND CHRISTIANISM

125. KRAFFT, W. L., *Die Kirchengeschichte der deutschen Völker, I.* Berlin, 1854.

126. MERIVALE, Ch., *Conversion of the West. The continental Teutons.* London, 1879, 180p. with map.
[Ch. III: The Goths]

127. BELIKOV, D., *Christianity among the Goths.* Kazan, 1887.
[In Russian]

128. GWATKIN, H. M., *Studies in Arianism.* 2nd ed., London, 1900.

129. ZEILLER, J., 'Les églises ariennes de Rome à l'époque de la domination gothique,' *Mél. d'archéol. et d'hist. p. par l'Ecole franç. de Rome* XXIV (1904) 17 ff.

130. ZEILLER, J., 'Etude sur l'arianisme en Italie à l'époque ostrogothique et à l'époque lombarde,' *Mél. d'archéol. et d'hist. p. par l'Ecole franç. de Rome* XXV (1905) 127 ff.

131. DRÄSEKE, J., 'Die Goten Sunja und Frithila. Praefatio zum Codex Brixianus,' *ZfwTh* L (1909) 107-117.

132. MANSION, J., 'De acta S. Sabae en de geschiedenis van het christendom bij de Goten,' *Handelingen van het 7. nederl. filol. Kongres* (Groningen, 1913) 123-125.

133. MANSION, J., 'Les origines du christianisme chez les Gots,' *Analecta Bollandiana* XXXIII (1914) 7-30.

134. ZEILLER, J., *Les origines chrétiennes dans les provinces danubiennes.* Paris, 1918, IV+667p.
(Bibliothèque Ecoles franç. Athènes et Rome, 12)
[Part III: pp. 407-588: The Goths, with pretty full bibliography]

135. JELLINEK, M. H., 'Die angeblichen Beziehungen der gotischen zur kappadokischen Kirche,' *Festschrift Kluge* (Tübingen, 1926) 61-63.

136. MANSION, J., 'A propos des chrétientés de Gothie,' *Analecta Bollandiana* XLVI (1928) 365-366.
[Refutation of the preceding item]

137. de BRUYNE, Donatien, 'La lettre de Jérôme à Sunnia et Fretela sur le Psautier,' *ZfnW* (1929) 1-3.

E. THE NAME OF THE GOTHS

138. MASSMANN, H. F., ΤῸ ΓΟΤΘΙΚΌΝ *ZfdA* I (1841) 336-373.

139. LOTTNER, C., 'Der Name der Goten,' *ZvS* V (1856) 153-155.

140. ERDMANN, Axel, 'Om folknamnen Götar och Goter,' *ATSv* (1891).
[Also offprint, Stockholm, 1891, 34p.]

141. COLLITZ, H., 'Der Name der Goten bei Griechen und Römern,' *JEGPh* I (1897) 220-238.

142. WEHRLE, Hugo, 'Ostgoten und Westgoten,' *ZfdW* VIII (1907) 334-337.

143. FRANTZEN, J. A., 'Die Namen der Goten,' *ZvS* XLII (1909) 330-331.

144. ANSCOMBE, A., 'Gutþiuda: the Folkname of the Goths,' *NQ* 11th ser. VIII (1913) 302-303.

145. JACOBSOHN, H., 'Altgermanisches,' *ZfdA* LXVI (1929) 226-232.

146. JACOBSOHN, H., 'Nachtrag zu 'Altgermanisches',' *ZfdA* LXVII (1930) 145-147.

147. KARSTEN, T. E., 'Der Gotenname und die germanische Lautverschiebung,' *ZfdA* LXVII (1930) 253-256.

148. VASMER, Max, 'Ein vandalischer Name der Goten,' *StN* XV (1942-43) 132-134.

VI. WULFILA

A. BIOGRAPHY

1) Life and activities

(Cf. also Nos. 81 and 556)

149. (ANON.), 'Ulphilas,' *Stockholmsposten* No. 97, 27 April 1821, 4p.
["en förträfflig uppsats" Schröder, *Svea* IV, 108, No. 7]

150. MASSMANN, H. F., 'Uebersetzte Ulfila würklich das ganze alte Testament?' *ZfdA* I (1841) 296-305.

151. BESSELL, W., *Ueber das Leben des Ulfilas und die Bekehrung der Gothen zum Christenthum.* Göttingen, 1860, 120p.
[Critical study of Auxentius' work on Wulfila]
Rev.: *GGA* (1861) I, 211.

152. WÖLFFLIN, E., 'Joca monachorum, ein Beitrag zur mittelalterlichen Räthsellitteratur,' *BMB* (1872) 106-118.
[Prints Schlettstadt *Ms* 1093 in which occur the words: Qui primus litteras guticas invenit? Goulphyla Gothorum episcopus]

153. KIRCHNER, C., 'Ulfilas,' *Die Grenzboten* (1875) 1-21.

154. (ANON.), 'Ulfilas, the apostle of the Goths,' *Edinb. Review* (1877) 361-395.

155. KIRCHNER, C., *Die Abstammung des Ulfilas.* Chemnitz, 1879, 26p. (Progr.)
Rev.: *ASNS* 63, 102.

156. KAUFMANN, G., 'Kritische Untersuchung der Quellen zur Geschichte Ulfilas,' *ZfdA* XXVII (1883) 193-261.
[A critical study of the sources on Wulfila's life]

157. SCOTT, Ch. A. A., *Ulfilas, Apostle of the Goths, together with an Account of the Gothic Churches and their Decline.* Cambridge, 1885, XIV+239p.
Rev.: *Theol. LZ* (1886) 76 f.; *Academy* XVI (1886) Jan.; *Ath* XIX (1886) June.

158. KRAFFT, W., 'Ulfila,' *Realenz. f. protest. Theol.*² XVI (1886) 140-146.

159. SCOTT, Ch. A. A., 'Ulfilas,' *Enc. Br.* XXIII (1888) 719-720.
[And foll. eds.]

160. HOPKINS, A. G., 'Ulfilas and the Conversion of the Goths,' *The Andover Rev.* (1892) 162-179.

161. VOGT, Fr., 'Wulfila,' *Allg. deutsche Biogr.* XLIV (1898) 270-287.

162. ERBICEANU, C., *Ulfila, viata si doctrina lui* etc. Bucarest, 1898
[Offprint from *Biserica Ortodoxa Românа*]
Rev.: *IFAnz* XII (1901) 281 f.

163. STREITBERG, W., 'Wulfila,' *PGrundr*² II, 1, 1901, pp. 4-28.

164. STREITBERG, W., 'Die Nachrichten über Wulfila,' in No. 212, I, XIII-XXV.
[Reprint of all classical sources]

165. BÖHMER-ROMUNDT, H., 'Wulfila,' *Realenz. f. protest. Theol.*³ XXI (1908) 548-558.

166. LEUTHOLD, H., 'Ulfila. Eine chronologische Abhandlung,' *PBB* XXXIX (1914) 376-390.

[Uncritical]

167. STREITBERG, W., 'Wulfila,' *RLGA* IV (1919) 565-572.

168. WESSÉN, E., 'Wulfila,' *Nordisk Familjebok*^{3} XX (Stockholm, 1928) col. 787.

169. BOGER, Margot, *Volksführer Ulfilas.* Berlin, 1938, 224p.

[Novel on Wulfila! Cf. H. Arntz, *Runenberichte* I, 110-111]

170. SCHWENTNER, E., 'Agrippa von Nettesheim über Ulfilas,' *WuS* XXI (1940) 227-228.

[That Wulfila was famed in Cologne as early as 1530 as the inventor of the Gothic alphabet]

2) Date of his death

171. SIEVERS, E., 'Das Todesjahr des Wulfila,' *PBB* XX (1896) 302-322.

172. MARTIN, E., 'Wulfilas Todesjahr,' *ZfdA* XL (1896) 223-224.

173. SIEVERS, E., 'Nochmals das Todesjahr des Wulfila,' *PBB* XXI (1896) 247-251.

174. STREITBERG, W., 'Zum Todesjahr Wulfilas,' *PBB* XXII (1897) 567-570.

175. JOSTES, F., 'Das Todesjahr des Ulfilas und der Uebertritt der Goten zum Arianismus,' *PBB* XXII (1897) 158-187.

176. MÜLLER, C., 'Ulfilas Ende,' *ZfdA* LV (1914) 76-147.

177. BOUMANN, A. C., 'Wulfilas Sterfjaar,' *TNT* XXXVIII (1917) 165-176.

3) Wulfila's seal

178. HENNING, Rudolf, 'Ein Ulfilas-stempel,' *ZfdA* XLIX (1907) 146-154.

179. FIEBIGER, O., 'Zur Erklärung des Ulfilasstempels,' *PBB* XXXVIII (1913) 564-565.

[Cf. the preceding]

180. GARDHAUSEN, V., 'Das Siegel des Ulfilas,' *PBB* XLVIII (1924) 448-458.

4) His name

181. LUFT, W., 'Wulfila oder Ulfila?' *ZvS* XXXVI (1899) 257-264.

182. SCHRÖDER, E., 'Ulfila,' *Festschrift Bezzenberger* (Göttingen, 1921) 132-139.

[Cf. also *ZfdA* LV, 76 n. and the following]

183. KOCK, Axel, 'Zur Frage nach dem Namen des gotischen Bibelübersetzers,' *ANF* XL (1924) 314-319.

B. Dogmatic Position

(Cf. also Nos. 134 and 556)

184. WAITZ, G., *Ueber das Leben und die Lehre des Ulfila.* Hannover, 1840, 64p+1 facs. 4°.

[First publication of the controversial work of Auxentius on Wulfila]

Rev.: *Münchener gelehrte Anzeigen* (1841) No. 25-30.

185. KRAFFT, W., *Commentatio historica de fontibus Ulfilae Arianismi.* Bonn, 1860.

186. KAUFFMANN, F., 'Der Arianismus des Wulfila,' *ZfdPh* XXX (1897) 93-112.

187. KAUFFMANN, F., 'Ein neues Denkmal der gotischen Litteratur,' *AllgZ* (1897) Beil. 44.

188. JOSTES, F., 'Antwort auf den Aufsatz Kauffmanns 'Der Arianismus des Wulfila',' *PBB* XXII (1897) 571-573.

189. LUFT, W., 'Die arianischen Quellen über Wulfila,' *ZfdA* XLII (1898) 291-308.

190. KAUFFMANN, F., 'Zu dem sogenannten *Opus imperfectum,*' *ZfdPh* XXX (1898) 431.

191. STREITBERG, W., 'Zum *Opus imperfectum,*' *PBB* XXIII (1898) 574-576.

192. VOGT, F., 'Zu Wulfilas Bekenntnis und dem *Opus imperfectum,*' *ZfdA* XLII (1898) 309-321.

193. KAUFFMANN, F., *Aus der Schule des Wulfila. Auxentii Dorostorensis epistula.* Strassburg, 1899, LXV+135p.
(Texte und Untersuchungen zur altgerm. Religionsgeschichte, 1)
[The Arian source on Wulfila]
Rev.: *LB* (1900) 362-365; *LZ* (1900) 1177-1180; *DLZ* (1900) 3223-3225; *RC* (1902) 6-7; *AfdA* XXVIII (1902) 111-112, 190-213; *ibid.* XXIX (1905) 167; *ZfdPh* XXXIV (1902) 515-524.

194. KAUFFMANN, F., 'Zur deutschen Altertumskunde aus Anlass des sogenannten *Opus Imperfectum,*' *ZfdPh* XXXI (1901) 451-453.

195. BOEHMER-ROMUNDT, H., 'Ueber den literarischen Nachlass des Wulfila und seiner Schule,' *ZfwTh* XLVI (1903) 233-269, 361-407.

196. BOEHMER-ROMUNDT, H., 'Ein neues Werk des Wulfila,' *NJkA* XI (1903) 272-288.

197. KAUFFMANN, F., 'Zu den Fragen nach den Quellen des *Opus imperfectum,*' *ZfdPh* XXXVI (1903) 483-491.

198. MÜHLAU, J., *Zur Frage der gotischen Psalmenübersetzung.* Kiel, 1904, 58p.
(Dissertation)

199. PAAS, Th., *Das Opus imperfectum in Matthaeum.* Tübingen, 1907.

200. KAUFFMANN, F., 'Zur Textgeschichte des *Opus Imperfectum in Matthaeum,*' *Festschrift Kiel. Univ.* (1909) 35-42.

201. ZAHN, Th., 'Lateinische Predigten eines Arianers über das Lukasevangelium aus dem V. Jahrhundert,' *NkZ* XXI (1910) 501 ff.

202. STIGLMAYR, J., 'Ist das *Opus imperfectum in Matthaeum* ursprünglich lateinisch abgefasst?' *ZfkTh* XXXIII (1909) 594 ff.

203. STIGLMAYR, J., 'Das *Opus imperfectum in Matthaeum.* Zur Frage über Grundsprache, Entstehungszeit, Heimat und Verfasser des Werkes,' *ZfkTh* XXXIV (1910) 1 ff., 473 ff.

204. von SCHUBERT, Hans, *Staat und Kirche in den arianischen Königreichen.* Berlin and Munich, 1912.
[Pp. 49-54 on Wulfila]

VII. COLLECTIVE EDITIONS

205. ZAHN, Joh. Chr., *Ulfilas gothische Bibelübersetzung, die älteste germanische Urkunde nach Ihre'ns Text, mit einer grammatisch-wörtlichen lateinischen Uebersetzung zwischen den Zeilen, samt einer Sprachlehre und einem Glossar, ausgearbeitet von* Friedrich Karl Fulda . . . , *das Glossar umgearbeitet von* W. F. H. Reinwald . . . *und den Text, nach Ihre'ns genauer Abschrift der silbernen Handschrift in Upsal, sorgfältigt berichtigt, die Uebersetzung und Sprachlehre verbessert und ergänzt, auch mit Ihre'ns lateinischer Uebersetzung neben dem Texte, und einer vollständigen Kritik und Erläuterung in Anmerkungen unter demselben, samt einer historisch-kritischen Einleitung versehen und herausgegeben von* I.C.Z. . . . Weissenfels, 1805, XVI+270+(6)+X+182p. 4°.

[The introduction, pp. 1-84, contains a very full and, for the time, up-to-date critical bibliography]

206. von der GABELENTZ, H. C. and LOEBE, J., *Ulfilas. Veteris et novi testamenti versionis gothicae fragmenta quae supersunt ad fidem codd. castigata, latinitate donata, adnotatione critica instructa, cum glossario et grammatica linguae gothicae conjunctis curis ediderunt* H. C. de G. et J. L. Altenburg and Leipzig, 1836, 2 vol. XXXVII+VIII+359p. 2 plates, and XVIII+244+VIII+298p. 1 plate.

(Vol. I: Prolegomena and Text; vol. II, Part I: Glossary, Part II: Grammar)

[Reprinted, with new title, Leipzig 1843-1846; and Paris 1848 in Migne's *Patr. cursus compl.*, Ser. I, vol. 18, 455-1560; cf. *ZfdA* XXII (1878) 96 and 327]

Rev.: *GGA* (1836) 180, col. 1786-1793 (J. Grimm)=*Kleinere Schriften* V, 248-252.

207. MASSMANN, H. F., *Ulfilas. Die heiligen Schriften alten und neuen Bundes in gotischer Sprache mit gegenüberstehendem griechischen und lateinischen Texte, Anmerkungen, Wörterbuch, Sprachlehre und geschichtlicher Einleitung.* Stuttgart, 1857, XCII+812p.

Rev.: *GGA* (1857) 161-163; *ASNS* XXII (1857) 192-194.

208. STAMM, Friedr., *Ulfilas oder die uns erhaltenen Denkmäler der gothischen Sprache. Text, Grammatik und Wörterbuch.* Paderborn, 1858, XVI+472p.

(Bibliothek der ältesten deutschen Literaturdenkmäler, 1)

[Numerous editions; from the 3rd (1865) edited by Moritz Heyne, from the 10th (1903), by F. Wrede]

Rev.: (a selection) *Germ* XI (1866) 221-224; *ZfdPh* IV (1873) 243-244, XXXI (1899) 90-98; *IFAnz* VII (1897) 250-252; *AfdA* XXX (1906) 137-138; *ASNS* CXXII (1909) 128-129; *DLZ* XXXV (1914) 545-546; *LB* XLIII (1922) 162-163.

209. BERNHARDT, Ernst, *Vulfila oder die gotische Bibel. Mit dem entsprechenden griechischen Text und mit kritischem und erklärendem Commentar nebst dem Kalender, der Skeireins und den gotischen Urkunden.* Halle, 1875, LXXII+654p.

(Germanische Handbibliothek, III)

Rev.: *Germ* XXI (1876) 83-90; *ZfdPh* VII (1876) 103-113; *Jenaer LZ* XLI (1875); *Saturday Rev.* No. 1038; *WMB* (1879) 81-93.

210. BERNHARDT, Ernst. *Die gotische Bibel des Vulfila und die Skeireins.* Halle, 1884, VII+384p.

[A smaller edition]

Rev.: *Nord. Rev.* II (1884) col. 47-48; *ZfdPh* XVII (1885) 249 ff.; *Centralorgan* XII (1885) 625; *AfdA* XI (1885) 230; *LZg* XLV (1884) 1650 f.; *LB* II (1885) 48 ff.

211. BALG, G. H., *The First Germanic Bible translated from the Greek by the Gothic Bishop Wulfila in the fourth Century and the other Remains of the Gothic Language. Edited with an Introduction, a Syntax and a Glossary.* Milwaukee, Wis., 1892, XXII+469p.

Rev.: *MLN* VIII (1893) 113-116; *AfdA* XXII (1896) 89.

212. STREITBERG, W., *Die gotische Bibel. I. Teil. Der gotische Text und seine griechische Vorlage mit Einleitung, Lesearten und Quellennachweisen sowie den kleineren Denkmälern als Anhang.* XLVI+484p. *II. Teil. Gotisch-griechisch-deutsches Wörterbuch.* XVI+180p. Heidelberg, 1908-1910.

(Germanische Bibliothek, II, 3)

[2nd ed. corrected, vol. I, 1919, XLVII+488p., reprinted 1943; vol. II, 1928, XII+180p.]

Rev.: *LB* (1908) 325-329; *LZ* (1909) 194-195; *MLN* XXIV (1909) 181-183; *Lit. Rdschau f. d. kath. Deutschl.* XXXV (1909) 27-28; *RC* LXVI (1909) 422-423; *AllgLB* XIX (1910) 336-339; *ZfdPh* XLII (1910) 366-367.

VIII. THE GOTHIC BIBLE: THE CODEX ARGENTEUS

A. HISTORY

213. BENZELIUS, Erik, 'Praefatio de nova, quam parat, Ulphilae editione,' in SERENIUS, Jacob, *Dictionarium anglo-suethico-latinum,* Hamburg, 1734, 4°, pp. 1-12.

[A few corrections to the text of Junius; specimen *Mt* v, 15-30; plate, *Mk* ii, 15 ff]

214. (ANON.), 'Einige Nachrichten von dem Ulphilas oder von der gothischen Uebersetzung der vier Evangelisten,' *Kritische Versuche ausgefertigt durch einige Mitglieder der deutschen Gesellschaft in Greifswald* I (1742) 36-48.

[History of the CA]

215. VEYSSIERE de la CROZE, Maturinus, *Thesauri epistolici Lacroziani.* Leipzig, 1742-1746, III, pp. 90-94.

[Discussion on the origin of the CA; cf. the refutation by Knittel No. 258, pp. 453-495]

216. LÜDEKE, C. W. *Allgemeines schwedisches Gelehrsamkeits-Archiv* II (1784) 11-14.

[On the condition of the CA at the time]

217. KÜTTNER, C. G., *Reise durch Deutschland, Dänemark, Schweden und Norwegen und einen Theil von Italien in den Jahren 1797, 1798, 1799.* Leipzig, 1801.

[Vol. II, p. 383: pessimistic views on the then condition of the manuscript of CA. Schröder, *Svea* IV (1821) 104 doubts whether K. really saw the manuscript]

218. MASSMANN, H. F., 'Gab es zwei Handschriften der gothischen Bibelübersetzung, wenigstens der Evangelien, im 16. Jahrhundert?' *ZfdA* I (1841) 306-344; II (1842) 199-203.

219. WIESELGREN, Harald, 'Drottning Kristinas bibliotek och bibliotekarier före hennes bosättning i Rom,' *K. Vitterh. hist. och antiqvitets akad.'s Handlingar* N.F. 13, 2 (Stockholm, 1901) 102p.

[On the fate of the manuscript, pp. 55-57, 77, 78]

220. GRAPE, A., *'Om Bröderna Salan och deras manuskriptsamling,' NT för bok- och bibliotheksväsen* I (1914) 214, 217, 223.

[On the copy of the *CA* attributed to Verelius and bought by E. Benzelius]

221. GRAPE, A., 'När Codex Argenteus kom till Upsala,' *Upsala Nya Tidnings,* julnummer 1918, 10-11.

222. GRAPE, A., 'Magnus Gabriel de la Gardie, Isaac Vossius och Codex Argenteus,' *Symbolae Litteraria.* Uppsala, 1927, 133-147.

(Hyllningsskrift till Uppsala universitet vid jubelfesten 1927)

[How de la Gardie acquired the CA]

223. von FRIESEN, Otto och GRAPE, A., *Om Codex Argenteus: dess tid, hem och öden.* Med ett appendix av Hugo Andersson. Uppsala, 1928, VIII+204p. and 16 plates.

(Skrifter utgivna av Svenska Litteratursällskapet, 27)

Rev.: *JEGPh* XXVIII (1928) 410-412; *NTVK* N.S. IV (1928) 534; *RG* XXI (1930) 141-142.

B. EDITIONS

224. JUNIUS, Franciscus, *Quatuor D(omini) N(ostri) Jesu Christi Euangeliorum Versiones perantiquae duae, Gothica scil. & Anglo-Saxonica: quarum illam ex celeberrimo Codice Argenteo nunc primum depromsit F.J. F.F. hanc autem ex codicibus mss. collatis emendatius recudi curavit Thomas Mareschallus, Anglus: Cujus etiam Observationes in utramque versionem subnectuntur. Accessit & Glossarium Gothicum: cui praemittitur Alphabetum Gothicum, Runi-*

cum &c. operâ ejusdem Francisci Junii. Dordrecht, 1665, 2 vol. 4°, (18)+565+(3); (24)+431p.

[Dedicace to G. de la Gardie; Gothic and OE text in parallel columns in Gothic and OE script 1-383; 385-486: Th. Marshall's Observationes de Versione Gothica; 487-565: Th. Marshall's Observationes in Versionem Anglo-Saxonicam; following page: Quotation from S. Jerome Epistle to Heliodorus; Two pages of corrigenda. Glossary, see No. 1221]

[Reprinted with new title-page Amsterdam, 1684]

225. STIERNHIELM, G., *D.N. Jesu Christi SS. Evangelia Ab Ulfila Gothorum in Moesia Episcopo Circa Annum â Nato Christo CCCLX. Ex Graeco Gothicè translata, nunc cum Parallelis Versionibus, Sveo-Gothicâ, Norraenâ, seu Islandicâ & vulgatâ Latinâ edita.* Stockholm 1671, (48)+703p. 4°.

[(1-48): Preface; 1-703: Gothic text (in Latin transcription) with Icelandic, Swedish and Latin in parallel columns. Glossary, see No. 246]

226. BENZELIUS, Erik, *Sacrorum evangeliorum versio gothica ex Codice Argenteo emendata atque suppleta, cum interpretatione latina & annotationibus Erici Benzelii non ita pridem Archiepiscopi Upsalensis Edidit, observationes suas adjecit et grammaticam Gothicam praemisit Edwardus Lye A.M.* Oxford, 1750, LXVIII+384p. f°.

[A splendid volume printed from the Gothic types cast by Junius. Pp. XXXIX-LXII: Grammatica Gothica by Ed. Lye]

227. UPPSTRÖM, Andreas, *Codex Argenteus sive sacrorum evangeliorum versionis Gothicae fragmenta quae iterum recognita annotationibusque instructa per lineas singulas ad fidem codicis, additis fragmentis evangelicis Codicum Ambrosianum et tabula lapide expressa.* Uppsala, 1854, 125p. 4°.

[A diplomatic edition]

Rev.: *GGA* (1855) 2019 (L. Meyer).

228. UPPSTRÖM, Andreas, *Decem Codicis Argentei rediviva folia contiguis et intermediis edidit* A.U. Uppsala, 1857. 4°.

[A diplomatic edition]

229. BOSWORTH, Joseph, *The Gothic and Anglo-Saxon Gospels, in parallel Columns, with the Versions of Wycliffe and Tyndale.* 2nd ed. London, 1874, 616p.

230. *Codex Argenteus Upsaliensis. Iussu senatus Universitatis phototypice editus.* Uppsala, 1927, 125p. 2 coloured plates, tabulae I-X, 794p. in photogr. reproductions. f°.

[The Latin introduction was also published separately]

Rev.: *Buch und Schrift* II (1928) 39-57; *NTVK* N.S. IV (1928) 534; *JEGPh* XXVIII (1929) 410-422; *RG* XXI (1930) 141-142; *Jb.* N.S. VIII (1930) 39-40.

C. CRITICAL STUDIES

(Cf. also No. 1208)

231. MASSMANN, H. F., 'Die verlornen Blätter des Ulfilas sind wiedergefunden,' *Germ* II (1857) 342-343.

232. von der GABELENTZ, H. C. and LOEBE, J., *Uppströms Codex Argenteus. Eine Nachschrift zu der Ausgabe des Ulfilas.* Leipzig, 1860, 20p. 4°.

Rev.: *GGA* (1860) 1411 f. (L. Meyer).

233. GAUGENGIGL, Ignaz, *Die Fragmente des Ulfilas nach der silbernen Handschrift in Upsala im Zusammenhalte mit der Handschrift Tischendorfs von dem Berge Sinai. Aiwaggeljo thairh Maththaia.* 5th ed. Passau, 1864, XVI+136p.

234. BERNHARDT, E., *Kritische Untersuchungen über die gothische Bibelübersetzung. Ein Beitrag zur deutschen Literaturgeschichte und zur Kritik des neuen Testaments.* Meiningen, 1864, 32p. 2. Heft: Elberfeld, 1868, 32p.

Rev.: *ZfdPh* I (1869) 373.

235. BERNHARDT, E., 'Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Textes der gotischen Bibelübersetzung,' *ZfdPh* II (1870) 294-302.

236. BERNHARDT, E., 'Vulfila und der Codex Sinaiticus,' *Germ* XIII (1868) 37-38.

[Refers to his "Kritische Untersuchungen über die gothische Bibelübersetzung," Meiningen, 1864. Comparison with the newly discovered Codex Sinaiticus]

237. MASSMANN, H. F., 'Die Turiner Blätter des Ulfila,' *Germ* XIII (1868) 271-284.

238. PETERS, I., 'Die Zahl der Blätter im Codex Argenteus,' *Germ* XXX (1885) 314-315.

239. WREDE, F., 'Zur Textrevision der gotischen Sprachdenkmäler,' *AfdA* XXIX (1905) 329-339.

[I. Die Bibelübersetzung 329-337; II. Die Urkunden 337-339. On the inaccuracies in Marini's facsimile, No. 363, and Massmann's reliability]

240. ODEFEY, Paul, *Das gotische Lukasevangelium. Ein Beitrag zur Quellenkritik und Textgeschichte.* Kiel, 1908, 142p.

(Dissertation)

241. SVEDBERG, Th. and NORDLUND, J., 'Fotografisk undersökning av Codex Argenteus,' *UUÅ* 1918, 1, 26p.+11 plates.

[Strictly technical]

242. LINKE, W., *Das gotische Markusevangelium. Ein Beitrag zur Quellenkritik und Textgeschichte.* Berlin, 1920, 209p.

(Dissertation)

243. de BOOR, Helmut, 'Der Codex Argenteus und seine neueste Ausgabe (Antike Schriftornamentik in germanischer Pflege),' *Buch und Schrift* II (1928) 39-57.

[Appreciative review of No. 230]

244. FRIEDRICHSEN, G. W. S., 'The Silver Ink of the Codex Argenteus,' *Journal of Theol. Stud.* XXXI (1930) 189-192.

[Two types of text, two scribes, two ink-colours]

245. METLEN, M., 'The Silver Ink of the Codex Argenteus,' *JEGPh* XXXVI (1937) 244-245.

[Cf. the preceding]

246. JOHANSSON, J. Viktor, 'Variantexemplar av Stjernhielms Ulfilasedition,' *GHÅ* XLV (1939) 21p+IV plates, 4°.

D. SEPARATE EDITIONS

247. HENSHALL, S., *The Gothic Gospel of St. Matthew from the Codex Argenteus of the 4th Century with the Corresponding English or Saxon from the Durham Book of the 8th Century.* London, 1807.

248. SCHMELLER, J. Andreas, *Das Evangelium des h. Matthaeus im Hochdeutsch des neunten Jahrhunderts . . . nebst den entsprechenden Resten der Gothischen Uebersetzung.* Stuttgart and Tübingen, 1827, VI+106p.

[Pp. 87-106: Gothic version]

249. OLAWSKY, *Evangelium Matthaei V,33-VI,16 aus dem gothischen Texte ins Neuhochdeutsche übertragen mit einleitenden Vorbemerkungen.* Lissa, 1852.

(Progr.)

250. RIEMENSCHNEIDER, A., *Bruchstücke aus Ulfilas, sprachlich erläutert.* Dorpat, 1861, 40p.

251. MEYER, G., *Ueber Lukas XV, in Ulfilas gothischer Bibelübersetzung.* Hannover, 1870, 8p. 4°.

(Progr.)

252. UPPSTRÖM, A., *Aivaggeljo þairh Matþaiu eller fragmenterna af Matthaei evangelium på götiska jemte ordförklaring och ordböjningslära.* 2nd ed. by V. Uppström. Stockholm, 1874, 120p.

253. SCHAUBACH, A., *Das erste Capitel des Lucas nach Vulfila und Luther. Ueber das Verhältnis der gotischen Bibelübersetzung des Vulfila zu der Lutherischen mit Zugrundelegung von Evang. Luc. 1.* Meiningen, 1879, 24p. 4°.

(Einladungsschrift des Gymnasium Bernardinum, Meiningen)

254. MÜLLER, R. and HÖPPE, H., *Ulfilas. Evangelium Marci grammatisch erläutert.* Berlin, 1881, 72p.

Rev.: *Academy* (1881) 475; *ZfdPh* XIII (1881) 252-254; *LB* X (1881) 345; *AfdA* VII (1881) 332.

255. SCHÄFER, A., *Ulfilas, Aivaggeljo thairh Maththaiu, V-VII.* Waldshut, 1881, 54p.

256. SKEAT, W. W., *The Gospel of Saint Mark in Gothic according to the Translation Made by Wulfila, in the Fourth Century. Edited with a Grammatical Introduction and Glossarial Index.* Oxford, 1882, LXXV+103p.

Rev.: *Academy* No. 565, 153 f.; No. 567, 189; *LB* (1883) (1), 33.

257. MAYR, Erich, *Die gotische Bibel I. Matthäus.* Munich, 1913, 32p. (2nd ed. 1928).

(Münchener Texte, Heft V)

IX. THE GOTHIC BIBLE: THE PALIMPSESTS

A. THE CODEX CAROLINUS

1) Editions

258. KNITTEL, Franz Anton, *Ulphilae Versionem Gothicum nonnullorum capitum Epistolae Pauli ad Romanos, venerandum antiquitatis monumentum, pro amisso omnino atque adeo deperdito per multa saecula ad hunc usque diem habitum, e litura codicis cujusdam manuscripti rescripti qui in augusta apud Guelpherbytanos bibliotheca adservatur, una cum variis variae litteraturae monumentis huc usque ineditis, eruit, commentatus est datque foras F.A.K.* N.p.n.d. [Braunschweig, 1762] (10)+32+532p+12 plates. 4°.

[In Gothic type with transliteration below and Latin translation, Latin and Greek texts opposite and extensive commentary. The edition was preceded by two prospectuses in 1758 and 1760, both reprinted in *Nova acta eruditorum,* Leipzig, 1758, p. 669 f., and 1760, p. 613, and in *Nova acta historico-ecclesiastica,* 1759, p. 238 f., and 1761, p. 678 f.]

259. IHRE, Joh., *Fragmenta versionis Ulphilanae, continentia particulas aliquot epistolae Pauli ad Romanos haud pridem ex codice rescripto bibliothecae Guelferbytanae eruta, et a Francisco Antonio Knittel, Archidiacono, edita, nunc cum aliquot annotationibus typis reddita a Johanne Ihre . . . Accedunt duae dissertationes ad philologiam moesogothicam spectantes.* Uppsala, 1763, (8)+90p+(13). 4°.

[Introduction; 1-6: Text in transliteration, with Latin translation in parallel column; 7-47: full notes; 48-90=Nos. 56 and 57; 13 pages of glossary. Reprinted by Büsching No. 62, pp. 97-137, in Lye's dictionary No. 1223, Part II by Manning in Gothic type and by Steenwinkel No. 65, pp. 272-293 also in Gothic type specially cast, with Dutch translation, followed pp. 294-305 by a commentary.]

260. UPPSTRÖM, A., *Fragmenta Gothica Selecta ad fidem Codicum Ambrosianorum Carolini Vaticani.* Uppsala, 1861, X+48p.

Rev.: *GGA* (1861) 1401-1407.

261. HENNING, H., *Der Wulfila der Bibliotheca Augusta zu Wolfenbüttel (Codex Carolinus), herausgegeben und eingeleitet.* Hamburg, 1913, (3)+(2)+8 plates. f°.

[An inferior production]

Rev.: *DLZ* XXXVI (1915) 2282-2284; *Lit. Echo* XVIII (1916) 1415-1416; *AfdA* XXXVII (1917) 146.

2) Critical Studies

262. MEYER, Leo, 'Ueber den handschriftlichen Text der gothischen Uebersetzung des Briefes an die Römer,' *Germ* X (1865) 225-236.
[Corrections pointed out to L.M. by Uppström]

263. MAROLD, K., *Stichometrie und Leseabschnitte in den gotischen Episteltexten.* Königsberg, 1888, 18p.
(Progr.)

B. THE CODICES AMBROSIANI

1) Editions

264. MAI, A. and CASTIGLIONE, C.O., *Ulphilae partium ineditarum in Ambrosianis palimpsestis ab ANGELO MAIO repertarum Specimen, conjunctis curis ejusdem Maii et Caroli Octavii Castillionaei editum.* Milan, 1819, XXIV+36p. 2 plates. 4°.
[Gothic Calendar, fragments from Old Testament and Gospel]
Rev.: *GGA* (1820) 393-408 (J. Grimm)=*Kl. Schriften* IV, 125-135; *Svea* IV (1821) 92-94 (J. H. Schröder).

265. CASTIGLIONE, C.O., *Ulphilae gothica Versio epistolae Divi Pauli ad Corinthios secundae, quam ex Ambrosianae Bibliothecae palimpsestis depromptam cum Interpretatione, Adnotationibus, Glossario edidit.* C.O.C. Milan, 1829, XII +84p. 4°.
Rev.: *WJL* XLVI (1829) 184-227 (J. Grimm); *GGA* (1829) 130, 1289-1292 (J. Grimm) (=J. Grimm, *Kl. Schr.* V (1871) 51-90; VI (1882) 409-411).

266. CASTIGLIONE, C.O., *Gothicae versionis epistolarum Divi Pauli ad Romanos, ad Corinthios primae, ad Ephesios quae supersunt ex Ambrosianae bibliothecae palimpsestis deprompta cum adnotationibus edidit C.O.C.* Milan, 1834.
Rev.: *WJL LXX* (1835) 30-51 (J. Grimm) (=*Kl. Schr.* V, 203-223).

267. CASTIGLIONE, C.O., *Gothicae versionis epistolarum Divi Pauli ad Galatas, ad Philippenses, ad Colossenses, ad Thessalonicenses primae quae supersunt, ex Ambrosianae bibliothecae palimpsestis deprompta cum adnotationibus edidit C.O.C.* Milan, 1835, 72p. 4°.
Rev.: *GGA* (1836) 92, 915-920 (J. Grimm); *WJL* LXXIV (1836) 179-187 (J. Grimm) (=*Kl. Schr.* V, 245-248; 223-230).

268. CASTIGLIONE, C.O., *Gothicae Versionis Epistolarum Divi Pauli ad Thessalonicenses secundae, ad Timotheum, ad Titum, ad Philemon quae supersunt, ex Ambrosianae Bibliothecae palimpsestis deprompta cum Adnotationibus edidit C.O.C.* Milan, 1839, 73p.

269. UPPSTRÖM, A., *Fragmenta gothica selecta ad fidem codicum Ambrosianorum, Carolini Vaticani.* Uppsala, 1861, XIV+48p.
[New readings of Cod. Ambr., pp. 1-4]
Rev.: *GGA* **(1861) 1401-1407.**

270. UPPSTRÖM, A., *Codices Gotici Ambrosiani sive epistularum Pauli Esrae Nehemiae versionis goticae fragmenta, quae iterum recognovit, per lineas singulas descripsit, adnotationibus instruxit A.U.* Stockholm, 1864-1868, III+124p.
Rev.: *LZ* 1868; *GGA LI* (1868); *ZfdPh* I, 373; *Jb* IV, 3.

271. MASSMANN, H.F., 'Die Turiner Blätter des Ulfila,' *Germ* XIII (1868) 271-284.
[Publication of Codex Ambrosianus *A*]

272. de VRIES, Jan, *Wulfilae Codices Ambrosiani rescripti epistularum evangelicarum textum goticum exhibentes, phototypice editi.* Florence, 1936.

2) Critical Studies

273. MEYER, Leo, 'Ueber Uppströms Ausbeute aus den italienischen Handschriften des Ulfila,' *Verhandl. der 23. Versamml. deutscher Philologen u. Schulmänner in Hannover 1864,* Leipzig, 1865. 4°. pp. 192-193.

274. von der GABELENTZ, H.C., 'Ein Ulfilasfragment in Turin,' *Germ* XII (1867) 232-234.

[On Codex Ambrosianus *A* discovered by Reifferscheid the year before]

275. PFEIFFER, Franz, 'Germanistische Funde in Italien,' *Augsburger Allg. Zeitung,* 1866, 60, Beilage.

276. TISCHENDORF, Constantin, 'Die Ulfilas-Fragmente zu Turin,' *Allg. Zeitung,* 1866, 147, Beilage.

277. UPPSTRÖM, V., *Gotiska bidrag med särskild hänsyn till de Ambrosianska urkunderna.* Uppsala, 1868, 47p.

Rev.: *LZ* 1869.

278. REIFFERSCHEID, Aug., 'Die ambrosianische Bibliothek in Mailand,' *WSB* LXVII (1871) 467-568.

279. BRAUN, W., 'Die Lese- und Einteilungszeichen in den gotischen Handschriften der Ambrosiana in Mailand,' *ZfdPh* XXX (1898) 433-448.

[Important]

280. von FRIESEN, O., *Om läsningen av codices gotici Ambrosiani.* Uppsala and Leipzig, 1927, 23p.

(Skrifter utg. av kgl. humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundet i Uppsala, XXIV, 10)

C. OTHER STUDIES ON THE EPISTLES

(Cf. No. 1218)

281. UPPSTRÖM, A., 'Zu Ulfila,' *Germ* XI (1866) 93-96.

[Letter, dated July 1864, with the main results of his collation of Italian manuscripts]

282. BERNHARDT, E., 'Die gotischen Handschriften der Episteln,' *ZfdPh* V (1874) 186-192.

D. THE OLD TEST. FRAGMENTS

(Cf. No. 264)

283. LANGNER, E., *Die gotischen Nehemia-fragmente.* Spottau, 1903, 64p. (Progr.)

284. OHRLOFF, 'Die alttestamentlichen Bruchstücke der gotischen Bibelübersetzung,' *ZfdPh* VII (1876) 251-295.

Rev.: *TheolLB* IX (1877).

E. THE GIESSEN MANUSCRIPT

285. GLAUE, Paul and HELM, Karl, 'Das gotisch-lateinische Bibelfragment der Universitätsbibliothek zu Giessen,' *ZfnW* XI (1910) 1-38, 1 plate. facs.

Rev.: *Journ. of Theol. Studies* XI, 611-612; *LB, Frankf. Z.* 25.4.1910; *AfdA* XXXIV (1910) 107-109; *GRM* II (1910) 513; *Hist. Zs* CV (1910) 193-194; *ZfdPh* XLIII (1911) 379-380; *DLZ* XXXIII (1912) 786.

X. *GREEK ORIGINAL*

A. RECONSTRUCTION

(Cf. No. 212, I, pp. XXXI-XLVI)

286. HUG, J. L., *Einleitung in die Schriften des Neuen Testaments.* I (1808) 426 ff.

[Identified the original as belonging to the Antioche-Constantinople type]

287. KAUFFMANN, Fr., 'Beiträge zur Quellenkritik der gotischen Bibelübersetzung. Vorbemerkungen. I. Die alttestamentlichen Bruchstücke,' *ZfdPh* XXIX (1897) 306-337. II. 'Das neue Testament,' *ZfdPh* XXX (1898) 145-183. III. 'Das gotische Matthäusevangelium und die Itala. IV. Die griechische Vorlage des gotischen Johannesevangeliums,' *ZfdPh* XXXI (1899) 178-194. V. 'Der codex Brixianus,' *ZfdPh* XXXII (1900) 305-335. VI. 'Die Corintherbriefe,' *ZfdPh* XXXV (1903) 433-463. VII. 'Der codex Carolinus,' *ZfdPh* XLIII (1911) 401-428.

288. JÜLICHER, A., 'Die griechische Vorlage der gotischen Bibel,' *ZfdA* LII (1910) 365-387.

289. KAUFFMANN, Fr., 'Zur Textgeschichte der gotischen Bibel,' *ZfdPh* XLIII (1911) 118-132.

290. JÜLICHER, A., 'Ein letztes Wort zur Geschichte der gotischen Bibel,' *ZfdA* LIII (1912) 369-381.

291. LIETZMANN, H., 'Die Vorlage der gotischen Bibel,' *ZfdA* LVI (1919) 249-278.

292. MÜLLER, Ernst, 'Die Bedeutung der gotischen Bibelübersetzung für das Verständnis des griechischen Textes,' *Neue kirchliche Zs.* XXXVII (1927) 210-217.

B. LATIN INFLUENCE ON WULFILA'S TRANSLATION

293. KISCH, Alex, 'Der Septuagintalcodex des Ulfilas,' *Monatsschrift f. Geschichte u. Wissenschaft des Judenthums* XXII (1873) 1 ff.

[Denies influence of Vulgate]

294. BANGERT, W., *Der Einfluss lateinischer Quellen auf die gotische Bibelübersetzung des Ulfila.* Rudolstadt, 1880, 26p.

(Progr.)

Rev. *LB* I (1881) 3-4; *ASNS* LXV (1881) 337.

295. MAROLD, Carl, 'Kritische Untersuchungen über den Einfluss des Lateinischen auf die gotische Bibelübersetzung,' *Germ* XXVI (1881) 129-172; XXVII (1882) 23-60; XXVIII (1883) 50-85.

(Also Königsberg Diss., 44p.)

Rev.: *WMB* III (1885) 159-160.

296. BATIFFOL, Pierre, 'De quelques homélies de s. Jean Chrysostome et de la version gothique des écritures,' *Revue biblique internationale* VIII (1899) 566-572.

297. BURKITT, F. C., 'The Vulgate Gospels and the Codex Brixianus,' *Journ. of Theol. Stud.* I (1900) 129-134.

[Influence of Gothic text on the Latin one]

XI. THE SKEIREINS

A. EDITIONS

(Cf. also Nos. 206-212)

298. MAI, Angelo, *Scriptorum veterum nova collectio e Vaticanis codicibus edita.* VIII. Rome, 1833.

[P. VIII: De fragmento gothico. At the end of the volume six plates reproduce the *Skeireins* fragments]

299. MASSMANN, H. F., *Skeireins aiwaggeljons þairh Iohannen. Auslegung des Evangelii Johannis in gothischer Sprache. Aus römischen und mailändischen Handschriften, nebst lateinischer Uebersetzung, belegenden Anmerkungen, geschichtlicher Untersuchung, gothisch-lateinischem Wörterbuche und Schriftproben. Im Auftrage seiner k. H. des Kronprinzen Maximilian von Bayern erlesen, erläutert und zum ersten Male herausgegeben.* Munich, 1834, XVIII+182p. 4°.

[Contents: Vorbericht. Aufstellung des alten Textes nach der Handschrift. Herstellung des Textes nebst den rechtfertigenden Anmerkungen und lateinischer Uebersetzung. Darstellung und Untersuchung. Die Handschrift; Inhalt; der Verfasser; Christenthum der Gothen. Wörterbuch]

Rev.: *GGA* (1835) 111, 1097-1104 (=J. Grimm, *Kl. Schr.* V, 192-197); *Jenaer Allg.LZ* (1835) No. 61 (M. G. v. d. Gabelentz) with corrections).

300. LUNDGREN, Jacob, *Skeireins aiwaggelions þairh Johannem.* Uppsala, 1860.

(Akademisk Afhandling)

301. VOLLMER, A., *Die Bruchstücke der Skeireins.* Munich, 1862.

Rev.: Kögel, R., Geschichte der deutschen Litt. I, Teil 1, p. 193.

302. van der WAALS, H. G., *Skeireins aivaggeljons þairh Johannen. Vertaling met eenige opmerkingen omtrent tekst en tekstcritiek.* Leiden, 1892, 56p.

Rev.: *AfdA* XX (1894) 148-162 (H. Jellinek).

303. CROMHOUT, Emile H. A., *Skeireins aivaggeljons þairh Iohannem.* Delft, 1900, 135p. 4°.

(Leiden Dissertation)

[Detailed commentary in German, with text and translation]

Rev.: *Museum* IV (1901) 107-110; *Spectator* XLV (1900).

304. DIETRICH, E., *Die Skeireinsbruchstücke. Text und Uebersetzung.* Strassburg, 1900.

(Kiel Dissertation)

305. DIETRICH, E., *Die Bruchstücke der Skeireins.* Strassburg, 1903, LXXVIII +36p. 4°.

(Texte und Untersuchungen zur altgermanischen Religionsgeschichte, hrsg. v. F. Kauffmann. Texte, 2)

[The authoritative edition]

Rev.: *LZ* (1903) 1124-1125; *LB* (1903) 193-195; *RC* LV (1903) 466-467; *ZfdPh* XXXVIII (1906) 382-395; *AfdA* XXIX (1904) 281-292 (H. Jellinek).

306. MAYR, Erich, *Die Skeireins.* Munich, 1913, 17p.

(Münchener Texte, Heft XIII)

307. KOCH, E. A., *Die Skeireins. Text nebst Uebersetzung und Anmerkungen.* Lund, n.d. (1913), 35p.

Rev.: *AfdA* XXXVIII (1919) 27-35.

B. CRITICAL STUDIES

308. LÜCKE, Otto, *Absolute Participia mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Skeireins.* Göttingen, 1876.

(Dissertation)

309. LOEBE, Julius, *Beiträge zur Textberichtigung und Erklärung der Skeireins.* Altenburg, 1839, VIII+60p.

[Commentary on Massmann's edition No. 299 with Latin translation]

310. MAROLD, Carl, 'Die Schriftzitate der *Skeireins* und ihre Bedeutung für die Textgeschichte der gotischen Bibel,' *Festschrift des Friedrichs Kollegiums* (Königsberg, 1890) 67-74.

311. JELLINEK, M. H., 'Zur *Skeireins,*' *PBB* XV (1891) 438-440.

312. McKNIGHT, G. H., 'The Language of the *Skeireins,*' *MLN* XII (1897) 205-9.

[Not a word for word translation of a Greek original but influenced by Greek and Latin]

313. BRAUN, W., 'Die Mailänder Blätter der *Skeireins,*' ZfdPh XXXI (1899) 429-451.

[New readings]

314. LENK, Rudolf, 'Die Syntax der *Skeireins,*' *PBB* XXXVI (1910) 237-306.

315. JELLINEK, M., '*Skeireins,*' *ZfdA* LXVI (1929) 136-138.

316. BENNETT, William H., 'The Milanese Leaves of the *Skeireins* under Ultraviolet Radiation,' *PMLA* LXV (1950)

XII. RUNIC INSCRIPTIONS

A. COLLECTIVE WORKS*

317. HENNING, R. *Die deutschen Runendenkmäler.* Strassburg, 1889, VIII+156p.

[Kowel, 1 ff., Dahmsdorf 7 ff., Pietroassa 27 ff.]

---

* Selective bibliography; for complete references, see Nos. 16 and 322.

318. WIMMER, Ludwig, 'De tyske Runemindesmaerker,' *AaNO* 2.R. IX (1894) 1-82.

[French Translation: *Mem. Soc. Roy. Ant. Nord* IX (1890-5) 225-300]

Rev.: *ZfdPh* XXVIII (1895) 239-241; *AfAnthrop* XXIII (1895) 637; *LB* XVIII (1897) 49-50.

319. MARSTRANDER, C. J. S., 'De gotiske runeminnesmaerker,' *NTS* III (1929) 25-157.

[Kowel 25-35; Dahmsdorf 35-39; Pietroassa 39-64; Gothic runic alphabet 65-83; Vimose brooch 84-115; bracteates 115-128; symbolic signs 128-141; on *n* and *j*-runes 141-148; French résumé 149-157]

320. KRAUSE, Wolfgang, *Beiträge zur Runenforschung,* Halle 1932, 30p. 4 plates 4°.

(Schriften der Königsberger gelehrten Gesellschaft, IX, 2)

[Kylverstone 1-19]

Rev.: *LGRPh* LVII (1936) col. 83-84; *RC* (1932) 473; *Museum* XL (1933) 94-95; *ANF* L (1934) 175; *NTS* VII (1935) 415-416; *RG* (1933) 148; *LGRPh* LVI (1935) col. 148-149; *DLZ* LVI (1935) col. 1166-1168.

321. KRAUSE, Wolfgang, *Runeninschriften im älteren Futhark.* Halle, 1937, XV+258p.

(Schriften der Königsberger gelehrten Gesellschaft, geisteswissenschaftl. Kl. XIII, 4)

[Kowel 19-20; Dahmsdorf 20-21; Pietroassa 170-173.]

322. ARNTZ, Helmut and ZEISS, Hans, *Die einheimischen Runendenkmäler des Festlandes.* Leipzig, 1939, XVI+519p. 44 plates, 1 map. 4°.

(Gesamtausgabe der älteren Runendenkmäler, I. Bd.)

[Dahmsdorf 1-19; Kowel 19-41; Pietroassa 52-97; with full bibliography]

B. SPECIAL STUDIES

1) The Pietroassa Ring

323. GRIMM, Wilh., 'Bericht über eine Inschrift auf einem in der Wallachei ausgegrabenen goldenen Ring,' *BMB* (1856) 602-604, illustr.

[Reprinted in *Kl. Schr.* III (1883) 132-134, with addenda by J. Grimm, p. 129]

324. MASSMANN, H. F., 'Der Bukarester Ring,' *Germ* II (1857) 209-213.

325. DIETRICH, F. E. Ch., *Disputatio de inscriptionibus duabus Runicis ad Gothorum gentem relatis.* Marburg, 1861, 20p. 1 plate. 4°.

(Univ. progr.; sep. 1862)

[Pp. 16-20: Pietroassa ring]

326. COSIJN, P. J., 'De runeninscriptie van den Bucharester ring,' *Versl. en Mededelingen der K. Ak. van Wetenschappen,* Afd. Letterk., 2de Reeks, 7. Deel, 354-364.

[Sep. Amsterdam 1878. 11p.]

327. GASTER, M., 'A Gothic Inscription from the Land of Ulfilas,' *The Archaeol. Review* IV (1889) 51-56.

["monetary unities, the legal standard, deposited in the sanctuary, under the guardianship of the gods"]

328. ODOBESCU, Alexandru, *Le trésor de Pétrossa; étude sur l'orfévrerie antique.* Paris, 1889-1900. 3 vol.

[Vol. I, pp. 357-475 on the goldring]

Rev.: *Rev. archéol.* (1901) 463-465.

329. von GRIENBERGER, Th., 'Beiträge zur runenlehre,' *ANF* XIV (1897-8) 101-136.

[Pp. 125-130: Pietroassa ring]

330. PIPPING, Hugo, 'Zur Deutung der Runeninschrift auf dem Pietroasser Ringe,' *NM* III (1904) 165-167.
["gutan niowi hailag"]

331. LOEWE, R., 'Der Goldring von Pietroassa,' *IF* XXVI (1909) 203-208.
["gutan Iowi hailag"]

332. DICULESCU, Const., *Die Wandalen und die Goten in Ungarn und Rumänien*. Leipzig, 1923, V+64p.
(Mannus-Bibl., 34)
[Pp. 43 ff.: Pietroassa]
Rev.: *Urgesch. Anz.* II (1925) 4-5.

333. KRAHE, H., 'Eine balkanillyrische Inschrift,' *IF* XLVI (1928) 183 ff.
[P. 184: Pietroassa]

334. LOEWE, R., 'Die Inschrift des Goldrings von Pietroassa,' *ZfdA* LXVII (1930) 49-54.
[Cf. R. Meissner, *ibid.*, 54]

335. ARNTZ, Helmut, '*gutani*,' *Hess. Blätter f. Volkskunde* XXXIII (1934-5) 116-117.

336. KARSTEN, T. E., 'Die Inschrift des Goldrings von Pietroassa,' *Festschrift Neckel* (Leipzig, 1938) 78-82.

337. KROGMANN, W., 'Der Runenring von Pietroassa,' *WuS* XXI (1940) 26-52.

338. GRAF, H. J., '*Gutanio Wi Hailag* oder *Gutaniom Hailag*,' in: *Die Auseinandersetzungen zwischen Germanen und Römern auf Grund der antiken Nachrichten und der Bodenfunde*. Von E. Bickel u. K. Tackeberg. Bonn, 1941, 53p.
(Kriegsvorträge aus der Univ. Bonn, 32)

339. MAGOUN, Francis P., Jr. 'On the Old-Germanic Altar- or Oath-Ring (stallahringr),' *APhS* XX (1949) 277-293.

2) The Dahmsdorf-Müncheberg Spearhead

340. DIETRICH, F. E. Chr., 'Ueber die Runeninschrift des Speeres von Müncheberg,' *Anz. f. KdVorzeit,* N.F. XIV (1867) col. 39-41, 1 plate.

341. DIETRICH, F. E. Chr., 'Sieben deutsche Runeninschriften aus Baiern, Franken, der Mark Brandenburg und Braunschweig,' *ZfdA* XIV (1869) 73-104, 1 plate.

342. KOHN, Alb. and MEHLIS, C., *Materialien zur Vorgeschichte des Menschen im östlichen Europa*. Bd. II. Jena, 1879, VIII+352p.
[Pp. 177-184: Dahmsdorf inscription]

343. CHODZKIEWICZ, Ladislas, 'Archéologie scandinave. Fers de lance avec inscriptions runiques,' *Revue archéol.* 3me série, IV, 54-71, plate 14.
(Sep. Paris, 1884, 18p)
[Kowel and Dahmsdorf]

344. BERGAU, R., *Inventur der Bau- und Kunstdenkmäler in der Provinz Brandenburg*. Berlin, 1885, XX+813p. illustr. 4°.
[P. 535: Dahmsdorf]

345. WIGET, Wilhelm, 'Inskrifterna från Müncheberg och Övre Stabu,' *ANF* XXXIV (1918) 153-155.

346. FEIST, S., 'Der Runenspeer von Müncheberg,' *Mitteil. des Vereins f. Heimatkunde des Kreises Lebus in Müncheberg* II (1919) 1-13; 62.

3) Assumed Gothic Inscriptions

347. MASSMANN, H. F., 'Eine gothische Inschrift in Speier,' *ZfdA* I (1841) 376-377.

348. v. KARAJAN, Th. G., 'Ueber eine bisher unerklärte Inschrift,' *WSB* XIII (1854) 211-232.

[On a supposed Gothic inscription found in Vienna in a tomb. Reading and explanations; worthless]

349. DIETRICH, Franz, 'Runeninschriften eines gothischen Stammes auf den Wiener Goldgefässen des Banater Fundes,' *Germ* XI (1866) 177-209, 2 plates.

(Sep. Vienna, 1866)

[Not really runes and not Gothic]

350. NAUE, Jul., 'Westgothischer Goldfund aus einem Felsengrabe in Mykenä,' *Jahrbücher d. Vereins v. Altertumsfreunden im Rheinland* LXXXXIII (1893) 76-88, 7 plates.

[With supposed runic inscription?]

351. BIANU, Joan, 'Inscriptii in limba gotica si in caractere runice, descoporite langa Folticeni,' *Mem. Ac. Roumaine,* Sect. Lit. Seria III, V (1930-31) 3. 10p. 5 pl.

352. LA BAUME, W., 'Der Waffenfund in Zarnowitz, Kr. Putzig,' *Gothiscandza* II (Danzig, 1940)

XIII. OTHER REMNANTS

A. THE CALENDAR

(Cf. also Nos. 206-212 and 264)

353. GRIMM, J., 'Castiglioni, Gotischer Kalender,' *GGA* (1816) 729-734 (=*Kl.Schr.* IV, 381-385).

354. ACHELIS, H., 'Der älteste deutsche Kalender,' *ZfnW* I (1900) 308-335.

355. LOEWE, R., 'Der gotische Kalender,' *ZfdA* LIX (1922) 245-290.

356. FRIEDRICHSEN, G., 'Notes on the Gothic Calendar (*cod.* Ambros. *A.*),' *MLR* XXII (1927) 90-93.

B. THE NAPLES AND AREZZO DEEDS

(Cf. also Nos. 205, 212 and 258)

357. SABBATINI d'ANFORA, Ludovico, *Il vetusto Calendario Napoletano* V, Naples, 1745.

[Pp. 104-106: first edition of the Naples deed, in rude Gothic characters]

358. Io. Baptistae DONII, Patricii Florentini, *Inscriptiones antiquae, nunc primum editae, notisque illustratae et XXVI. indicibus auctae* ab Antonio Francisco GORIO, Publico Hist. Profess. Florentiae, 1731.

[First reproduction of the Arezzo deed, p. 496; the passage concerning the Arezzo charter is reproduced in Zahn, No. 362, 80-83]

359. ASSEMAN, J. S., *Italicae historiae scriptores* II, Rome, 1751, pp. 10 ff.; vol. IV (1753) 362 f.

[About the Naples deed]

360. IHRE, Joh., 'Monumentum veteris linguae Ostrogothicae Neapoli haud pridem repertum notisque criticis illustratum,' *Nova Acta Regiae societatis scientiarum Upsaliensis* III, Uppsala, 1780, 1-31, 4 plates.

[Naples deed, with commentary; reprinted by Zahn, No. 362, 22-63]

361. GRÄTER, F. D., 'Gothische Ueberreste des fünften oder sechsten Jahrhunderts,' *Bragur* VII (1802) 2, 60-88, 4 plates.

[Naples deed; pp. 60-62, Gräter's introduction; 62-68, Suhms Nachricht davon und Urtheil darüber; 69, Abbildung derselben in vier Tafeln; 70-85, Vollständige Erklärung von Joh. Ihre; 85-88, Nachtrag (von Gräter)]

362. ZAHN, Joh. Chr., *Versuch einer Erläuterung der gothischen Sprachüberreste in Neapel und Arezzo als eine Einladungsschrift und Beilage zum Ulfilas.* Braunschweig, 1804, 94p.

[Pp. 22-63: Ihre's Article No. 360; 80-83: passage from Doni, No. 358]

363. MARINI, Gaetano, *I Papiri Diplomatici raccolti ed illustrati.* Rome, 1805, f°.

[Arezzo Charter, No. 118 pp. 179-180, notes pp. 344-345; Naples Charter,, pp. 180-183, notes pp. 345-350; facsimiles at the end of the book. First edition of the Arezzo deed. On its deficiencies, cf. Wrede No. 239; cf. also Kopp in *Heidelb. Jahrbb. der Lit.* I (1809) 29-36]

364. GROTEFEND, G. F., 'Ueber die gothischen Urkunden aus Italien,' *Abh. des frankfurtischen Gelehrtenvereins f. deutsche Spr.* 3. St. (Frankfurt a. M., 1821) 63-122.

[With facsimiles]

365. MASSMANN, H. F., *Frabauhtabokos* (goth. script) *oder Die gothischen Vrkunden von Neapel und Arezzo, mit zwei Schriftnachbildungen in Steindruck.* Munich, 1837, Vienna 1838, 20p. and 2 plates, f°.

[A very careful edition with facsimiles, notes and appendices]

366. DIELS, Paul, 'Die "Spodei" der Gotenkirche in Ravenna. (Zur Urkunde von Ravenna),' *Festschrift Siebs* (Breslau, 1933) 11-16.

C. THE SALZBURG-VIENNA MANUSCRIPT

(Cf. also Nos. 323, 625, 632 and 633)

367. KISCH, A., 'Versuch einer neuen Erklärung der in der Alkuinhandschrift (Nr. 795) der k. u. k. Hofbibliothek in Wien enthaltenen gotischen Fragmente,' Prague, 1902, 35-48.

(Prag-Neustadt Progr.)

D. THE EPIGRAM

368. MASSMANN, H. F., 'Ein gothisches Epigramm,' *ZfdA* I (1841) 379-284.

369. GRABOW, A., *Ein gotisches Epigramm.* Oppeln, 1880, 13p.

(Progr.)

Rev.: *ADA* VI (1881) 374; *ALG* X (1881) 128 f.

370. LUFT, W., 'Zum gotischen Epigramm,' *AfdA* XXIII (1897) 392-394.

371. MÖLLER, H. 'Zum gotischen Epigramm,' *AfdA* XXV (1899) 103-104.

372. van HELTEN, W., 'Zu Anthologia Latina ed. Riese Nr. 285 und 285*a* (De conviviis barbaris),' *PBB* XXIX (1904) 339-345.

E. VERONA MS. MARGINAL NOTES

373. CAPELLE, D. B. 'Les homélies 'De lectionibus euangeliorum' de Maximim l'Arien,' *Revue bénédictine* XL (1928) 49-80.

[Pp. 50-51: Gothic marginal notes in Verone Codex LI (29)]

374. von KRAUS, Carl, 'Gotica Veronensia,' *ZfdA* LXVI (1929) 209-213.

375. GOTHEIN, Percy, 'Zu den Gotica Veronensia,' *ZfdA* LXVII (1930) 207.

F. LOST MANUSCRIPTS

376. MASSMANN, H. F., 'Verschollene Handschriften,' *Germ* I (1856) 356-359.

G. APPENDIX: MODERN COMPOSITIONS

377. MASSMANN, H. F., *Liuþ wairþ jah wulþu witubujis merjando. Zur Mitfeyer des Göttinger Jubelfestes am 17. September 1837.* In gothischer (und deutscher) Sprache. München, 1837, IV+42p. Roy. 4°.

[A long poem composed by M. in Gothic with German rendering in parallel columns]

XIV. TEXTUAL EMENDATION AND REMARKS

A. MATTHEW

378. v, 15. LEO, F. A., *ZvS* VI (1857) 193-201.

379. v, 29. BRUGMANN, K., *IF* XXXIII (1913) 284-285.

380. viii, 9. JELLINEK, M., *ZfdA* LXVI (1929) 138-139.

381. ix, 16. KRAUSE, W., *ZfdA* LVI (1919) 98-99.—382. KOCK, E. A., *LUÅ* XV (1919) 3, 1-2.—383. BOER, R. C., *TNT* XLVII (1928) 3-7.

384. x, 29. SCHULZE, W., *ZvS* L (1922) 143.

385. xi, 16. STURTEVANT, A. M., *Studies in honor of H. Collitz* (1930) 106-107.

386. xxvii, 5, 9. SCHROEDER, E., *ZfdA* XLVIII (1906) 161-162.

387. xxvii, 7. STURTEVANT, A. M., *Studies in honor of H. Collitz,* (1930) 101-102.

B. JOHN

388. iii, 4. GERING, Hugo, *ZfdPh* VI (1875) 1-3.

389. vi, 13. STURTEVANT, A. M., *GR* VI (1931) 54-55.

390. vi, 30. STURTEVANT, A. M., *MLN* LIII (1938) 120.—*JEGPh* XLVI (1947) 408.

391. vii, 4. STURTEVANT, A. M., *GR* VI (1931) 55-56.

392. xi, 15. STURTEVANT, A. M., *Studies in honor of H. Collitz* (1930) 107-108.

393. xi, 44. STURTEVANT, A. M., *GR* VI (1931) 56.

394. xii, 6. STURTEVANT, A. M., *JEGPh* XLVI (1947) 412.

395. xvi, 2. STURTEVANT, A. M., *Studies in honor of H. Collitz* (1930) 112-113.

396. xviii, 14. STURTEVANT, A. M., *AJPh* LIV (1933) 344-346.

C. LUKE

397. i, 4, 5. PETERS, I., No. 596.

398. i, 8. WRENN, O. L., *MLR* XXV (1930) 187-188.

399. i, 9. STURTEVANT, A. M., *AJPh* LIII (1932) 58-59.

400. i, 10. WARNATSCH, O., *ZfdPh* XXX (1898) 247.—401. JELLINEK, M. H. *ZfdPh* XXXI (1899) 138-139.

402. i, 18. STURTEVANT, A. M., *Studies in honor of H. Collitz* (1930) 109.

403. i, 27. STURTEVANT, A. M., *GR* VI (1931) 68.

404. i, 38. van der MEER, M. J., *PBB* XXXIX (1914) 209-211.

405. i, 54. STURTEVANT, A. M., *GR* VI (1931) 66.

406. i, 78. STURTEVANT, A. M., *Studies in honor of H. Collitz* (1930) 109-110.

407. ii, 29. STREITBERG, W., *IF* XXIII (1908) 117-120.

408. iii, 5. PETERS, I., No. 596.

409. iii, 23. HEFFNER, R.-M. S., *MLN* XLIV (1929) 454-455.

410. iv, 36. van der MEER, M.J., *PBB* XXXIX (1914) 211-213.—411. STRUNK and HART, J. M., *MLN* VIII (1893) 119. (Cf. *ibid.* 184-186).

412. v, 4. HOFMANN, C., *Germ* VIII (1863) 1-2.

413. vi, 17. STREITBERG, W., *IF* XXVII (1910) 154-156.

414. vii, 39. STURTEVANT, A. M., *JEGPh* XLVI (1947) 411-412.

415. viii, 6, 14. PETERS, I., No. 596.

416. ix, 3. STURTEVANT, A. M., *MLN* XLI (1926) 382-384.

417. xiv, 31. LE MARCHANT DOUSE, T., *Mod. Quart. of Lang. Lit.* I (1899) 55-58, 128-129.

418. xv, 16. STURTEVANT, A. M., *Studies in honor of H. Collitz* (1930) 110-111.—419. JELLINEK, M. H., *ZfdA* XXXVII (1893) 319.

420. xv, 25. STURTEVANT, A. M., *GR* VI (1931) 61-62.

421. xix, 12. STURTEVANT, A. M., *GR* VI (1931) 57-58.

422. xix, 21. STURTEVANT, A. M., *GR* VIII (1933) 209.

423. xx, 26. STURTEVANT, A. M., *AJPh* LIV (1933) 342-344.

D. MARK

424. i, 6. STURTEVANT, A. M., *GR* XXIV (1949) 140-141.

425. i, 10. TRAUTMANN, R., *ZfdPh* XXXVII (1905) 253-256.

426. iii, 9. STURTEVANT, A. M., *AJPh* LIV (1933) 352.

427. iii, 17. STURTEVANT, A. M., *Studies in honor of H. Collitz* (1930) 111-112.

428. iv, 5. STRUNK and HART, J. M., *MLN* VIII (1893) 120.

429. vi, 19. PETERS, I., No. 596.

430. viii, 36. STURTEVANT, A. M., *JEGPh* XLVI (1947) 412.

431. x, 35. SCHULZE, W., *ZvS* LV (1928) 116-117.

432. xi, 11. STURTEVANT, A. M., *AJPh* LIV (1933) 347.

E. THE EPISTLES

433. *Rom* x, 10. STURTEVANT, A. M., *AJPh* LIII (1932) 56-60.

434. *1. Cor.* i, 16. MEISSNER, R. and S(CHROEDER), E., *ZfdA* LXIX (1932) 303-304.—435. ZATOCIL, L. and MEISSNER, R., *ZfdA* LXXI 102.

436. *1. Cor.* xiii, 2. RICE, A. L., *Lang* IX (1933) 87-88.

437. *1. Cor.* xv, 2. HOFMANN, C., *Germ* VIII (1863) 3-5.

438. *1. Cor.* xv, 30. STURTEVANT, A. M., *JEGPh* XLVI (1947) 408-409.

439. *2. Cor.* iii, 18. STURTEVANT, A. M., *Studies in honor of H. Collitz* (1930) 106.

440. *2. Cor.* v, 8. STURTEVANT, A. M., *JEGPh* XXI (1922) 442-449.

441. *2. Cor.* vii, 7. STURTEVANT, A. M., *AJPh* LIV (1933) 346.

442. *2. Cor.* ix, 10. SCH(ULZE), W., *ZvS* LXII (1935) 198.

443. *2. Cor.* ix, 12-15. KNIPPENBERG, H. H., *Neoph* XXVI (1941) 41-44.

444. *2. Cor.* x, 16. HOFMANN, C., *Germ* VIII (1863) 2.

445. *2. Cor.* xi, 1, 16. STURTEVANT, A. M., *MLN* LIII (1938) 120-121.

446. *2. Cor.* xi, 3. HOFMANN, C., *Germ* VIII (1863) 2-3.

447. *Eph* ii, 3. STURTEVANT, A. M., *GR* XXIV (1949) 139-140.

448. *Galat* ii, 8. HOFMANN, C., *Germ* VIII (1863) 1.

449. *Philip* ii, 8. HOFMANN, C., *Germ* VIII (1863) 2.

450. *Col* i, 29. STURTEVANT, A. M., *Studies in honor of H. Collitz* (1930) 104-105.

451. *1. Thess* i, 5. SCHULZE, W., ZvS LVII (1930) 117.

452. *1. Thess* v, 8. STURTEVANT, A. M., *PhQ* VII (1928) 79-82.

453. *2. Thess* iii, 2. STURTEVANT, A. M., *PhQ* VII (1928) 78-79.

454. *1. Tim* ii, 1. STURTEVANT, A. M., *GR* XXIV (1949) 141-142.

455. *1. Tim* iii, 3. HOFMANN, C., *Germ* VIII (1863) 2.

456. *1. Tim* v, 4. HOFMANN, C., *Germ* VIII (1863) 2.

457. *1. Tim* v, 23. ZATOCIL, L., *LF* LXVII (1940) 232 ff.

458. *Philemon* 22. ZATOCIL, L., *LF* LXVII (1940) 232 ff.

F. THE OLD TESTAMENT

459. *Neh.* v, 18. JELLINEK, M. H., *ZfdA* XXXVII (1893) 319.

460. *Neh.* vii, 19. STREITBERG, W., *Festschrift Windisch* (Leipzig, 1914) 226-227.

G. OTHER MONUMENTS

1) The Skeireins

461. I, 12; I, 15-18. KOCK, E. A., *LUÅ* XV (1919) 3, 3.

462. II*a*, 1. JELLINEK, M. H., *ZfdA* XXXVII (1893) 320.

463. II, 8. SIEVERS, E., *PBB* LII (1928) 148-149.

464. IIIc, 17. BEETS, A., *TNT* X(2) (1891) 124 ff.

465. IV, 14. KOCK, E. A., *LUÅ* XV (1919) 3, 2.

466. IV, 15-19. *Id., ibid.* p. 4.

467. VI, 10-11. WRENN, C. L., *MLR* XXV (1930) 185-187.

468. VI, 16. KOCK, E. A., *LUÅ* XV (1919) 3, 4.

469. VII*a*, 6-23; VIIIc, 12. JELLINEK, M. H., *ZfdA* XXXVII (1893) 320.

2) The Arezzo Deed

470. HOLTHAUSEN, F. 'Gotica,' *ZfdPh* XLVIII (1920) 268-269.

3) The Gothic Calendar

471. WRENN, C. L., 'Oct. 29,' *MRL* XXV (1930) 188-190.

XV. CRIMEAN GOTHIC

A. BUSBECQ'S LETTERS: EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS

472. *Augerii Gislenii Busbequii D. Legationis Turcicae epistolae quatuor.* Paris, 1589.
[First edition; other ed. Hanover, 1629; Leiden, 1633]

473. De BUSBECQ, A. G., *Turkish Letters, An Anonymous Version.* London, 1694.

474. FOSTER, C. T. & DANIELL, F. H. B., *The Life and Letters of Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq.* London, 1881, 2 vol.
[Contains translations of the letters]

475. von BUSBECK, O.G., *Vier Briefe aus der Türkei. Aus dem Lateinischen übertragen, eingeleitet und mit Anmerkungen* von Wolfram von den Steinen. Mit 20 Wiedergaben zeitgenössischer Holzschnitte und Kupfer. Erlangen, 1926. 229p.
(Der Weltkreis, 2)

476. von BUSBECK, O. G., *Vier Sendschreiben über die Gesandtschaft nach der Türkei.* Berlin, 1926, 148p.
(Weltgeist-Bücher Nr. 74/75)

477. de BUSBECQ, O.G., *The Turkish Letters of Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq, Imperial Ambassador at Constantinople, 1554-1562, newly translated from the Latin of the Elzevir edition of 1633* by E. S. Forster. Oxford, 1927, XVI+265p. 1 plate, 1 map.

B. REPORTS AND STUDIES

(Cf. No. 108)

478. GRÄTER, F. D., 'Busbecks und anderer Nachrichten von den teutschen Gothen auf der Insel Krimm,' *Bragur* IV (1796) 1. 124-131; 2. 36-45.
[Translation of Busbeck's letter of 16. XII. 1562 by Gräter]

479. MASSMANN, H. F., 'Wie steht es um Augerius Gislenius Busbecks Gothen in der Krimm?' *ZfdA* I (1841) 345-366.

480. MANNHARDT, W., 'Ueber eine gothische Mundart in der Krim,' *ZvS* V (1856) 166-180.

481. KLUGE, F., 'Die Krimgoten,' *PBB* XI (1886) 563-564.

482. LOEWE, R., 'Die Krimgotenfrage,' *IF* XIII (1902) 1-84.

483. SCHROEDER, E., 'Busbecqs krimgotisches Vokabular,' *NGWG* (1910) 1-16.

XVI. GRAMMAR: GENERAL AND COMPARATIVE

A. COMPARATIVE STUDIES OF *IE* WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO GOTHIC

1) General treatment

484. BOPP, Franz, *Vergleichende Grammatik des Sanskrit, Zend, Griech., Lat., Lith., Gothischen und Deutschen.* Berlin, 1833-52. 4°. (2nd ed. 1857-61; 3rd ed. 1869-71)

485. EICHHOFF, F. G., *Grammaire générale indo-européenne ou Comparaison des langues grecque, latine, française, gothique, allemande, anglaise et russe, entre elles et avec le sanscrit, suivie d'extraits de poésie indienne.* Paris, 1867, 411p.

486. ZIEMER, Herm., *Vergleichende Syntax der indogermanischen Comparation, insbesondere der Comparationscasus der indogermanischen Sprachen und sein Ersatz.* Berlin, 1884, XII+282p.
Rev.: *ZföR* IX (1884) 159; *ZföG* XXXV (1884) 427-432; *LZ* 1884, 894; *Academy* No. 633, 442; *LB* VI (1884) 209-211; *LZg* 1884, 573; *GGA* XIII (1884) 501-520.

487. BRUGMANN, K., *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen. Kurzgefasste Darstellung des Altindischen, Altiranischen, Altarmenischen, Altgriechischen, Lateinischen, Umbrisch-Samnitischen, Altirischen, Gotischen, Althochdeutschen, Litauischen und Altkirchenslavischen.* Strassburg, 1886-1893.

488.BYRNE, J., *Origin of the Greek, Latin and Gothic Roots.* London, 1887, VII+359p.
Rev.: *Saturd. Rev.* 1689 (1888) 301-302; *LZ* 1888, 450; *RC* XXIV (1888) 475-477; *WKPh* XLI (1888) 1249-1252; *Class. Rev.* VII (1888) 220.

489. DELBRÜCK, B., *Vergleichende Syntax der indogermanischen Sprachen.* I-III. Strassburg, 1893-1900.
(Brugmanns Grundr. vgl. Gramm. Bd. III-V)

490. EDGREN, H., *Jämförande grammatik, omfattande sanskrit, grekiska, latin och gotiska.* I. Ljudlära och nominal Stambildningslära. Göteborg, n.d. (1893) VIII+124p.

2) Special studies

491. BOPP, Franz, *Ueber das Conjugationssystem der Sanskritsprache in Vergleichung mit jenem der griechischen, lateinischen, persischen und germanischen Sprache. Nebst Episoden des Ramajan in genauen metrischen Uebersetzungen.* Hrsg. v. Dr. K. Windischmann, Frankfurt a. M., 1816.

492. BOPP, Franz, 'Ueber die Zahlwörter im Sanskrit, Griechischen, Lateinischen, Litthauischen, Gothischen und Altslawischen,' *ABA* (1833) 163-167.

493. BOPP, Franz, *Vocalismus oder sprachvergleichende Kritiken über J. Grimms deutsche Grammatik und Graffs althochdeutschen Sprachschatz mit Begründung einer neuen Theorie des Ablauts.* Berlin, 1836.

494. PAULI, C., 'Das praeteritum reduplicatum der indogermanischen Sprachen und der deutsche Ablaut,' *ZvS* XII (1863) 56-68.

495. WILHELM, E., *De infinitivi linguarum sanscritae bactricae persicae graecae oscae umbricae latinae gothicae forma et usu.* Eisenach, 1873, 96p.

496. GREIN, C. W. M., *Das gothische Verbum in sprachvergleichender Hinsicht dargestellt.* Kassel, 1872, IV+75p.
Rev.: *Germ* XVIII (1873) 248-251.

497. LESKIEN, A., *Die Deklination im Slavisch-Litauischen und Germanischen.* Leipzig, 1876. 4°.

498. BURGHAUSER, Gust., *Indogermanische Praesensbildung im Germanischen. Ein Kapitel vergleichender Grammatik.* Vienna and Prague; Leipzig, 1888, 55p.
Rev.: *LZg* VI (1888) 198-199; *ZföG* XXXIX (1888) 663; *ZföR* XIII (1888) 161.

B. COMPARATIVE STUDIES OF THE GERMANIC LANGUAGES

1) General

499. GRIMM, Jacob, *Deutsche Grammatik.* Göttingen, 1819-1837.
[New ed. of parts I-III by W. Scherer, G. Roethe and Ed. Schröder, Berlin, 1870-1890]

500. KELLE, J., *Vergleichende Grammatik der germanischen Sprachen.* I. Das Nomen. Prague, 1863.

501. HEYNE, Moritz, *Kurze Grammatik der altgermanischen Dialekte gotisch, althochdeutsch, altsächsisch, angelsächsisch, altfriesisch, altnordisch.* 1. Teil: Laut- und Flexionslehre. 2. Verb. Aufl. Paderborn, 1870, V+354p.
[3rd ed. 1874; reprinted 1880]
Rev.: *ZfdPh* IV (1873) 91-92.

502. HOLTZMANN, Adolf, *Altdeutsche Grammatik, umfassend die gotische, altnordische, altsächsische, angelsächsische und althochdeutsche Sprache.* I. Bd. 1. Abt. Leipzig, 1870, XVII+349p.; 2. Abt. Leipzig, 1875, VII+78p.
Rev.: *ZfdPh* IV (1873) 85-91.

503. de BAEKER, L., *Essai de grammaire comparée des langues germaniques. Phonétique, formation des mots, le nom en sanscrit, gothique, haut allemand, bas allemand, anglosaxon, anglais, néerlandais, frison, norrois,* etc. Paris, 1872.

504. BURGHAUSER, G., *Germanische Nominalflexion auf vergleichender Grundlage.* Vienna and Leipzig, 1888, 28p.

505. WILMANNS, W., *Deutsche Grammatik. Gotisch, Alt- Mittel- und Neuhochdeutsch.* Strassburg. I. Abt. Lautlehre (1st ed. 1893; 2nd ed. 1897, XX+425 p.; 3rd ed. 1911, XXI+482p.) II. Abt. Wortbildung (1st ed. 1896, XIV+663p; 2nd ed. 1899, XVI+671p.) III. Abt. Flexion, Verbum 1906, X+315p.; Nomen und Pronomen 1909, VIII+317-772.
[Never completed]

506. NOREEN, Adolf, *Urgermanische Lautlehre.* Mit besonderer Rücksicht auf die nordischen Sprachen. Strassburg, 1894.

507. STREITBERG, W., *Urgermanische Grammatik.* Einführung in das Studium der altgermanischen Dialekte. Heidelberg, 1896, XX+372p.
(Sammlung und Elementarbüchern der altgerm. Dialekte, I)

508. LOEWE, R., *Germanische Sprachwissenschaft.* Leipzig, 1905, 148p.
(Sammlung Göschen 238)
3rd. ed. 2 vol., 1918-1922; 4th ed., 1933.
(Sammlung Göschen 238 and 780)
Rev.: *ANF* XXV, 211-214.

509. KAUFFMANN, Fr., *Deutsche Grammatik.* Kurzgefasste Laut- und Formenlehre des Gotischen, Alt-, Mittel- und Neuhochdeutschen. 6th ed., Marburg, 1913, VIII+122. (9th ed., 1929).

510. MEILLET, A., *Caractères généraux des langues germaniques.* Paris, 1917. (4th ed. 1930, XVI+236p.).

511. BOER, H. C., *Oergermaansch Handboek.* Haarlem, 1918, XVII+321p.
(Oudgermaansche Handboeken, 1)
Rev.: *BSL* XXI (1920) 271-273.

512. KARSTEN, T. E., *Germanerna, En inledning till Studiet av deras språk och kultur.* Stockholm, 1925 (1927), 207p.
[Pp. 176-180: Gothic]

513. KARSTEN, T. E., *Die Germanen, Eine Einführung in die Geschichte ihrer Sprache und Kultur.* Berlin and Leipzig, 1928, X+241p.
(PGrundr^3 9)
[Pp. 215-219: Gothic]

514. KARSTEN, T. E., *Les anciens Germains, Introduction à l'étude des langues et des civilisations germaniques,* trad. F. Mossé. Paris, 1931, 282p.
[Pp. 214-217: Gothic]

515. HIRT, Herm., *Handbuch des Urgermanischen.* Heidelberg. Teil I, Laut- und Akzentlehre. 1931, VIII+168p.; Teil II, Stammbildungs- und Flexionslehre. 1932, VII+200p.; Teil III, Abriss der Syntax. 1934, XII+231p.
(Indogermanische Bibliothek, I, 1, 21)

516. PROKOSCH, E., *A Comparative Germanic Grammar.* Philadelphia, 1939, 353p.
(W. D. Whitney Linguistic Series)
Rev.: *Lang* XV (1939) 194-206; *JEGPh* XL (1941) 38-47; *RBphilHist* XXI (1942) 242-250; *BSL* XLII (1946) 133-135.

517. PISANI, V., *Introduzione allo studio delle lingue germaniche.* Rome, 1940, 111p.
(Manuali linguistici del Istituto Superiore Orientale di Napoli, 2)
Rev.: *ASNS* CLXXVII (1940) 110.

518. KRAHE, Hans, *Germanische Sprachwissenschaft.* I. Einleitung und Lautlehre. 127p. II. Formenlehre. 140p. Berlin, 1942 (repr. 1948).
(Sammlung Göschen 238 and 780)

2) Special studies

519. ZIEMANN, Adolf, *Gothischhochdeutsche Wortlehre.* Quedlinburg and Leipzig, 1834, VIII+88p.

520. EBEL, H., 'Gothisch und Althochdeutsch,' *ZvS* V (1856) 52-59.

521. SCHLÜTER, Wolfg., *Die mit dem Suffixe -ja- gebildeten deutschen Nomina.* Göttingen, 1875.

522. ZIMMER, H., *Die Nominalsuffixe -a- und -ā- in den germanischen Sprachen.* Strassburg, 1876.
(*QF* XIII)

523. ZIMMER, H., 'Ostgermanisch und Westgermanisch,' *ZfdA* XIX (1876) 393-462.
[Differences in phonology, morphology and vocabulary]
Rev.: *AfdA* II, 213-214; *Jenaer LZ* XXIX (1876).

524. PAUL, H., 'Die Vokale der Flexions- und Ableitungssilben in den ältesten germanischen Dialekten,' *PBB* IV (1877) 315-475.
[Cf. also *PBB* VI (1879) 124-209]

525. PAUL, H., 'Zur Geschichte des germanischen Vocalismus,' *PBB* VI (1879) 1-261.

526. KLUGE, Fr., *Beiträge zur Geschichte der germanischen Konjugation.* Strassburg, 1879.
(*QF* XXXII)

527. BEZZENBERGER, A., 'Die verwandtschaftliche Gruppierung der altgermanischen Dialekte,' *NGWG* (1880) (3), 152-155.

528. KAHLE, B., *Zur Entwicklung der konsonantischen Deklination im Germanischen.* Berlin, 1887.

529. NECKEL, G., 'Die Verwandtschaft der germanischen Sprachen untereinander,' *PBB* LI (1927) 1-17.

C. COMPARATIVE GRAMMARS OF GOTHIC

530. MEYER, Leo, *Die gothische Sprache. Ihre Lautgestaltung insbesondere im Verhältnis zum Altindische, Griechischen und Lateinischen.* Berlin, 1869, XVI+780p.

Rev.: *ZfdPh* II (1870) 226-228; *ZvS* XIX (1870) 268-296; *North British Review* LIII.

531. KIECKERS, Ernst, *Handbuch der vergleichenden gotischen Grammatik.* Munich, 1928, XX+288p.

Rev.: *BSL* XXIX, 2 (1928) 170-172; *ZfDk* XLIII (1929) 372; *Anglia Beibl* XLI (1930) 225-230; *ZfdB* VI (1930) 489-490; *RG* XXI (1930) 47-48; *RC* LXIV (1930) 16-17; *DLZ* LIII (1932) 264-265; *LB* LIII (1932) 215-216.

D. PARADIGMS

532. KOBERSTEIN, A., *Paradigmata zur deutschen Grammatik.* Naumburg, 1829, 17p. 4°.

533. MÜLLER, Jos., *Vergleichende Zusammenstellung der gothischen, alt-, mittel- und neuhochdeutschen Deklination und Conjugation für Zwecke des Gymn.* Breslau, 1838, 23p. 4°.

534. KEHREIN, Jos., *Tabellen der gothischen, althochdeutschen, mittelhochdeutschen und neuhochdeutschen Declination und Conjugation.* Wiesbaden, 1848, 4°.

535. SCHADE, O., *Paradigmen zur deutschen Grammatik, gothisch, ahd., mhd., nhd. für Vorlesungen.* Halle, 1860, 101p. 2nd ed. 1868; 3rd ed. 1873; 4th ed. 1884.

536. MÜLLENHOFF, K., *Paradigmata zur deutschen Grammatik.* 2nd ed. Berlin, 1867; 3rd ed. 1871, 27p.

[Including Gothic]

537. SIEVERS, E., *Paradigmen zur deutschen Grammatik.* Halle, 1874, 5p. 30 tables. (Berichtigungen und Nachträge, 1876)

538. KOCH, E. A., *Altgermanische Paradigmen.* Lund and Leipzig, 1915.

XVII. GRAMMARS, HANDBOOKS

(Cf. also Nos. 207-209, 211, 226 and 1227)

539. HICKES, George, *Institutiones Grammaticae Anglosaxonicae et Moesogothicae.* Oxford, 1689, f°.

[The Gothic words are printed from matrixes of the Junian font. Reprinted in Hickes's *Linguarum Veterum Septentrionalium Thesaurus I* Oxford, 1705; extracts printed in *KB* IV, 497-518]

540. MANNING, Owen, *Grammatica Anglo-Saxonica et Moeso-Gothica in usum tyronum* in: LYE, Edw., *Dictionarium Saxonico- et Gothico-Latinum.* London, 1772, I. 44p. f°.

[In the Dictionary, OE and Gothic words are in alphabetical order without distinction of language, the Gothic words in Gothic characters]

541. FULDA, Fr. K., 'Ulfilanische Sprachlehre,' in Zahn (No. 205) II, 1-70.

542. OCHMANN, Joh., *Versuch einen Grundriss der deutschen Sprachlehre nach Grimms unschätzbarer deutscher Grammatik zu entwerfen.* 1. Th. Das Nothwendigste aus der Laut- und Wortlehre des Gothischen, Alt- und Mittelhochdeutschen. Breslau, 1831, 76p. 4°.

(Oppeln Progr.)

[Gothic Grammar: pp. 7-30]

543. v.d. GABELENTZ and LOEBE, J., *Grammatik der gothischen Sprache.* Leipzig, 1836, VIII+298p. (Cf. No. 206).

544. GAUGENGIGL, Ignaz, *Älteste Denkmäler der Deutschen Sprache erhalten in Ulfilas Gothischer Bibelübersetzung.* Passau, 1st and 2nd ed. 1847 and 1848; 3rd ed. 1853; 4th ed. 1857.

[Contents: I. Theil: Einleitung III-X; Verhältnis der gotischen Sprache zur Sprachwissenschaft XI-XXIX. I. Abtheilung: Sprachlehre I-LXIX. II. Abtheilung: Wörterbuch (6)+ A. Etymologischer Theil (2)+LV, B. Alphabetischer

Theil (2)+XXXV, C. Vergleichnis der Fremdwörter und eignen Namen 2+XXXVII-XLII+(4). II. Theil: Einleitung-Evangelia-Epistola-Fragmenta veteris Testamenti 1-12+I-36+1-199+(2)]

545. MUNCH, P. A., *Det gothiske Sprogs Formlaere med korte Laesestykker og Ordregister*. Christiania, 1848, 2+115p.

Rev.: *Frey* (1849) No. 6 (A. Uppström) (cf. *NT* 3, pp. 413-417).

546. GAUGENGIGL, Ignaz, *Ulfilas, Urschrift, Sprachlehre, Wörterbuch*. Passau, 1848, L+206p.

547. STAMM, Fr. L., *Vorschule zum Ulfila oder Grammatik der gothischen Sprache zur Selbstbelehrung. Mit Beispielen, Lesestücken und vollständigem Wörterbuche*. Paderborn, 1851, XVI+140p.

[Later included in Stamm's complete edition of the Gothic Bible, No. 208]

548. BRAUNE, Wilh., *Gotische Grammatik mit (einigen) Lesestücken und Wortverzeichnis*. Halle, 1879, 117p.

(Sammlung kurzer Grammatiken germanischer Dialecte, I)

(Numerous editions: 2nd, 1882, VIII+130p.; 3rd, 1887, V+135p.; 4th, 1895, 140p.; 5th, 1900, VIII+163p.; 6th, 1905, VIII+168p.; 9th, 1920, 188p.; 10th, bearb. von K. Helm, 1928, XI+199p.; etc.)

Rev.: *LZ* 1880 1266; *ZfdPh* XII (1881) 480-482; *AfdA* VII (1881) 305; *IFAnz* VII (1897) 248-250.

549. BRAUNE, Wilh., *A Gothic Grammar; with Selections for Reading and a Glossary;* tr. from the 2nd German ed. by G. H. Balg. New York, 1884, X+128p.; 2nd ed., from the 4th German ed., Milwaukee, 1895, 228p.

550. BERNHARDT, E., *Kurzgefasste gotische Grammatik*. Anhang zur gotischen Bibel des Vulfila. Halle, 1885, VIII+120p.

(Sammlung germanistischer Hilfsmittel, IV)

Rev.: *LB* 1885 274-275; *LZg* XXXVIII (1885) 1334; *ZfdPh* XVII (1885) 254; *AfdA* XII (1886) 97; *Noord en Zuid* (1886) 50-53.

551. LE MARCHANT DOUSE, T., *An Introduction, phonological, morphological, syntactic to the Gothic of Ulfilas*. London, 1886, 289p.

Rev.: *Journ. of Education* (1887) 92.

552. SIEVERS, E., 'Geschichte der gotischen Sprache,' *PGrundr* I^1 407-416.

553. WRIGHT, Jos., *A Primer of the Gothic Language*, with Grammar, Notes and Glossary. Oxford, 1892, XI+247p.; 2nd ed. 1899, 288p.

Rev.: *MLN* VII (1892); *RC* XXIV (1892); *Academy* 1035, 233; *Ath* 3373, 4; *LB* 1893 313-315; *LZ* 1892 1800; *LZg* 1894; *IFAnz* III (1894) 17.

554. FRIEDMANN, S., *La lingua gotica*. Grammatica, esercizi, testi, vocabulario comparativo con ispecial riguardo sul Tedesco, Inglese, Latino e Greco. Milan, 1896, XIV+336p.

(Manuali Hoepli, 214, 215)

Rev.: *RC* XII (1896); *ZföG* XLVII (1896); *LZ* (1896) 1047; *LZg* XLV (1896) 1416-1417; *IFAnz* VII (1897) 254-255; *ESt* XXIV (1898) 265-266; *AfdA* XXVI (1900) 80.

555. KLUGE, F., 'Geschichte der gotischen Sprache,' *PGrundr*^{2} I (Strassburg, 1897) 497-515.

[Took the place of No. 552 in 1st Edition]

Rev.: *Nyelvtudományi Közlemények* XXVIII (1897) 114-122.

556. STREITBERG, W., *Gotisches Elementarbuch*. Heidelberg, 1897, XII+200p.

(Germanische Bibliothek, I,1,2)

Rev.: *LZ* 1897 139; DLZ 1897 417-418; *AfdA* XXIII (1897) 330-334; *IFAnz* VII (1897) 254; *MLN* (1897) 498; *Nyelvtudományi Közlemények* XXVIII (1897) 114-122; *ZfdPh* XXXI (1896) 90-98; *NS* VII (1900) 9.

Zweite vermehrte und verbesserte Auflage. 1906, XVI+350p.

Rev.: *LZ* 1906 1046; *AfdA* XXXI (1907) 1-7; *ASNS* CXVIII (1907) 401-402; *Lit. Rundschau f. d. kathol. Deutschl.* XXXIII 167-168; *AllgLB* XVI (1908) 713; LB XXX (1909) 89-93.

Dritte und Vierte Auflage. 1910, XII+313p.

Rev.: *BSL* LVIII (1910) 354-356; *Museum* XVII (1910) 419.

Fünfte und Sechste Auflage. 1920, XII+308p.

Rev.: *LB* XLIII (1922) 162-163.

557. BETHGE, R., 'Gotische Grammatik,' *Dieters Laut- und Formenlehre der altgermanischen Dialekte.* Leipzig, 1898-1900.

558. GLIESE, W., *Kurze Einführung in das Studium des Gotischen.* Heidelberg, 1900, IV+103p.

Rev.: *LB* (1900) 321-322; *ZföG* LII (1900) 753; *LZ* (1900) 1132; *MLN* XVI (1901) 112-114; *D. human. Gymn* (1901) 218; *Oester. litbl.* (1901) 558; *Gymn.* (1901) 717-718.

559. v. d. LEYEN, F., *Einführung in das Gotische.* Munich, 1908, X+181p.

Rev.: *LB Frankf. Zg* (1908); *Monatsschr. f. höh. Schulen* VI (1908) 688; *ZfGw* LXII (1908) 266; *DLZ* XXIX (1908) 994; *LB* (1908) 180-187; *AfdA* XXXIII (1909) 89-91; *ZföG* LX (1909) 323-324; *ZfdPh* XLI (1909) 228-231; *IFAnz* XXIII (1909) 85-87; *AllgLB* XIX (1910) 336-339.

560. WRIGHT, Jos., *Grammar of the Gothic language and the gospel of St. Mark, selections from the other gospels and the second epistle to Timothy with notes and glossary.* Oxford, 1910, X+366p.

Rev.: *NQ* XI, 2 (1910) 59; *LZ* LXI (1910) 1585; *ZfdPh* XLIII (1911) 381-383; *MLR* VI (1911) 272; *DLZ* XXXII (1911) 1633-1637; *Anglia Beibl.* XXII (1911) 259-262.

561. KLUGE, Fr., *Die Elemente des Gotischen, eine erste Einführung in die deutsche Sprachwissenschaft.* Strassburg, 1911, VIII+133p.

(PGrundr³)

[Replaced No. 555]

Rev.: *BSL* LX (1912) 87-89; *RG* VIII (1912) 344-346; *RC* LXXIII (1912) 363-364; *DLZ* XXXV (1914) 291-294.

562. van HAMEL, A. G., *Gotisch Handboek.* Haarlem, 1923, XV+258p.; 2nd ed., 1931, XIX+283p.

(Oudgermaansche Handboeken, III)

Rev.: *BSL* XXVII (1924) 121; XXXII (1931) 141-142; *AfdA* XLIII (1924) 44-46; LI (1932) 10-12; *ESt* XII (1931) 224-225; *Museum* XXXIX (1932) 61-62.

563. JELLINEK, M. H., *Geschichte der gotischen Sprache.* Berlin, 1926, IX+209p.

(PGrundr I,1)

[Replaced No. 561]

Rev.: *RG* XVIII (1927) 349-350; *Horen* IV (1928) 567; *ZfdB* IV (1928) 509; *NTS* IV (1930) 464-477.

564. MOSSE, Fernand, *Manuel de la langue gotique.* Paris, 1942, 272p.

(Bibliothèque de philologie germanique, II)

Rev.: *MDU* XXXVIII (1946) 125; *BSL* XLII, 2 (1946) 128-130.

565. KRAHE, Hans, *Historische Laut- und Formenlehre des Gotischen.* Zugleich eine Einführung in die germanische Sprachwissenschaft. Heidelberg, 1948, 143p.

Rev.: *JEGPh* XLVIII (1949) 379-384 (A. M. Sturtevant).

APPENDIX

READERS AND PRIMERS

566. PFAFF, Joh. Wilh., *Allgemeine Umrisse der germanischen Sprachen, der hochdeutschen, der niederdeutschen, der schwedischen und der gothischen des*

Ulfilas, in neuer Art gefasst; samt Anhang, enthaltend die vorzüglichsten Worte, welche dem niederdeutschen, schwedischen und gothischen eigenthümlich sind. Nürnberg, 1817, 176p.

[Pp. 141-176: sketch of Gothic grammar]

567. ZEUNE, Aug., *Gothische Sprachformen und Sprachproben, zu Vorlesungen entworfen.* Berlin, 1825, (2)+16p. 4°.

Rev.: *GGA* (1826) 729-742 (J. Grimm, =*Kl. Schriften* IV 377-381).

[The first to use in transliteration *hw*, *q* and ψ (for þ)]

568. HAHN, K. A., *Auswahl aus Ulfilas gothischer Bibelübersetzung.* Mit einem wörterbuch und mit einem grundriss zur gothischen buchstaben- und flexionslehre. Heidelberg, 1849, VIII+110p.; 2nd ed., 1864, VIII+112p.

569. GAUGENGIGL, Ignaz, *Gothische Studien.* Ergänzung der Bruchstücke des Ulfilas nach der Sinaitischen Handschrift des Dr. Constantin Tischendorf auf Grund der Lachmann-Tischendorf'schen Ausgabe des Neuen Testamentes herausgegeben. Erster Versuch. Münich, 1864, IV+20+XVI+17p.

[Introduction: On Gothic philology and studies; glossary of 437 Gothic words: text of *Mt* i, 1-25, *Jn* i, ii, iii, 1-5 with the Greek original]

570. HAHN, K. A., *Auswahl aus Ulfilas gothischer Bibelübersetzung.* Mit Glossar und einem Grundriss zur gothischen Laut- und Flexionslehre. 3. Auflage hrsg. und bearbeitet von A. Jeitteles. Heidelberg, 1873, 121p.

Rev.: *Germ* XIX (1874) 227-228.

571. ZIMMER, Hans. *Repetitorium und examinatorium über die gotische Grammatik.* Leipzig, 1889-90.

(Germanistisch-neuphilol. repet. und examina, 2)

572. ZACHE, W. A., *Wulfila. Abriss des Gotischen für Anfänger.* Leipzig, 1896, 97p.

573. JANTZEN, H., *Gotische Sprachdenkmäler.* Leipzig, 1898, 137p.

(Sammlung Göschen, 79)

(2nd ed. 1901; 3rd ed. 1905; 4th ed. 1914; 5th ed. 1920; 6th ed. 1929; etc.)

Rev.: *ASNS* CI (1898) 402-403; *LB* (1899) 115; *DLZ* (1899) 1512; *Museum* (1899); *ZföG* L (1899) 232; *AfdA* XXVI (1900) 81; *ZfdPh* XXXVIII (1906) 414-416; *ASNS* CXVIII (1907) 400-401; *DLZ* XXXVI (1915) 156; *Monatsschr. f. höh. Schulen* XIV (1915) 60; *ASNS* CXXXIV (1916); *ZfRw* XLI (1916) 375-376.

574. HEIDERICH, A., *Einführung in das Studium der gotischen Sprache.* Zehn praktische Lektionen mit einem etymologischen Wortverzeichnis und einem Anhange zur 'Geschichte der deutschen Sprache'. Munich, 1900, 56p.

Rev.: *LB* (1900) 201; *AfdA* (1901) 92.

575. MAYR, E., *Paradigmen zur gotischen Grammatik.* Munich, 1913, 23p.

(Münchener Texte, hrsg. v. Fr. Wilhelm, Erg.-Reihe I)

576. FRIEDRICH, Joh., *Laiseins gutiskaizos razdos.* Lehrbuch der gotischen Sprache zum Selbstunterricht. Vienna, n.d. [1922] VIII+94p.

577. FEIST, S., *Einführung in das Gotische.* Texte mit Uebersetzungen und Erläuterungen. Leipzig, 1922, VI+156p.

Rev.: *BfGW* LVIII (1922) 150-151; *BSL* XXIII (1922) 96-97; *AfdA* XLII (1923) 61-62.

578. KIECKERS, Ernst, *Chrestomathie nebst Glossar zur vergleichenden gotischen Grammatik.* Munich, 1928, LIIIp.+facs.

Rev.: *DLZ* LIII (1932) 264-265.

579. HEMPEL, H., *Gotisches Elementarbuch.* Grammatik, Texte mit Uebersetzung und Erläuterungen, mit einer Einleitung. Berlin and Leipzig, 1937, 136p.

[Sammlung Göschen, 79, replaced No. 573]

Rev.: *AfdA* LIX (1940) 25-27; *IF* LVI (1938) 166.

580. TOVAR, A., *Lengua gótica: paradigmas gramaticales, textos, léxico.* Madrid, 1946, 66p.
(Manual de linguística indoeuropea, IX)
Rev.: *Emérita* XV (1947) 265; *Trabajos y Días* (1946) May.

XVIII. COLLECTIVE ARTICLES ON GRAMMATICAL POINTS
(in alphabetical order)

581. EBEL, H., 'Gothische Studien,' *ZvS* V (1856) 300-312, 354-358.

582. van HAMEL, A. G., 'Gotica I,' *Neoph* I (1916) 254-263.

583. van HELTEN, W., 'Grammatisches,' *PBB* XV (1890) 455-488, XVI (1891) 272-314, XVII (1893) 272-302, 550-572, XX (1895) 506-525, XXI (1896) 437-498.

584. van HELTEN, W., 'Zur gotischen Grammatik,' *IF* XIV (1903) 60-89.

585. HIRT, Herman, 'Grammatisches und etymologisches,' *PBB* XXIII (1898) 288-357.

586. HOFMANN, Conrad, 'Gothische Conjecturen und Worterklärungen,' *Germ* VIII (1863) 1-11.

587. JELLINEK, M. H., 'Gotica minima,' *ZfdA* XXXVII (1893) 319-320.

588. JELLINEK, M. H., 'Gotica,' *ZfdA* LXVI (1929) 117-140.

589. KLUGE, F., 'Gotische Miszellen,' *ZfdW* X (1908) 64-65.

590. KOCH, A., 'Kleine gotische Beiträge,' *PBB* XXI (1896) 429-436.

591. KOCH, A., 'Zur gotischen Lautlehre,' *ZvS* XXXVI (1900) 571-583.

592. KOCH, E. A., 'Kontinentalgermanische Streifzüge. I. Gotisches,' *LUÅ* XV (1919) no. 3, 1-4.

593. MASSMANN, H. F., 'Gothica Minora,' *ZfdA* I (1841) 294-393, II (1842) 199-204.

594. v. d. MEER, M. J., 'Gotica,' *PBB XXXIX* (1914) 201-213, XLII (1917) 337-342.

595. MEILLET, A., 'Notes sur quelques faits gotiques,' *MSL* XV (1908) 73-103.

596. PETERS, Ignaz, *Gotische Conjecturen.* Leitmeritz, 1879, 14p.
(Progr.)
Rev.: *ZfdPh* VII (1876) 484; *Germ* XXIII (1878) 372-373; *AfdA* VI, 114.

597. SCHULZE, Wilh., 'Gotica,' *ZvS* XLI (1907) 165-175, XLII (1908) 92-96, 317-330, LV (1928) 113-137.

598. STREITBERG, W., 'Germanisches,' *IF* XIV (1903) 490-498.

599. STREITBERG, W., 'Gotica,' *IF* XVIII (1906) 383-407, XXIV (1909) 174-181, XXVII (1910) 151-158, XXXI (1913) 323-334.

600. STREITBERG, W., 'Zur gotischen Grammatik,' *Festschrift Windisch* (Leipzig, 1914) 217-227.

601. STRUNK and HART, J. M., 'Gothic Emendations,' *MLN* VIII (1893) 119-120.

602. STURTEVANT, A. M., 'Gothic Notes,' *JEGPh* XXI (1922) 442-456, XXIV (1925) 504-511, XXXIX (1940) 456-461.

603. STURTEVANT, A. M., 'Two Notes on the Gothic Text,' *PhQ* VII (1928) 78-82.

604. STURTEVANT, A. M., 'Gothic Syntactical Notes,' *Studies in Honor of H. Collitz* (Baltimore, 1930) 101-113.

605. STURTEVANT, A. M., 'Gothic Notes,' *GR* VI (1931) 54-68.

606. STURTEVANT, A. M., 'Gotica,' *GR* VIII (1933) 206-212.

607. STURTEVANT, A. M., 'Gothic Notes,' *AJPh* LIII (1932) 53-60.

608. STURTEVANT, A. M., 'Gothic Syntactical Notes,' *AJPh* LIV (1933) 340-352.

609. STURTEVANT, A. M., 'Gothic Miscellanies,' *AJPh* LVII (1936) 271-285.

610. STURTEVANT, A. M., 'Gothic Notes,' *MLN* LII (1937) 207-209, LIII (1938) 120-122.

611. STURTEVANT, A. M., 'Notes on Gothic Morphology,' *PMLA* LX (1945) 1-9.

612. STURTEVANT, A. M., 'Gothic Syntactical Notes,' *MLN* LX (1945) 104-106.

613. STURTEVANT, A. M., 'Gothic Syntactical Notes,' *JEGPh* XLVI (1947) 407-412.

614. WOOD, Fr. A., 'Morphological Notes,' *St Ph* XX (1923) 99-109.

615. WRENN, C. L., 'Gothic Notes,' *MLR* XXV (1930) 185-190.

616. ZATOCIL, L., 'Gotica,' *LF* LXVII (1940) 232-236.

XIX. ALPHABET, SCRIPT AND PRONUNCIATION

A. ALPHABET AND SCRIPT

617. TOUSTAIN (Dom) and Dom TASSIN, *Nouveau traité de diplomatique,* Tome I. Paris, 1750.

618. FOURNIER, Simon-Pierre, *Manuel typographique.* 2 vol. Paris, 1764-66.
[Vol. II, p. 205 §135: Gothic Script; cf. p. 271 §134, explanations]

619. SJÖBORG, N. H., *Litterae Gothicae, ab Asia oriundae, ad Scandinavos hospites deductae.* Lund, 1805, 32p. 4°.

620. SIERAKOWSKI, Joseph, ΕΚΤΥΠΟΝ· *Litterae Veteris Linguae Gothicae; depromptu de Papyro: quae nunc in Pinacotheca Neapolitana asservatur.* 1810.
[Privately printed; copperplates of the Deeds; reproduced at the end of Abhandlungen des frankfurtischen Gelehrtenvereines für deutsche Sprache III (1821), cf. No. 364]

621. BODONI, G. B., *Manuale tipografico.* 2 vol. Parma, 1818. 4°.
[Vol. II reproduces Gothic Script]

622. GRIMM, Wilh., 'Zur Literatur der Runen. Nebst Mittheilung runischer Alphabete und gothischer Fragmente aus Handschriften,' *WJL* XLIII (1828) 1-42. Fig. 8. (=*Kl. Schriften* III, 85-131)
Rev.: *MGA* (1841) 200-247.

623. BREDSDORFF, J. H., 'Om Forholdet mellem det skandinaviske Rune Alphabet og det Gothiske Alphabet som er anvendt i de neapolitanske Brevskaber,' *TNO* II (1829) 59-63.

624. BÄUMLEIN, Wilh., *Untersuchungen über die ursprüngliche und die weiteren Entwickelungen des griechischen und über die Entstehung des gothischen Alphabetes.* Tübingen, 1833, 116p. 3 plates.

625. KIRCHHOFF, Adolf, *Das gothische Runenalphabet.* Eine Abhandlung. Berlin, 1851, (2)+42p. 4°. 2nd ed. 1854, (2)+63p.
(Progr.)
Rev.: *ASNS* X (1852) 231; *ZvS* IV (1855) 72-73.

626. ZACHER, Jul., *Disquisitiones grammaticae de alphabeti gothici Ulphilani origine atque indole.* I. Halle, 1854, 16p. 1 plate. 4°.

627. ZACHER, Jul., *Das gothische Alphabet Vulfilas und das Runenalphabet.* Eine sprachwissenschaftliche Untersuchung. Leipzig, 1855, XIV+120p. 1 plate.
Rev.: *Germ I* (1856) 124-125; *ZvS* V (1856) 389-391; *Gentleman's Mag.* (1856) 1, 28.

628. GRIMM, Jacob, '.ist Hv,' *Germ* I (1856) 129-133 (=*Kl. Schr.* VII, 396-403)

629. TAYLOR, Isaac, *Greeks and Goths. A Study on the Runes.* London, 1879, 139p.

630. BRAUNE, W., 'Zur Transscription des gotischen Alphabets,' *PBB* XII (1886) 216-220.

631. WIMMER, Ludv. F. A., *Die Runenschrift.* Berlin, 1887, XXIV+392p.

632. von GRIENBERGER, Th., 'Die germanischen Runennamen. 1. Die gotischen Buchstabennamen,' *PBB* XXI (1896) 185-224.

633. LUFT, W., *Studien zu den ältesten germanischen Alphabeten.* Gütersloh, 1898, VIII+115p.
Rev.: *DLZ* (1898) 1838-1840; *LZ* (1898) 1587; *GGA* (1899) 397.

634. NESTLE, Eb., 'Ein angeblich gotisches Alphabet von 1539,' *ZfdPh* XXXII (1900) 140.
[Not Gothic but runic]

635. FISCHER, H., 'Zu ZfdPh XXXI, 421,' *ZfdPh* XXXII (1900) 142.

636. GEBHARDT, Aug., 'Ein angeblich gotisches Alphabet,' *ZfdPh* XXXII (1900) 564-566.

637. MENSEL, E. H., 'Zum gotischen Alphabet,' *MPh* I (1904) 457-468, 568.

638. von FRIESEN, Otto, 'Om runskriftens härkomst,' *Språkvetenskapliga Sällskapets i Uppsala Förhandlingar,* Sept. 1903-May 1906 (Uppsala, 1904).
[Pp. 46-51: runic and Gothic alphabets]

639. FÖRSTER, Max, 'Das älteste mittellateinische Gesprächbüchlein,' *Romanische Forschungen* XXVII (1910) 348.
[Statement *ca.* 700 about Wulfila as the inventor of the Gothic alphabet]

640. ROLLFUSS, C., *Wulfilas Schriftsprache, ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Gotischen.* Dresden 1913, 23p.
(Jahrbücher des Gymn. zu Dresden 1912-13)
Rev.: *DLZ* XXXIV (1913) 1316-1317.

641. von FRIESEN, Otto, 'Gotische Schrift,' *RLGA* II (1913-1915) 306-310.

642. von FRIESEN, Otto, 'Runenschrift,' *RLGA* IV (1918-1919) 5-51.

643. PEDERSEN, Holger, 'L'Origine des runes,' *Mémoires de la Société royale des antiquaires du Nord* (1920-1925) 88-136.
[Pp. 123-124: on the Gothic alphabet]

644. VENDRYES, J., 'Ecriture gotique,' in Ch. Fossey, *Notices sur les caractères étrangers anciens et modernes.* Paris, 1927, pp. 181-183.

645. MARSTRANDER, C. J. S., 'Om runene og runenavnenes oprindelse,' *NTS* I (1928) 85-188.

646. SCHULZE, Wilh., 'Orthographicum,' *Glotta* XVI (1928) 304.

647. (ANON.), *A Specimen of the Several Sorts of Letter given to the University by Dr. John Fell. Oxford,* 1693, . . . *with an Introduction, Census and Handlist.* London, 1928.
[On the matrixes of the Junian font presented in 1677 to Oxford University, especially facs. fol. 17]

648. HERMANN, Eduard, 'Ulfilas Alphabet,' *NGWG* (1930) 136-139.

649. JOHANNSON, Arwid, 'Evarix und jór,' *ANF* XLIX (1933) 234-258.
[With excursus on Goth. *eyz*]

650. ARNTZ, Helmut, *Handbuch der Runenkunde.* Halle, 1935, XVII+329p. 15 plates; 2nd ed. 1944, XV+314p. 16 plates.
(Sammlung kurzer Grammatiken germanischer Dialekte, B. 3)
Rev.: *ZfdPh* LXIII (1938) 299-301; *ASNS* CLXXII (1937) 74; *JEGPh* XXXVII (1938) 285-287.

651. FAIRBANKS, Sydney and MAGOUN, F. P., Jr., 'On Writing and Printing Gothic,' *Spec* XV (1940) 313-330, XVI (1941) 122.

[With very full historical and bibliographical data]

652. BLOMFIELD, Joan, 'Runes and the Gothic Alphabet,' *SBVS* XII (1941-42) 177-194, 209-231.

B. PRONUNCIATION

1) General studies

653. WEINGÄRTNER, Wilh., *Die Aussprache des Gothischen zur Zeit des Ulfilas.* Eine sprachwissenschaftliche Abhandlung. Leipzig, 1858, 68p. 7 plates.

654. DIETRICH, F., *Ueber die Aussprache des Gotischen während der Zeit seines Bestehens.* Eine sprachgeschichtliche Abhandlung nebst einem kritischen Anhang über die Namen bei Jornandes. Marburg, 1862, IV+116p.

Rev.: *Germ* VIII (1863) 125-126; *ASNS* XXXIII (1863) 342-343.

655. PAUL, H., 'Zur Lautverschiebung,' *PBB* I (1874) 115-179.

656. KRÄUTER, J. F., *Zur Lautverschiebung.* Strassburg, 1877.

2) Special studies

657. van HELTEN, W., 'Zur Aussprache des gotischen *w*,' *ZfdA* XXXVII (1893) 121-124.

658. JELLINEK, M. H., 'Gotisch *w*,' *ZfdA* XXXVI (1893) 266-278.

659. JELLINEK, M. H., 'Zur Aussprache des Gotischen,' *ZfdA* XLI (1897) 369-372.

660. van HELTEN, W., 'Zum Lautwert von *w*,' *IF* XIV (1903) 69-71.

661. van HELTEN, W., 'Zum Lautwert von *g* und *h*,' *IF* XIV (1903) 71-74.

662. JELLINEK, M. H., 'Got. *ai* und *au*,' *ZfdA* LXVI (1929) 117-119.

663. de VRIES, J., 'De uitspraak der Gotische *h*,' *TNT* XLIX (1930) 199-215.

664. HEFFNER, R. M. S., 'A note on Phonologic Oppositions,' *Harvard Studies and Notes in Philol. and Lit.* XVII (1935) 99-104.

[The method of phonologic opposition cannot be applied to the problem of the phonetic value of Goth. *ai* and *au*]

665. PISANI, Vittore, 'La pronunzia di *ai*, *au* in gotica,' *Paideia* IV (1949) 118-120.

666. BENNETT, William H., 'The Monophthongization of Gothic *ái, áu*,' *Language* XXV (1949) 15-21.

[In favor of it]

3) The testimony of other languages

667. SEELMANN, Emil, *Die Aussprache des Lateinischen nach physiologisch-historischen Grundsätzen.* Heilbronn, 1885, XIV+397p.

668. BLASS, Friedr., *Ueber die Aussprache des Griechischen.* Leipzig, 1888.

669. LINDSAY, W. M., *The Latin Language.* Oxford, 1894, XXVIII+660p.

[German transl. by H. Nohl, Leipzig, 1897]

670. KRETSCHMER, Paul, *Die Entstehung der Koine.* Vienna, 1901. (*WSB*, 143, X)

671. THUMB, Albert, *Handbuch der neugriechischen Volkssprache,* Strassburg, 1910.

672. MEYER-LÜBKE, W., *Einführung in das Studium der romanischen Sprachwissenschaft.* 3rd ed., Heidelberg, 1920.

XX. PHONOLOGY

A. GENERAL

1) Collective and general studies

673. MEYER, Leo, 'Zur gothischen Lautlehre,' *ZvS* VI (1857) 383-390.

674. KOCK, A., 'Zur gotischen Lautlehre,' *ZvS* XXXVI (1900) 571-583.

675. TRAUTMANN, Reinhold, *Germanische Lautgesetze in ihrem sprachgeschichtlichen Verhältnis.* Königsberg, 1906, 73p.
(Dissertation)

676. JACOBSOHN, H., 'Zwei Probleme der gotischen Lautgeschichte. I. Gotisch *saian*' *ZvS* XLVII (1915) 83-94. II. 'Zum got. *satzsandhi*,' *ZvS* XLIX (1920) 129-218.

677. JOOS, M., 'Statistical Patterns in Gothic Phonology,' *Lang* XVIII (1942) 33-38.

678. MOULTON, William G., 'The Phonemes of Gothic,' *Lang* XXIV (1948) 76-86.

2) Syllabification

679. HECHTENBERG-COLLITZ, Klara, 'Syllabification in Gothic,' *JEGPh* VI (1907) 72-91.

680. SCHULZE, Wilh., 'Wortbrechung in den gotischen Handschriften,' *BSB* (1908) I 610-624.

681. SCHULZE, Wilh., 'Zu dem Aufsatz 'Wortbrechung in den gotischen Handschriften',' *ZvS* XLII (1909) 327-329.

3) Final syllables

682. WESTPHAL, Rud., 'Das Auslautgesetz des Gotischen,' *ZvS* II (1853) 161-190.

683. KOCK, A., 'Ein consonantisches Auslautgesetz des Gotischen aus dem Accent erklärt,' *ZfdA* XXV (1881) 226-232.

684. SCHMIDT, Joh., 'Die germanischen Präpositionen und das Auslautgesetz,' *ZvS* XXVI (1882) 20-45.

685. COLLITZ, H., 'Die Behandlung des ursprünglich auslautenden *ai* im Gotische, Althochdeutsche und Altsächsischen,' *BB* XVII (1891) 1-54.
Rev.: *LZg* 1891 1707; *AfdA* XIX (1893) 33-38.

686. JELLINEK, M. H., *Beiträge zur Erklärung der germanischen Flexion.* Berlin, 1891, 110p.
[Especially the Auslautgesetze]
Rev.: *ZfdPh* XXVI (1893) 265-267.

687. van HELTEN, W., 'Zum vokalischen Auslautgesetz und zum acc. sg. und pl. der Konsonantstämme im Gotischen,' *PBB* XV (1891) 455-456.

688. van HELTEN, W., 'Eine Ausnahme der konsonantischen Apokopegesetze,' *PBB* XV (1891) 473-480.

689. KOCH, A., 'Zum vokalischen Auslautgesetz,' *PBB* XXI (1896) 429-432.

690. van HELTEN, W., 'Zur Behandlung von *i* und *u* im Auslaut im Vorgotische,' *PBB* XXI (1896) 476-477.

691. HIRT, Herman, 'Grammatisches und etymologisches,' *PBB* XXII (1897) 223-237.

692. WALDE, Alois, *Die germanischen Auslautgesetze.* Eine sprachwissenschaftliche Untersuchung mit vornehmlicher Berücksichtigung der Zeitfolge der Auslautsveränderungen. Halle, 1900, VI+198p.

693. van HELTEN, W., 'Zur gotischen Grammatik. Zum Schwund von *w*,' *IF* XIV (1903) 65-69.

694. PISANI, Vittore, 'Ein Kapitel der gotischen Auslautgesetze,' *IF* XLVIII (1930) 67-71.

695. SCHÜTTE, Gudmund, 'Spätgotische Schlussvokale,' *ZfdA* LXX (1933) 121-124.

696. ZABROCKI, L., 'Uwogi o rozwoju wyglosu w gockim i nordyjskim w zakresie samoglosek dlugich i dyftongow,' *Reports of the Society of Sciences and Letters of Poznan* (1947) 146-155.

[On the development of long vowels and diphthongs in final position in Gothic and Nordic]

4) Foreign words

(Cf. No. 1201)

697. EBEL, 'Die Fremdwörter bei Ulfilas in phonetischer Hinsicht,' *ZvS* IV (1855) 282-288.

698. LUFT, W., 'Die Umschreibungen der fremden Namen bei Wulfila,' *ZvS* XXXV (1897) 291-313.

699. ELIS, C., *Ueber die Fremdworte und fremden Eigennamen in der gotischen Bibelübersetzung in grammatischer und archäologischer Hinsicht.* Göttingen, 1903, 77p.

(Dissertation)

700. SCHULZE, W., 'Gotica,' *ZvS* XLI (1907) 165-175.

[Spelling of foreign proper names]

B. VOCALISM

701. MEYER, Leo, *Ueber zwei geleugnete Vokale des Gothischen.* Göttingen, 1862.

702. BEZZENBERGER, A., *Ueber die A-Reihe der gotischen Sprache.* Eine grammatische Studie. Göttingen, 1874, 71p.

Rev.: *ZfdPh* VI (1875) 232-235; *AfdA* I (1876) 106-110.

703. PAUL, H., 'Gotisch *ai* und *au* vor Vocal,' *PBB* VII (1880) 152-160. 'Noch einmal gotisch *ai* und *au* vor Vocal,' *PBB* VIII (1882) 210-222.

704. SCHMIDT, Joh., 'Die Vertreter von urspr. *āv*, *ōv* in den germanischen Sprachen,' *ZvS* XXII (1882) 1-19.

705. BREMER, O., 'Germanisches ē. I. Die lautgesetzliche Entwicklung des idg. *e* in den ältesten germanischen Sprachen,' *PBB* XI (1885) 1-76.

706. HOLTHAUSEN, F., 'Miscellen,' *PBB* XI (1886) 552.

707. AUDOUIN, E., 'Prothèse vocalique,' *MSL* VII (1889) 61-64.

708. HOLZ, Georg, *Urgermanisch geschlossenes ē und Verwandtes.* Beitrag zur Laut- und Flexionslehre des Germanischen. Leipzig, 1890, 49p.

(Habilitationsschrift)

Rev.: *AfdA* XVII (1891) 185-189; *LZ* 1891, 145-146.

709. BARTHOLOMAE, Chr., 'Die altindischen *ê*-Formen im schwachen Perfect,' *ZvS* XXVII (1891) 337-366.

710. STREITBERG, W., *Zur germanischen Sprachgeschichte.* Strassburg, 1892.

Rev.: *LZg* 1893 1232-1233; RC XIII (1893) 233-235; *LB* 1893 233-235; *LZ* 1893 155-156; *IFAnZ* II (1893) 194-197; *AfdA* XX (1894) 116-140.

711. van HELTEN, W., 'Gotisch *bauan* usw.' *PBB* XVII (1893) 566-567.

712. PAUL, H., 'Gotisch *ai* vor *r*,' *IF* IV (1895) 334-335.

713. HIRT, Herman, 'Zur gotischen Lautlehre,' *PBB* XXI (1896) 159-161.

714. van HELTEN, W., 'Zur Behandlung von **-ōwj-, *-ōwi-* und antevokalischem *e* im Vorgotischen,' *PBB* XXI (1896) 467-471.

715. LUFT, W., 'Lateinisch und keltisch *e* im Germanischen,' *ZfdA* XLI (1897) 234-240.

716. KOCK, A., 'Lautgesetzlicher Uebergang von *e* zu *ei* im Gotischen vor *k+i, ei, j*,' *ZvS* XXXVI (1900) 583.

717. KOCK, E. A., 'Zur Chronologie der gotischen 'Brechung',' *ZfdPh* XXXIV (1902) 45-50.

718. van HELTEN, W., 'Klangfarbe von got. *i*,' *IF* XIV (1903) 60-62.

719. van HELTEN, W., 'Zum Lautwert von *ai, au* in *saiands, staua,* usw.,' *IF* XIV (1903) 62-65.

720. COLLITZ, H., 'Das Analogiegesetz der westgermanischen Ablautsreihen,' *MLN* XX (1905) 65-68.

721. STREITBERG, W., 'Gotisch ī und die Verbalkomposita,' *IF* XXIV (1909) 174-175.

722. STREITBERG, W., '*Gudhus* anstatt **guda-hūs*,' *IF* XXVII (1910) 156-157.

723. STREITBERG, W., '*nawis, sutis: aljakuns*,' *IF* XXVII (1910) 157-158.
[Tries to account for the difference in the treatment of -ī according to accent]

724. KOCK, E. A., 'Ein Beitrag zur gotischen Lautlehre,' *IF* XXX (1912) 244-251.

725. BOER, H. C., 'Over *i*- en *u*-syncope in het Gotisch,' *Neoph* II (1917) 266-271.

726. COLLITZ, H., 'Der Ablaut von got. *speiwan*,' *MPh* XV (1921) 103-109.

727. STURTEVANT, A. M., 'Zum Vokalismus des Gotischen *and-waihands* (Röm. VII, 23) in seinem Verhältnis zu altisländ. *vega* 'töten',' *JEGPh* XX (1921) 22-27.

728. van HAERINGEN, C. B., 'Aanteekeningen bij de gotiese 'breking',' *Neoph* VII (1922) 181-190.

729. van HAERINGEN, C. B., 'Invloed van *r* op klinkers in Germaanse talen,' *TNT* XLI (1922) 249-277.
[P. 255: Gothic]

730. LOEWE, R., 'Gotisch *ai* für *i*,' *PBB* LI (1927) 253-270.

731. SVERDRUP, Jacob, 'Die kurzen Vokale *e* und *i* im Gotischen,' *NTS* I (1928) 189-202.

732. JELLINEK, M. H., 'Gotisch *i* und *ai*,' *ZfdA* LXVI (1929) 119-121.

733. BAADER, Th., 'Aus einer Sprachlandschaft Alteuropas,' *Donum natalicium Schrijnen* (Nijmegen-Utrecht, 1929) 311-316.

734. RUZICKA, Jozef, 'Die Vokalquantität im Gotischen,' *Recueil linguistique de Bratislava* I (1948) 151 ff.
[*Ai, au* in *saian, stauida,* etc., represent short vowels, the neutralization of the quantity correlation taking place in Gothic before a heterosyllabic vowel]

735. BOER-den HOED, P. M., 'De *i*-syncope in het gotisch,' *Neoph* XXX (1946) 43-46.

C. CONSONANTISM

1) Detailed treatment

736. MEYER, Leo, 'Gothische Doppelconsonanz,' *ZvS* IV (1855) 401-413.

737. BÜHLER, Georg, 'Das gothische *zd*,' *ZvS* VIII (1859) 148-152.

738. MEYER, Leo, 'Die Kehllaute der gothischen Sprache in ihrem Verhältnis zu denen des Altindischen, Griechischen und Lateinischen,' *Benfey's Orient und*

Occident I (1862) 514-530, 611-625; II (1864) 75-90, 279-293.
[Comparative study on the velars]

739. HOEFER, Alb., 'Gotisches *Hv* und *Th*,' *Germ* XIV (1869) 222-224; 'Gotisch *saizlep*,' *ibid.* 224-226.

740. DELBRÜCK, B., 'Ueber das gotische *dauhtar*,' *ZvS* XIX (1870) 241-247.
[Explains Goth. *-ht-*]

741. FÖRSTEMANN, E., 'Assimilation im Deutschen,' *ZvS* XX (1871) 401-430.

742. BERGAIGNE, A., 'Du prétendu changement de *bh* en *m* en paléoslave, en lithuanien et en gotique," *MSL* II (1873).

743. MEYER, Leo, 'Gotisches *bn*,' *BB* III (1879) 152-154.

744. KÖGEL, Richard, 'Ueber einige germanische Dentalverbindungen,' *PBB* VII (1880) 171-201.

745. OSTHOFF, H., 'Zum grammatischen Wechsel der velaren *K*-Reihe,' *PBB* VIII (1882) 255-287.

746. KLUGE, Fr., 'Lautverschiebung in zusammengesetzten Worten,' *ZvS* XXVI (1883) 82-85.

747. KLUGE, Fr., 'Die idg. tenues adspiratae im Germanischen,' *ZvS* XXVI (1883) 88-92.

748. KLUGE, Fr., 'Labialisierung der idg. velaren tenuis im Germ.,' *PBB* XI (1886) 560-562.

749. WEBSTER, Helen L., *Zur Gutturalfrage im Gotischen.* Boston, 1889, 90p.
(Zurich Dissertation)
Rev.: *Class. Review* VIII (1890) 380-381; *AfdA* XVII (3) (1891) 255-257; *LZg* 1890 1871-1872.

750. WOOD, F. A., *Verner's Law in Gothic.* Chicago, 1895.
(Germanic Studies, edited by the Department of Germanic Languages and Literatures, II)

751. HENCH, G. A., 'The Voiced Spirants in Gothic,' *JEGPh* I (1897) 45-58.

752. THURNEYSEN, R., 'Spirantenwechsel im Gotischen,' *IF* VIII (1897) 208-214.

753. HIRT, Herman, 'Zum Spirantenwechsel im Gotischen. Das Thurneysensche Gesetz der Spirantendissimilation,' *PBB* XXIII (1898) 323-330.

754. HIRT, Herman, 'Das l in asl. *šlemu* got. *hilms, zleda, got. gildan, mleko miluks*; got. *i*: zwei verschiedene Laute,' *PBB* XXIII (1898) 341-342.

755. KOCK, A., 'Der Wechsel *-rs*: *-r* im nom. sg.,' *ZvS* XXXVI (1900) 579-583.

756. KOCK, A., 'Zur Frage nach dem Wechsel zwischen stimmlosen und stimmhaften Fricativae,' *ZvS* XXXVI (1900) 571-579.

757. STREITBERG, W., 'Zu Thurneysens Gesetz,' *IF* XIV (1903) 493-495.

758. STREITBERG, W., 'Der Lautwert des got. *q* und *hv* (Doppellaute),' *IF* XIV (1903) 495-498.

759. STREITBERG, W., 'Ein Fall von Spirantenwechsel im Gotischen,' *IF* XIV (1903) 498.
[Goth. *fairzna*]

760. van HELTEN, W., 'Ueber got. *d* (ð), *b* [fricative] (b),' *IF* XIV (1903) 71-75.

761. STREITBERG, W., '*z, b, d,* im Auslaut,' *IF* XVIII (1906) 383-400.

762. STREITBERG, W., 'Spirantendissimilation und Komposition,' *IF* XVIII (1906) 404-407.

763. MEILLET, A., '*Hneiwan, hneiwjan*,' *MSL* XV (1908) 101-103.

764. STREITBERG, W., 'Zum Sievers'schen Gesetz,' *IF XXIV* (1909) 175-181.

765. SCHULZE, W., '*andanumts*,' *ZvS* XLII (1909) 92.

766. BRAUN, W., 'Ein satzphonetisches Gesetz des Gotischen mit vorwiegender Rücksicht auf die Codices Ambrosiani,' *GRM* V (1913) 367-391.

767. STREITBERG, W., 'Konsonanten im Gotischen,' *Festschrift Windisch* (1914).

768. MEYER, K. H., 'Lat. *habere*, got. *haban* und Verwandtes,' *IF* XXXV (1915) 224-237.

769. BOER, H. C., 'Gotisch *rz*,' *Neoph* VI (1921) 228-235.

770. WOOD, Fr. A., *Verner's Law in Gothic. The Reduplicating Verbs in Germanic.* Chicago, 1922, 44p.

771. SIEVERS, Ed., 'Gotisch *þwahl*,' *PBB* LII (1928) 148-150.

772. STURTEVANT, A. M., 'The Consonant þ in Gothic *stoþ*: *stoþum*,' *Lang* IV (1928) 109-110.

773. SCHULZE, W., 'Gotica,' *ZvS* LV (1928) 113-115.
[On the phonetic type of *akrs*]

774. KRAUSE, Wolfg., 'Zu den lautlichen Typen got. *fugls, akrs*,' *ZvS* LV (1928) 312-313.

775. HEFFNER, R. M. S., 'Gothic *rs* : *r* final,' *JEGPh* XXIX (1930) 319-331.

776. ADOLF, Helene, 'Got. *-rz*,' *ZfdPh* LV (1930) 257-261.

777. STURTEVANT, A. M., '*Aih* (*aig*): *aigum* (*aihum*),' *GR* VI (1931) 57.
[The levelling of consonants due to sameness of radical vowel, opposed to *þarf*: *þaurbum*]

778. NORDMEYER, George, 'Gothic initial *þl-*,' *Lang* XI (1935) 216-219.

779. STURTEVANT, A. M., 'Grammatical change *þ>d* in sandjan, sinþs,' *AJPh* LVII (1936) 281-283.

780. BARTOLI, M., 'Zur Lex Verner,' *ZvS* LXVII (1940) 102-111.

781. BARTOLI, M., 'Greco ἀγαθός gotico *gods* 'buono' e la questione delle medie aspirate,' *AGIt* XXXII (1940) 97-114.

782. CHRETIEN, C. Douglas, 'Indo-European Final -**s* in Germanic,' *Univ. of California Publications in Modern Philol.* XXV (1941) 1-10.

783. STURTEVANT, A. M., 'Streitberg's Theory (*h*=the Breathing) as Applied to *h* before *t* and in Final Position after an Accented Vowel,' *PMLA* LX (1945) 1-2.

784. STURTEVANT, A. M., '*Ga-baurþs*,' *PMLA* LX (1945) 2-3.
[Discusses Streitberg's (*IF* XVIII 404) explanation of the þ over against WGerm *d<ð*]

785. STURTEVANT, A. M., 'The Simplification of Final *-ss* to *-s*,' PMLA LX (1945) 6.
[Took place in prehistoric Gothic, ceased to operate in the literary period owing to levelling in paradigms]

2) The Verschärfung

786. BRAUNE, W., 'Gotisch *ddj* und altnordisch *ggj*,' *PBB* IX (1884) 545-548.

787. KLUGE, Fr., *Beiträge zur Geschichte der germanischen Conjugation.* Strassburg, 1879, XII+166p.
[Pp. 127-130: Excurs über gotisch *dd* und *gg*]
Rev.: *AfdA* VI (1880) 117-129 (J. Schmidt); *LZ* 1879 No. 20; *GGA* (1879) 816 ff; *ESt* III, 148 ff.

788. BECHTEL, F., 'Ueber die urgermanische Verschärfung von *j* und *v*,' *NGWG* VI (1885) 235-239.

789. van HELTEN, W., 'Zur Entwicklung von altgerm. *jj* und *ww*,' *PBB* XXX (1905) 240-248.

790. BOER, H. C., 'Syncope en Consonantengeminatie,' *TNT* XXXVII (1918) 161-222.

791. MIKKOLA, J. J., 'Die Verschärfung der intervokalischen *j* und *w* im Gotischen und Nordischen,' *Streitberg-Festgabe* (Leipzig, 1924) 267-271.
[Cf. Trautmann, *ZvS* LIII (1925) 89-90]

792. CHLUMSKY, Jos., '*ddj* en gotique et ses analogies en espagnol,' *Xenia Pragensia* (1929) 339-341.

793. SMITH, Henry Lee, Jr., 'The Verschärfung in Germanic,' *Lang* XVII (1941) 93-98.
[Assumes that Verschärfung was due to the IE long voiceless semivowels *hj* and *hw* with an immediately following accent. These semivowels, in turn, resulted from an Indo-Hittite laryngeal consonant immediately preceding Indo-Hittite *w* or *j*]

794. AUSTIN, W. H., 'A Corollary to the Germanic Verschärfung,' *Lang* XXII (1946) 109 ff.

795. van COETSEN, Fr., 'Le renforcement des semi-voyelles intervocaliques en germanique (*j/jj*>*jj*>gotique *ddj*, etc.),' *Leuvense Bijdragen* XXXIX (1949) 41-78.

XXI. MORPHOLOGY

A. GENERAL STUDIES

796. EBEL, H., 'Bemerkungen zur gothischen Declination,' *ZvS* IV (1855) 138-160.

797. WILKEN, Ernst, 'Zur deutschen Deklination,' *Germ* XIX (1874) 18-34.

798. WICKBERG, Rudolf, 'Om genitivsuffixet -sja i de germanska språken,' *AUL* XV, 3 (1878-79) (7p.)

799. JELLINEK, M. H., *Beiträge zur Erklärung der germanischen Flexion.* Berlin, 1891, 110p.
Rev. *ZfdPh* XXVI (1893) 265-267.

B. THE NOUN

1) Substantives

a) *General*

800. TREITZ, W., 'Ueber die Declination der starken Substantiva im Gothischen,' *ZvS* XVI (1867) 344-356.

801. DELBRÜCK, B., 'Die Declination der Substantiva im Germanischen insonderheit im Gotischen,' *ZfdPh* II (1870) 381-407.

802. MÖLLER, H., 'Zur Declination. Germanisch $\overline{A}$ $\overline{E}$ $\overline{O}$ in den Endungen des Nomens und die Entstehung des $\overline{O}$ (ā2),' *PBB* VII (1880) 482-547.

803. KLUGE, Fr., 'Accentwechsel in der Nominalflexion,' *ZvS* XXVI (1883) 92-101.
[Gothisches: 93-95; Nachträgliches: 102-103]

b. *Gender*

804. GALLEE, J. H., *Gutiska. Lijst van gotische woorden, wier geslacht of buiging, naar analogie van andere gotische woorden, of van het oudgermaansch, wordt opgegeven.* Haarlem, 1879, 52p.
Rev.: *LZ* 1880 1508-1509; *LB* 1880 165-166.

805. GALLEE, J. H., 'Nog eenige, ten opzichte van genus of Flectie onzekere Gotische woorden,' *TNT* I (1881) 220-231.
[Completes the material offered in his *Gutiska* on the question of gender and inflection]

806. STREITBERG, W., *'Gagg,' IF* XXVII (1910) 152-154.

807. AMMANN, Hermann, 'Gotisch *jota ains,' Festschrift Schatz* (1948) 7-14.
[The masculine gender of *jota* reinforces the presumption in favor of a Goth. **stafs,* 'letter']

c) *Vocalic stems*

808. van HELTEN, W., 'Noch einmal zur Geschichte der *jo*-Stämme im Germanischen,' *PBB* XXI (1896) 471-476.

809. STREITBERG, W., 'Zur germanischen Grammatik,' *IF* VI (1896) 140-155.

810. LOMMEL, H., *Indogermanische Femininbildungen.* Göttingen, 1912.
(Dissertation)
[P. 72 ff. on ō-stems]

811. STURTEVANT, A. M., 'Regarding the *w* in the Type *lēw:snaiws* etc.,' *JEGPh* XXXIX (1940) 460-461.

812. STURTEVANT, A. M., 'The Fluctuation between the Masculine Substantive *a-* and *i-* Stems,' *PMLA* LX (1945) 3-4.

813. STURTEVANT, A. M. *þiuþ-i-quiss εὐλογία PMLA* LX (1945) 5-6.
[The irregular connective vowel *-i-* instead of *-a-* is due to a confusion between the *i-* and *a-* stems]

d) *u-stems*

814. SIEVERS, E., *Neue Beiträge zur Lehre von der Kasusintonation.* Leipzig, 1929, III+ 72p.
(*ASG* XL no. 3)

815. van HELTEN, W., 'Dat. sg. *-ai* und *-au* der *i-* und *u*-Stämme,' *IF* XIV (1903) 77-78.

816. van HELTEN, W., 'Zum Wechsel von *u-* und *au-* Stämmen in der *u*-Deklination,' *IF* XIV (1903) 78-79.

817. LOEWE, R., 'Der Wechsel von *u* und *au* in der gotischen *u-* Deklination,' *PBB* XLVI (1921) 51-84.

818. LOEWE, R., 'Zur *u-* Deklination im Spätgotischen,' *PBB* LI (1927) 142-145.

e) *Consonantal Stems*

819. STURTEVANT, A. M., *'Aiza-smiþa,'* GR VIII (1933) 208-209.
[Accounts for the weak formation of *smiþa* as opposed to the rest of the Germanic languages]

820. *STURTEVANT, A. M.,* 'On the Plural Inflection of Consonantal Stems in Gothic,' *JEGPh* XXI (1922) 449-452.

821. STURTEVANT, A. M., 'Regarding the *an*-Forms of the Consonantal Stem *mann,' PMLA* LX (1945) 6-7.

2) The cases

a) *Singular—Nominative*

822. OSTHOFF, H., 'Der gothische nom. sg. der männlichen *ja-* Stämme,' *ZvS* XXIII (1876) 89-90.

823. van HELTEN, W., 'Zum nom. *harps* und *asneis,' IF* XIV (1903) 75-77.

824. van HAMEL, A. G., 'Wegval van *-s* in den Nom. *Sg.* der *a*-stammen,' *Neoph* I (1916) 254-257.
[Discusses the type *wair, stiur* etc. and refers to Hirt, *PBB* XXIII 329; Kock, *ZvS* XXXVI 579]

825. van HAMEL, A. G., 'De Nominativus Singularis der mannelijke *ja*-stammen,' *Neoph* I (1916) 257-261.
[On the types *harjis* and *hairdeis*]

826. v. d. MEER, M. J., 'Das gotische nominativ-*s*,' *PBB* XLII (1917) 337-338.

827. v. d. MEER, M. J., 'Der nom. sg. der *ja-* Stämme,' *PBB* XLII (1917) 338-339.

828. STURTEVANT, A. M., '*Ni waihts: ni waiht*,' *GR* VI (1931) 60-61.

[Cf. Streitberg *IF* XVIII 401-404 and *Got. Eb*$^{5+6}$ §162.3, shift of gender. 18 cases of (*ni*) *waiht* against five of (*ni*) *waihts*]

b) *Singular—Genitive*

829. SCHLEICHER, A., 'Der gothische genitiv sing. der *u-* und *i-* Stämme,' *ZvS* X (1861) 80.

830. SCHULZE, W., 'Genitive and Dative auf *-jins, -jin*.' *ZvS* XLII (1909) 93-96.

831. STREITBERG, W., 'Sabbatō,' *IF* XXXI (1913) 323-330.

832. van HAMEL, A. G., 'De Genitivus Singularis der *a-* stammen,' *Neoph* I (1916) 261-263.

833. v. d. MEER, M. J., 'Der gen. sing. der *a-* Stämme,' *PBB* XLII (1917) 339-342.

834. STURTEVANT, A. M., 'On the Substitution of *-ji-* for *-ei-* in the Genitive Sing. of *ja* (*n*) Substantives,' *JEGPh* XXXIX (1940) 457-458.

c) *Dative*

835. STREITBERG, W., 'Gotisch *sunnin*,' *IF* XIX (1906) 391-393.

d) *Plural-Nominative*

836. STURTEVANT, A. M., '*Krēks: Krēkos*,' *PMLA* LX (1945) 4-5.

[*Krekos* is explained as due to the influence of the synonym *þiudos*]

837. RUZICKA, Jozef, 'Die gotische Casusendung *-jus*,' *Recueil linguistique de Bratislava* I (Bratislava, 1948) 151 ff.

e) *Plural—Accusative*

838. van HELTEN, W., 'Zu den Neubildungen für den acc. pl.,' *IF* XIV (1903) 79-80.

839. THURNEYSEN, R., 'Der akk. pl. der geschlechtigen *n-* Stämme,' *Streitberg-Festgabe* (Leipzig, 1924) 351-354.

f) *Plural—Genitive*

840. van HELTEN, W., 'Die gotische Endung *-ê* des gen. pl.,' *PBB* XVII (1893) 570-572.

841. van HELTEN, W., 'Zu got. *-ê* des gen. pl.,' *PBB* XXXV (1909) 273-275.

842. BRUGMANN, K., 'Got. gen. pl. auf *-ê*,' *IF* XXXIII (1913) 272-284.

843. WOOD, F. A., 'The Gothic Genitive Plural,' *St Ph* XX (1923) 107-108.

844. VENDRYES, J., 'Sur le génitif pluriel des substantifs en germanique,' *IF* XLV (1927) 364-369.

845. SEHRT, Edward H., 'Der Genitiv Plural auf *-ê* im Gotischen,' *Studies in honor of H. Collitz* (Baltimore, 1930) 95-100.

846. STURTEVANT, A. M., 'The Genitive Plural Ending *-ê* in the *u-* Declension of Foreign Nouns,' *GR* XXIV (1949) 137-138.

g) *Plural—Dative*

847. GRIMM, J., '*Nahtam*,' *ZfdA* VII (1849) 455-456.

848. PIPPING, H., 'Ueber den gotischen dat. pl. *nahtam*,' *PBB* XXIV (1899) 534-536.

849. BURCHARDI, G., 'Noch einmal got. *nahtam*', *PBB* XXV (1900) 591-592. (Zu Pipping, *PBB* XXIV, 534 ff.)

3) Foreign substantives

(Cf. No. 1201)

850. BÖRNER, K., *Die Declination der Fremdwörter im Gothischen*. Barmen, 1859.

(Progr.)

851. ELIS, C., *Ueber die Fremdworte und fremden Eigennamen in der gotischen Bibelübersetzung.* Göttingen, 1903.
(Dissertation)

852. STREITBERG, W., 'Zur Flexion der gotischen Fremdnamen,' *Festschrift Mogk* (Halle, 1924) 433-454.

4) Adjectives

a) *General*

853. WELLMANN, A., *Das gothische Adjectivum.* Stettin, 1835. 4°.

854. EBEL, H., 'Die starke Adjectivflexion (im Gothischen),' *ZvS* V (1856) 304-309.

855. HOLTZMANN, A., 'Das gothische Adjectivum,' *Germ* VIII (1863) 257-268.

856. MEYER, Leo, 'Ueber das deutsche, insbesondere gothische Adjectivum,' *Germ* IX (1864) 129-145.

857. BERNHARDT, E., *Ueber die Flexion der Adjectiva im Gothischen.* Erfurt, 1877.

858. BEHAGHEL, O., 'Zur Flexion des gotischen Adjektivs,' *ZfdPh* XXXVI (1904) 236.

859. STREITBERG, W., 'Zur Flexion des gotischen Adjektivs,' *IF* XIX (1906) 214.

860. MEILLET, A., 'Sur la flexion des adjectifs,' *MSL* XV (1908) 73-78.

861. STURTEVANT, A. M., 'On the Weak Inflection of the Predicative Adjective in Gothic,' *JEGPh* XXI (1922) 452-456.

b) *The Cases*

862. van HELTEN, W., 'Zum Dativ auf *-amma*,' *IF* XIV (1903) 80.

863. van HELTEN, W., 'Zum Dativ auf *-ai*,' *IF* XIV (1903) 81.

864. van HELTEN, W., 'Zum nom. pl. masc. auf. *-ai*,' *IF* XIV (1903) 81.

865. HIRT, H., 'Got. *himma* usw.' *PBB* XXIII (1898) 356-357.

866. KOCK, A., 'Eine gotische Beugungsform und ein gotisches Lautgesetz,' *ANF* XXXIX (1922) 275-277.

c) *Comparatives*

867. EBEL, H., 'Die beiden Comparativformen (im Gotischen),' *ZvS* V (1856) 309-312.

868. WEIHRICH, Fr., *De gradibus comparationis linguarum Sanscritae, Graecae, Latinae, Gothicae.* Giessen, 1869, VII+108p.
(Preisschrift)

869. MEYER, Leo, 'Ueber die Flexion des praes. particips und des comparativs im Gothischen,' *NGWG* (1884) 534-544.

870. STREITBERG, W., *Die germanischen Komparative auf -ōz-.* Eine sprachwissenschaftliche Untersuchung. Freiburg i/Schw., 1890, 24p.
[Offprint from Index lectionum of Freiburg University]
Rev.: *LZ* 1890 560-561; *LB* 1891 185-188.

5) Adverbs

871. BEZZENBERGER, A., *Untersuchungen über die gotischen Adverbien und Partikeln.* Halle, 1873, 127p.
Rev.: *Germ* XXI (1876) 231-233; *ZvS* XXII (1874) 279-282.

872. SCHWAHN, Friedr., *Die gotischen Adjectiv-Adverbien.* Bonn, 1873. 69p.
(Dissertation)

873. OSTHOFF, F., 'Die gothischen adverbia auf *-o*, und *-da*,' *ZvS* XXIII (1877) 90-94.

874. STREITBERG, W., '*Jaind-wairþs,*' *IF* XXVII (1910) 151-152.

[Adjective, not adverb]

875. STURTEVANT, A. M., '*þatuh samo* 'In the same Way, Likewise',' *MLN* LX (1945) 105.

876. STURTEVANT, A. M., '*þatain* (subst. or adv.) 'one, only': *þata nei* (adv.) 'only',' *AJPh* LIII (1932) 56.

877. STURTEVANT, A. M., '*Jaind*: *jainþrō*: *jaindrē,*' *PMLA* LX (1945) 9.

[Rejects Jellinek's explanation, *Gesch. der got. Sprache* §46, 50, and takes the loss of the stem vowel *-a-* of **jain-a* as due to the example of *þa-þrō* without connective vowel]

6) Numerals

878. STREITBERG, W., 'Gotisch *twa þusundja,*' *IF* XVIII (1906) 431-433, and *Festschrift Windisch* (Leipzig, 1914) 226.

879. BEHAGHEL, O., 'Zum gotischen Zahlwort,' *PBB* XLII (1917) 156-158.

880. KÜCK, E., *Ein gotisch-westgermanisches Zahlenproblem. Die Bildung der Zehner von* 70 *aufwärts.* Berlin.

(Progr.)

881. De SAUSSURE, F., 'Les formes du nom de nombre six en indo-européen,' *MSL* VII (1889) 73-77.

7) Pronouns

a) *Personal Pronouns*

882. van HELTEN, W., 'Die westgermanischen casus obliqui des ungeschlechtlichen pronomens und das possessiv für die 3. pl.,' *PBB* XX (1895) 522.

883. MEILLET, A., 'Notes sur quelques formes indo-européennes IV: gotique *wit,*' *MSL* XIII (1902) 208-209.

884. KLUGE, Fr., 'got. *izwis,*' *ZfdW* X (1908) 65.

885. HUJER, O., "Gotské *þus, þuk,*' CMF III (1913) 223-225.

886. STREITBERG, W., '*wit* aus idg. *vi-duo,*' *Festschrift Windisch* (Leipzig, 1914) 224-226.

887. HOLTHAUSEN, F., 'Got. *wit,*' *IF* XXXIX (1921) 67.

888. HORN, W., 'Zu *IF* XXXIX 67 [got. *wit*],' *IF* XXXIX (1921) 231.

889. WOOD, F. A., 'The Dual Pronoun of the 2nd Person Plural,' *StPh* XX (1923) 109.

890. PISANI, Vittore, 'Got. *izwis izwara* e ant. island. *yðr, yðuar,*' *RIGI* IX (1925) 57-58.

[*izwis*<**iwis*, with insertion of *-z-* after *jūs*]

891. PISANI, Vittore, 'Germanico **inku* nei casi obliqui del duale del pronome di 2a persona,' *RIGI* IX (1925) 58-59.

892. LOTSPEICH, C. M., 'Notes on the Personal Pronouns in Germanic,' *JEGPh* XXX (1931) 150-151.

[2nd dual oblique cases]

893. FLASDIECK, H. M., 'Ae. *eow,*' *Anglia* LVII (1933) 208-215.

894. WOOD, F. T., 'The Genitive Cases of the Gothic Personal Pronouns,' *GR* VIII (1933) 278-280.

895. PETERSEN, Walter, 'The Dual Personal Pronouns in Germanic,' *JEGP* XXXIII (1934) 64-67.

b) *Other Pronouns*

896. van HELTEN, W., 'Zu den Pronominalformen mit *h* und *ch,*' *IF* XIV (1903) 83-84.

897. MEYER, Leo, 'Zur gotischen Pronominalflexion,' *ZfdPh* I (1869) 24.

898. van HELTEN, W., '*ina, ita, þana, þata,*' *IF* XIV (1903) 82-83.

899. van HELTEN, W., 'Zum Dativsuffix *amma, amme,*' *IF* XIV (1903) 83.

900. BEHAGEL, O., 'Die Indefinitpronomina *hwas* und *sums,*' *PBB* XLII (1917) 158-161.

901. STURTEVANT, A. M., 'The Indefinite Particle *þis-* in *þis-hwazuh, þis-hwah,* etc.,' *AJPh* LIII (1932) 54.

902. STURTEVANT, A. M., 'Adverbial *þis-* in Indefinite Compounds,' *MLN* LII (1937) 208-209.

903. STURTEVANT, A. M., '*þis-hun*= μάλιστα 'especially',' *MLN* LIII (1938) 121-122.

904. STURTEVANT, A. M., 'Gothic *þis*: *þizei,-uh*; *hwis*: *hwiz-uh*; *anþaris*: *anþariz-uh,* etc.,' *MLN* LV (1940) 599-601.

[The analogy was not between *s*: *z* alone but between *s*: *z* as contained in the root syllable *þis- þiz-*. Analogical levelling- Pronouns]

C. THE VERBS

1) Strong Verbs

905. KOHN, K. W., *De verbo germanico tuon et verbo gothico iddja*. Bonn, 1854. (Dissertation)

906. BURGHAUSER, G., *Germanischer Perfectstamm*. Prague, 1887.
Rev.: *ZföG* XXXVIII (1887) 476; *NphR* XXIII (1887) 367.

907. PEDERSEN, H., 'Das Präsensinfix *n*.' *IF* II (1893) 285-332

908. GAUTHIOT, Robert, 'Gotique *briggan*: *brāhta*,' *Mélanges Saussure* (Paris, 1908) 117-122.

909. MEILLET, A., 'Sur la place du ton dans les présents du type *fraihnan*,' *MSL* XV (1908) 98-101.

910. STURTEVANT, A. M., '*Bliggwan, blaggw*: *bluggwum, bluggwans*,' *GR* VI (1931) 66-67.

[On account of the loss of the original *u* after *i* and *a* in *bliggwan/blaggw* the Gothic verb *bliggwan* came to conform in its vocalism with that of the 3rd ablaut series *bli-ggwan*: *bi-ndan/bla-ggw*: *ba-nd*, but it must belong to the 2nd series]

911. STURTEVANT, A. M., '*kniustan* 'knirschen',' *GR* VIII (1933) 209.

[The only verb in 2nd ablaut series whose stem ends in more than one consonant, but cf. ON *ljósta* and (1st series) *rísta*]

912. STURTEVANT, A. M., 'The Weak Forms of the Strong Verbs *keinan* and *bauan*,' *GR* VIII (1933) 211.

[Tries to account for them: *keinan* inchoative like *infeinan, bauan* by association with *trauan*]

913. STURTEVANT, A. M., 'The PG accent of the *nan*-verbs,' *AJPh* LVII (1936) 284-285.

2) Reduplicating Verbs

914. POKORNY, Ignaz, 'Ueber die reduplicierten Praeterita der germanischen Sprachen und ihre Umwandlung in ablautende,' 2. *Jb. Landskron* in Böhmen, 1874.
(Reissued Vienna, 1886)

915. HOLTHAUSEN, F., 'Die reduplicierenden verba im Germanischen,' *ZvS* XXVII (1885) 618-622.

916. LICHTENBERGER, H., *De verbis quae in vetustissima Germanorum lingua reduplicatum praeteritum exhibebant*. Nancy, 1890, VIII+106p.
(Dissertation)
Rev.: *LB* 1892 329; *LZg* 1892 530-531; *IFAnz* I (1892) 123.

917.KÖGEL, R., 'Zu den reduplicierten Präterita,' *PBB* XVI (1893) 500-502.

918. WOOD, F. A., *The reduplicating Verbs in Germanic*. Chicago, 1895.
(Germanic Studies II, Department of Germanic Language and Literature)

3) Weak Verbs

919. v. D., W.B.H., 'Gotische werkwoorden op *-jan*,' *Noord en Zuid* VIII(4) (1885) 222.

920. van HELTEN, W., 'Zur 2. und 3. schwachen Klasse,' *IF* XIV (1903) 85-88.

921. SPECHT, Franz, 'Zur germanischen Stammbildung,' *Festschrift Voretzsch* (Halle, 1927) 32-47.

4) The Weak Preterite

922. BEGEMANN, Wilh., *Das schwache Präteritum der germanischen Sprachen. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache*. Berlin, 1873, XVI +187p.
Rev.: *ZfdPh* V (1873) 471; *LZ* 1873; *Jenaer LZg* II (1874); *ZfGw* V (1874).

923. BEGEMANN, Wilh., *Zur Bedeutung des schwachen Präteritums der germanischen Sprachen. Ergänzung zu des Vf. s Schrift: Das schwache Präteritum der germanischen Sprachen*. Berlin, 1874, LII+192.

924. van HELTEN, W., 'Das *þ* in gotisch *kunþa, kunþ-* und das Suffix *st*,' *ZfdA* XXIII (1879) 418-432.

925. MÖLLER, H., 'Zur Conjugation *kunþa* und das *t*-präteritum,' *PBB* VII (1880) 457-481.

926. COLLITZ, H. 'Die Herkunft des schwachen praeteritums der germanischen Sprachen,' *AJPh* IX (1888) 1-16.

927. LORENTZ, Fr., *Ueber das schwache Präteritum der germanischen und verwandte Bildungen der Schwestersprachen, eine sprachwissenschaftliche Untersuchung*. Leipzig, 1894, 79p.

928. LOEWE, R., 'Das schwache Präteritum des Germanischen,' *IF* IV (1895) 365-379.

929. JOHANSSON, Karl, Ferd., 'Zur Flexion des schwachen Präteritums im Gotischen,' *ZvS* XXX (1898) 547-555.

930. COLLITZ, H., *Das schwache Präteritum und seine Vorgeschichte*. Göttingen, 1912, XVI+256p.
(Hesperia, I)
Rev.: *IFAnz* XXXV 5-17; *BSL* XVIII 83-84.

931. LOEWE, R., 'Die Haplologie im schwachen Präteritum des Germanischen,' *ZvS* XLV (1913) 334-338.

932. BRUGMANN, K., 'Das schwache Praeteritum,' *PBB* XXXIX (1913) 84-98.

933. COLLITZ, H., 'Bemerkungen zum schwachen Präteritum,' *IF* XXXIV (1915) 209-216.

934. HAMMERICH, Louis L., 'Det germanske svage Praeteritum,' *ANF* XXXVIII (1922) 21-50.

935. v. FRIESEN, O., *Om det svaga preteritum i germanska språk*. Uppsala, 1925.
(Skrifter utg. av. K. Humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundet i Uppsala, 22: 5)

936. ODE, A. W. M., *Das schwache Präteritum in den germanischen Sprachen*. Amsterdam, 1926.
(Mededelingen d. k. Akad. van Wetenschappen, Afd. Letterk., Deel 61, No. 6)

937. COLLITZ, H., 'Das schwache Präteritum als Mischbildung,' *PMLA* XLIII (1928) 593-601.

938. SVERDRUP, J., 'Das germanische Dentalpräteritum,' *NTS* II (1929) 5-96.

939. HAMMERICH, L. L., 'Die Grundlage der Erklärung des germanischen schwachen Präteritums,' *Bull. Cercle linguist. Copenhague,* VI (1940) 24-40.

940. LEHMANN, W. P., 'The Germanic Weak Preterite Endings,' *Lang* XIX (1943) 312-319.

941. STURTEVANT, A. M., 'The Problem *kaupasta*: *kaupatiþs*,' *PMLA* LX (1945) 7-9.

[Supports Collitz's explanation against Lehmann's, No. 930, p. 48, n. 1]

5) Preterite-Present Verbs

942. MEILLET, A., 'Sur le prétérito-présent got. *lais*,' IF XXVI (1910) 220-202.

943. JACOBSOHN, H., 'Got. *ogs*,' *ZvS* XLV (1913) 342-348.

944. SCHULZE, W., 'Gotica,' *ZvS* LV (1928) 133-134.

[On the paradigm of *og*]

6) Inflection

945. KERN, H., 'Eine Imperativform im Gotischen,' *ZvS* XVI (1867) 451-453.

946. BEZZENBERGER, A., 'Got. *bairau*, Konjunktiv von idg. *bhé'ró(u)*,' *BB* XXVI (1901) 152-154.

947. BRUGMANN, Karl, 'Got. *bairōs* und der Dual der Indogermanen,' *IF* XXIV (1909) 165-174.

7) *hiri*

948. EBEL, H., 'Gothisches,' *ZvS* V (1856) 235-237.

949. LUFT, W., 'Got. *hiri, hirjats, hirjiþ*,' *ZfdPh* XXX (1898) 426-428.

950. EHRISMANN, G., 'Got. *hiri*,' *ZfdPh* XXXI (1899) 384.

951. KLUGE, Fr., 'Got. *hiri, hirjats* aus *hidrjats*,' *ZfdW* X (1908) 64-65.

952. LOEWE, R., 'Gotisch *hiri*,' *PBB* XLI (1916) 295-312.

953. GÜNTERT, Hermann, 'Gotisch *hiri*,' *Donum natalicium Schrijnen* (Nijmegen-Utrecht, 1929) 488-491.

954. HEFFNER, R. M., 'Gothic *hiri*,' *JEGPh* XXVIII (1929) 343-359.

8) Participles

955. SCHULZE, W., 'Zum participium perf. act.,' *ZvS* XXVII (1885) 547-549.

956. BEHAGHEL, O., '*Sa qimands—sa qimanda*,' *PBB* XL (1915) 522-524.

957. SCHULZE, W., 'Zu got. *weitwods*,' *ZvS* LIV (1927) 290.

9) The Medio-passive

958. EBEL, H., 'Das gothische Passivum,' *ZvS* V (1856) 300-302.

959. UPPSTRÖM, W., 'Ueber das gothische Medium,' *Germ* XIII (1868) 173-178.

960. SKLADNY, Andreas, *Ueber das gotische Passiv.* Neisse, 1873, 19p. (Progr.)

Rev.: *ZfdPh* VI (1875) 483.

961. van HELTEN, W., 'Zur medio-passiven Flexion,' *IF* XIV (1903) 88-89.

962. BRUGMANN, K., 'Das gotische *-ada-* Passivum,' *IF* XXXIX (1920) 26-62.

XXII. WORD FORMATION

A. GENERAL WORKS

(See also Nos. 543, 560-564)

963. KREMER, Julian, 'Zur Behandlung der ersten Compositionsglieder im germanischen Nominalcompositum,' *PBB* VIII (1882) 371-460.

1. Teil: Dissertation, Halle, 1881, 32p.)

964. KLUGE, Fr., *Nominale Stammbildungslehre der germanischen Dialecte.* Halle, 1886, XII+108p.

(Sammlung kurzer Grammatiken germanischer Dialecte, Ergänzungsreihe I.)
Rev.: *LZ* 1886 394.
2nd ed. 1899. 3rd ed. by L. Sütterlin and E. Ochs, 1926, XII+155p.

965. WILMANNS, W., *Deutsche Grammatik II: Wortbildung.* 2nd ed. Strassburg, 1899.
(Reprinted 1911)

966. JOHANNSON, K. F., 'Nominalsammansättningar i gotiskan,' *Nordiska studier tillegnade Adolf Noreen* (Uppsala, 1904) 455-485.

967. KROESCH, Sam., 'The Formation of Compound Words in Gothic,' *MPh* V (1908) 377-382.

968. CURME, G. O., 'The Development of Verbal Compounds in Germanic,' *PBB* XXXIX (1913) 320-361.

969. PAUL, H., *Deutsche Grammatik* V; Teil IV: *Wortbildungslehre.* Halle, 1920.

970. WISSMANN, Wilh., *Nomina postverbalia in den altgermanischen Sprachen nebst einer Voruntersuchung über deverbative ō-Verba.* Teil 1: Deverbative ō-Verba. Göttingen, 1932, 210p.
(*ZvS* Ergänzungsheft 11)

971. WISSMANN, Wilh., *Die ältesten Postverbalia des Germanischen.* Berlin, 1938, 82p.
(Habilitationsschrift)

972. CARR, Charles T., *Nominal Compounds in Germanic.* Oxford, 1939, XXXVI+497p.
(St. Andrews University Publications, XLI)

973. JOHANNISSON, Ture, *Verbal och postverbal partikel-komposition i de germanska språken.* Lund, 1939, 381p.

974. HENZEN, Walter, *Deutsche Wortbildung.* Halle, 1947, XIV+307p.
(Sammlung kurzer Grammatiken germanischer Dialekte, 5)

974a. THORS, C. E., *Substantivering av adjektiv i fornsvenskan.* Helsingfors, 1949, X+429p.
(Dissertation Åbo)
[Treats also of substantivation of adjectives in Gothic]

B. DERIVATION

1) General Studies

975. von BAHDER, Karl, *Die Verbalabstracta in den germanischen Sprachen ihrer Bildung nach dargestellt.* Halle, 1880, V+212p.
Rev.: *LZ* 1881 299-300.

976. GALLEE, J. H., *Gutiska II. De adjectiva in het Gotisch en hunne Suffixen.* Utrecht, 1882, VIII+48p.
Rev.: *Academy,* No. 530, 13.

977. SÜTTERLIN, L., *Geschichte der nomina agentis im Germanischen.* Strassburg, 1887, III+108p.
Rev.: *Germ* XXXIII (1888) 117; *LB* 1888 49-50; *LZ* 1888 1314 f.

978. HADADY, G., *Das Suffix im Gotischen, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Abweichungen vom Neuhochdeutschen.* Léva, 1900, 67p.
[Progr.: in Hungarian]
Rev.: *Egyetemi philol. Közlöny* XXIII (1900) 88-91.

2) Special Studies

979. EBEL, H., 'Die Abstractsuffixe *-ni* und *ani,*' *ZvS* V (1856) 302-303.

980. EBEL, H., 'Suffix *-as,*' *ZvS* V (1856) 355.

981. MEYER, Leo, 'Das Suffix -*ka* im Gothischen,' *ZvS* VI (1857) 1-10.

982. SCHMIDT, Joh., 'Das Suffix des Part. perf. activi,' *ZvS* XXVI (1882) 329-377.

983. SCHMIDT, Joh., 'Das primäre Comparativsuffix,' *ZvS* XXVI (1882) 377-400.

984. LOSCH, F., 'Die mit dem Suffixe -*ni* gebildeten Verbalabstracta im Gotischen,' *Germ* XXXII (1887) 223-245.

985. de SAUSSURE, F., 'Comparatifs et superlatifs germaniques de la forme *infernus infimus*,' *Mélanges Renier* (Paris, 1887) 383-393.

986. WINTELER, J., 'Ueber die Verbindung der Ableitungssilbe got. -*atj*- ahd. -*azz*- mit guttural ausgehenden Stämmen resp. Wurzeln,' *PBB* XIV (1889) 455-472.

987. SCHRÖDER, Edw., 'Exkurs über die gotischen adjectiva auf -*ahs*,' *ZfdA* XXXV (1891) 376-379.

988. KLUGE, F., 'Suffix von got. *þaurþei*,' *ZfdW* X (1908) 64.

989. RICHTER, Johanna, *Ursprung und analogische Ausbreitung der Verba auf -αζω mit Excurs: Die germanischen Verba auf -atjan, -itjan im Vergleich mit den griechischen auf -αζω*. Leipzig, 1909.

990. van HELTEN, W., 'Ueber das Formans -*sti*- in -*brunsts, haifsts, ansts*, ferner über *gakunds, gakunþs, gaqumþs, andanumts*, endlich über gotisch *saisost* (*Luk.* xxi),' *PBB* XXXV (1909) 302-303.

991. SCHULZE, W., 'Verbalabstrakta aus idg. -*ti*,' ZvS XLII (1909) 322-327.

992. von FRIESEN, O., 'Substantiv afledda med suffixet -*ju* i germanska språk,' *Xenia Lideniana* (Stockholm, n.d. [1912]) 235-252.

993. KAUFFMANN, Fr., 'Got. *gawairþi*,' *IF* XXXI (1913) 321-322.

994. SCHULZE, W., 'Zu den got. nomina auf -*āssus*,' *ZvS* XLVIII (1917) 75, Nachtrag p. 240.

995. WOOD, F. A., 'The Ablative in Germanic,' *St Ph* XX (1923) 102-107.

996. WOOD, F. A., 'The Gothic Adverbs in -*no*,' *St Ph* XX (1923) 108-109.

997. SCHULZE, W., 'Got. *liuta* und *weiha*,' *ZvS* LII (1924) 193.

998. SZADROWSKY, M., 'Zusammenhänge zwischen Adjektiv- und Verbalstruktur,' *PBB* LII (1928) 1-26.

999. MEZGER, Fritz, 'Got. *waninassus*,' *ZvS* LVIII (1930) 144.

1000. MEZGER, Fritz, 'Got. *afgrundiþa, swegniþa, þwastiþa, qrammiþa*,' ASNS CLXI (1932) 80-82.

1001. STURTEVANT, A. M., 'The *j*-suffix in Goth. *brūkjan*', GR VII (1932) 370-372.

[The p.p. *brūhts* lead to the weak preterite form *brūhta*, which led to the infinitive *brūkjan* (instead of **brūkan* as in North and West Germanic) after the parallel of *þugkjan, waurkjan* etc.]

1002. SCH(ULZE), W(ilhelm), 'Das got. Substantiv *timrja*,' *ZvS* LXI (1933) 141.

1003. STURTEVANT, A. M., '*gafaurds* συνέδριον,' *GR* VIII (1933) 206.

[A *u*-abstractum from *faran*]

1004. STURTEVANT, A. M., '*Ga-hōbains* 'Enthaltsamkeit': *wōkains* 'das Wachen',' *GR* VIII (1933) 209-210.

[Accounts for the ō-grade of these abstract nouns]

1005. STURTEVANT, A. M., '*judaiwisks* 'jüdisch',' *GR* VIII (1933) 211-212.

[Why *judai-wisks*? because all the other Goth. words to which -*isk* was added ended in a consonant, hence *judaiw*- from *judaius*]

1006. STURTEVANT, A. M., ‘Regarding the Gothic Abstract Nouns in _-ida_ and in _-ei,_’ _AJPh_ LVII (1936) 271-274.

1007. STURTEVANT, A. M., ‘_þata diwano_ ‘mortal’,’ _AJPh_ LVII (1936) 285.
[_*diwans_ not p.p. of _*diwan_ ‘to die’ but verbal adj. in _-an_]

1008. STURTEVANT, A. M., ‘Regarding the Formation of the Nomen Agentis _af-etja_ ‘Fresser’,’ _AJPh_ LVII (1936) 274-276.

1009. SCHWYZER, E., ‘Griech. -αζω und got. _-atja,_’ _Mélanges Pedersen_ (1937) 63-75.

1010. MEZGER, Fritz, ‘Gothic _hwaiwa_ ‘how’,’ _JEGPh_ XLI (1942) 508-509.

1011. MEZGER, Fritz, ‘The Formation of Old High German _diorna,_ Old Saxon _thiorna,_ Gothic _widuwairna_ and Old English _niwerna,_’ _MLN_ LVII (1942) 432-433.

1012. STURTEVANT, A. M., ‘_*Sluht-iz>slauhts_: _*slaht-iz_>ON. _slátr,_ OE _slieht,_’ _PMLA_ LX (1945) 5.
[The _t_ in _*sluht-iz,_ which originally represented the verbal suffix, came to function as the _-t-_ suffix of the verbal abstract]

1013. STURTEVANT, A. M., ‘Rime as a Factor in the Loss of the _j_-Suffix in the Present Tense of Strong Verbs,’ _GR_ XXIV (1949) 136-137.

1014. MEZGER, Fritz, ‘Gothic _managei,_’ _Lang_ XXII (1946) 348-353.
[The Goth. fem. adj. abstract _managei_ is the fem. of an adj. inflected as an _ī/jā_-stem with an abstract additional element _n_. It is unrelated to the formations Lat. _natiō_ or _legiō_. The adj. abstr. Lat. _cōnstantia_: _cōnstāns, audācia_: _audāx_ may represent the same _ī/jā_ stem as Goth. _managei_]

1015. WALKER, James A., ‘Gothic _*leik_ and Germanic _-lik-_ in the Light of Gothic Translations of Greek Originals,’ _PhQ_ XXVIII (1949) 274-293.

C. COMPOSITION

(Cf. Nos. 1214 and 1220)

1016. KLUGE, F., ‘Verbalpartikeln in der Zusammensetzung,’ _ZvS_ XXVI (1883) 68-82.

1017. HUTH, W., _Die mit der gotischen Präposition af zusammengesetzten Adverbia und Präpositionen._ Halle, 1903, VI+40p.
(Leipzig dissertation)

1018. LEOPOLD, Max, _Die Vorsilbe ver- und ihre Geschichte._ Breslau, 1907.
(Germanistische Abhandlungen, Heft 27)

1019. ROLFFS, Friedr. Wilh., _Gotisch dis- und du-._ Breslau, 1908, 58p.
(Dissertation)

1020. DELBRÜCK, B., ‘Gotisch _dis-,_’ _IF_ XXI (1908) 356.

1021. WOLF, A., _Das Präfix uz- im gotischen und im deutschen Verbum._ Breslau, 1915, 40p.
[Dissertation; incomplete]

1022. SEIP, Elsbeth, _Die gotischen Verba mit dem Präfix and-._ Giessen, 1923, 24p.
(Giessener Beiträge zur dt. Philol., X)

1023. GRUBER, Hans, _Das adverbiale uz-Präfix im Gotischen und Althochdeutschen._ Ein Beitrag zum Problem der Präfixkomposition. Jena, 1930, 108p.
(Jenaer Germanistische Forschungen, XIII)

1024. STURTEVANT, A. M., ‘The Prefixes _ana-_ and _du_ with Inchoative Verbs,’ _AJPh_ LVII (1936) 276-277.

1025. STURTEVANT, A. M., ‘The Pejorative Force of the Pref. _ana-_ ‘to, towards, against’,’ _AJPh_ LVII (1936) 277-279.

1026. STURTEVANT, A. M., ‘The Pref. _in-_ with Verbs Expressing a State of Mind,’ _AJPh_ LVII (1936) 279-280.

1027. ROSELL, Erland, *Prefixet o- i nordiska språk.* En betydelsehistorisk studie. I. Fornnordiska. Uppsala, 1942, 199p.

(*UUÅ* 1942. 7. I-VIII)

[Pp. 9-16: Survey of the stock of Gothic words with the prefix *un-*; Goth. *un-* in the particle contradictorily negatives the dominant semantic elements of the idea expressed by the participle]

D. APPENDIX:

Formation of Indefinite Pronouns

1028. LIDEN, Ewald, 'Om det gotiska suffixet -$(\bar{u})h$ och de dermed bildade pronomenen,' *ANF* IV (1888) 99-101.

1029. PERSSON, Per, 'Ueber den demonstrativen Pronominalstamm *no-, ne-* und Verwandtes,' *IF* II (1893) 199-260.

1030. STREITBERG, W., 'Got. *ni waihts,*' *IF* XVIII (1906) 401-404.

1031. STURTEVANT, A. M., '*þaruh þan,*' *GR* VI (1931) 54.

[How the locution was formed: *þaruh*+*þan* and not *þar*+*uhþan*]

1032. STURTEVANT, A. M., '*Inu: inuh,*' *GR* VIII (1933) 207.

[Explains *inuh* as analogical]

1033. STURTEVANT, A. M., '*þei*<**þa-ei,*' *GR* VIII (1933) 207-208.

[Supports this derivation and explains the form by unaccented position]

1034. ANDERSON, G. K., 'The *þis-* Compounds in Gothic,' *JEGPh* XXXV (1936) 27-43.

[The Indefinite Pronoun Group. The Group Involving an Adverb of Space-Relations. The Formation of an Intensifying Adverb, or Adverb Indicating a Special Selection]

(Cf. A. M. Sturtevant, *MLN* LIII (1938) 121-122)

1035. STURTEVANT, A. M., '*Ni waiht: ni manna-hun,*' *MLN* LIII (1938) 121-122.

1036. STURTEVANT, A. M., 'Regarding the Suffix *-hun: ni manna-hun: hweilō-hun: ni waiht,*' *GR* XXIV (1949) 138-139.

XXIII. SYNTAX

A. GENERAL WORKS

(Cf. Nos. 211, 543, 551, 556, 560, 562 and 564)

1037. ERDMANN, O. and O. MENSING, *Grundzüge der deutschen Syntax nach ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung.* Stuttgart, 1886-1898.

1038. BEHAGHEL, O., *Deutsche Syntax. Eine geschichtliche Darstellung.* 4 vol. Heidelberg, 1923-1932. XXXI+740p., XII+444p., XII+823p., XX+322p.

1039. RIBBECK, A. F., 'Syntax des Ulfila,' *Berl. Germ* I (1835) 39-56.

[Remarks on certain syntactical forms]

1040. von SALLWÜRK, E., *Die Syntax des Vulfila* I. Pforzheim, 1875, 36p. (Progr.)

[I. die Fürwörter; II. der Relativsatz; III. der Inhaltssatz]

1041. BERNHARDT, Ernst, 'Zur gotischen Syntax,' *ZfdPh* IX (1878) 383-384.

1042. MEYER, L., *"An" im Griechischen, Lateinischen und Gotischen, ein Beitrag zur vergleichenden Syntax der indogermanischen Sprachen.* Berlin, 1880, 64p.

Rev.: *GGA* XXVII (1880) 833-839.

1043. LENK, Rudolf, 'Die Syntax der *Skeireins,*' *PBB* XXXVI (1910) 237-306.

B. THE ELEMENTS

1) The Substantive

a) *Use of Cases, General*

1044. v. d. MEER, M. J., *Gotische Casus-Syntaxis* I. Leiden, 1901, XVIII+218p. (Dissertation)

Rev.: *Museum* IX (1901) 279-283; *LB* 1902 246-248; *ZfdPh* XXXV (1903) 120-124 (H. Reis).

1045. DELBRÜCK, B., *Synkretismus. Ein Beitrag zur germanischen Kasuslehre.* Strassburg, 1907.

b) *Genitive*

1046. SCHRADER, K., *Ueber den syntaktischen Gebrauch des Genitivs in der gotischen Sprache.* Göttingen, 1875, 58p.

(Dissertation)

1047. v. d. MEER, M. J., 'Die gotischen Ortsgenitive,' *Neoph* I (1916) 263-266.

1048. STURTEVANT, A. M., '*Soh framaldra dage managaize,* L. II, 36,' *AJPh* LIII (1932) 57.

[Genitive of relation]

1049. STURTEVANT, A. M., '*Filaus : filu,*' *GR* VIII (1933) 208.

[Genitive *filaus* with a comparative is adverbial]

c) *Dative and Instrumental*

1050. SILBER, C., *Versuch über den gotischen Dativ.* Naumburg, 1845, 16p. (Progr.)

1051. KÖHLER, Artur, *Ueber den syntactischen Gebrauch des Dativs im Gothischen.* Dresden, 1864, 54p.

(Reprinted *Germ* XI (1866) 261-305; "Nachtrag," *Germ* XII (1867) 63-64)

1052. PIPER, P., *Ueber den Gebrauch des Dativs im Ulfilas, Heliand und Orfrid.* Berlin, 1874, 30p.

(Altona Progr.)

Rev.: *ZfdPh* VI (1875) 120-123.

1053. WINKLER, H., *Germanische Casussyntax, I. Der Dativ, Instrumental, örtliche und halbörtliche Verhältnisse.* Berlin, 1896, 551p.

Rev.: *AfdA* XXIII (1897) 315-330.

1054. STREITBERG, W., '*gadaila,*' *IF* XXXI (1913) 333-334.

1055. STURTEVANT, A. M., 'The Temporal Force of the Instrumental *be* in *bi-be,*' *AJPh* LIV (1933) 351-352.

1056. STURTEVANT, A. M., "*Unagein* = ἀφόβως *Lk I*, 74," *GR* VI (1931) 64.

[Adverbial dative; instead of **unaganda-ba* 'fearlessly' because rendering perhaps Latin *sine timore*]

1057. BERNHARDT, E., 'Ueber den Ersatz des verlorenen Ablativs,' *ZfdPh* XIII (1882) 16 ff.

d) *Absolute Constructions* (Cf. No. 308)

1058. RÜCKERT, Heinrich, 'Die gotischen absoluten Nominativ- und Accusativkonstruktionen,' *Germ* XI (1866) 415-423.

1059. BEER, A., *Kleine Beiträge zur gotischen Syntax. I. Der gotische absolutische Dativ.* Prague, 1905, 16p.

(*PSB* 1904, No. XIII)

Rev.: *AfdA* XXXIII (1909) 92-93.

1060. van HELTEN, W., 'Gab es einen gotischen Nominativ absolutus?' *PBB* XXXV (1909) 310-311.

1061. BEER, A., 'Gab es einen gotischen Nominativus absolutus?' *PBB* XXXVII (1911) 169-171.

1062. STURTEVANT, A. M., 'The Temporal Dative as a Factor in the Development of the Dative Absolute Construction,' *AJPh* LIV (1933) 341-342.

1063. METLEN, M., 'Absolute Constructions in the Gothic Bible,' *PMLA* LIII (1938) 631-644.

e) *Cases after Prepositions*

1064. NABER, Friedr., *Gotische Präpositionen.* Detmold, 1879, 26p.
(Progr.)
Rev.: *ZfdPh* XII (1881) 371.

1065. MOUREK, V. E., *Syntaxis gotských predlozek.* Prague, 1890, X+234p.
[Syntax of Gothic Prepositions]
Rev.: *AfdA* XVII (1891) 91-93; *ibid.* XX (1894) 140-144.

1066. STREITBERG, W., '*qiman in* und Verwandtes,' *Festschrift Windisch* (Leipzig, 1914) 217-224.
[Examines constructions with dative and with accusative]

1067. v. d. MEER, M. J., *Die Bedeutung und die Rektion der gotischen Präpositionen. Gotische Casus-Syntax II.* Amsterdam, 1930, XX+146p.
(Verhandeling d. Akad. van Wetenschappen te A'dam, Afd. Letterk., Nieuwe Reeks, Deel 28 No. 4)

1068. STURTEVANT, A. M., '*Alja,* Preposition with the Dative,' *GR* VI (1931) 67-68.

1069. ZATOCIL. L., *Zur gotischen Syntax. 'Qiman in' und Verwandtes.* Mähr.-Neustadt, 1933, 15p.
Rev.: *IF* LII (1934) 259-260; *JEGPh* XXXIV (1935) 432; *CMF* XXIII (1936) 92-93.

1070. STURTEVANT, A. M., '*In* with the Genitive Case,' *AJPh* LIV (1933) 340-341.

2) Adjective

a) *Use of the Weak Form*

1071. LICHTENHELD, A., 'Das schwache Adjektiv im Gotischen,' *ZfdA* XVIII (1875) 17-43.

1072. JELLINEK, M. H., 'Zum schwachen Adjektiv,' *PBB* XXXIV (1908) 581-584.
Rev.: *AfdA* L, 7-8.

1073. DELBRÜCK, B., 'Das schwache Adjektiv und der Artikel im Germanischen,' *IF* XXVI (1911) 187-199.

1074. STURTEVANT, A. M., 'The Use of the Weak Inflextion of the Gothic Adjective in a Vocative Function,' *PhQ* VII (1928) 199-201.

b) *Comparative*

1075. BALDAUF, E., *Die Syntax des Komparativs im Gotischen, Althochdeutschen und Altsächsischen.* Dachau, 1938, 52p.
(Munich Dissertation)

1076. STURTEVANT, A. M., 'The Preposition *und* denoting the Degree of Difference with Comparatives,' *AJPh* LVII (1936) 283-284.

1077. STURTEVANT, A. M., 'On the Comparative Usage in Gothic,' *JEGPh* XXXIX (1940) 456-457.

c) *Adverbs*

1078. SCHULZE, W., 'Gotica,' *ZvS* LV (1928) 136-137.
[On Gothic *þaþro,* use and meaning 'von hier' and 'von da']

1079. STURTEVANT, A. M., 'Greek ἀλλήλοι =the Adverb *misso,* or the Double *anþar* Construction,' *JEGPh* XLVI (1947) 409-410.

3) The Pronouns

1080. MEILLET, A., 'De l'emploi des pronoms personnels au nominatif,' *MSL* XV (1908) 86-91.

1081. DICKHOFF, E., 'Der Unterschied im Gebrauch von gotisch *uns* und *unsis*,' *ZfdA* LIV (1913) 466-474.

1082. SCHULZE, W., 'Personalpronomen und Subjektsausdruck im Gotischen,' *Festschrift Behaghel* (Heidelberg, 1924) 92-100.
[Use of personal pronouns as subject]

1083. STURTEVANT, A. M., '*Hwan filu* 'how much',' *AJPh* LIII (1932) 53-54.

1084. STURTEVANT, A. M., 'Regarding the Adjectival Usage of the Interrogative-Indefinite Pronoun *hwas, hwa hwo*,' *JEGPh* XLVI (1947) 407-408.

4) The Definite Article

1085. BERNHARDT, E., *Der Artikel im Gotischen*. Erfurt, 1874, 19p.
(Progr.)

1086. SAUVAGEOT, Aurélien, *L'emploi de l'article en gotique*. Paris, 1929, 90p.
(Collection linguistique, 28)
Rev.: *BSL* XXX, 3, 162-163.

5) The Verb

a) *Passive* (Cf. No. 960)

1087. STURTEVANT, A. M., 'Concerning the Shift from the Impersonal to the Personal Construction of Medio-passive Verbs,' *MLN* LX (1945) 105-106.

b) *Number*

1088. MEILLET, A., 'De l'emploi du duel,' *MSL* XV (1908) 78-86.

c) *Reflexive Verbs*

1089. BEHAGHEL, O., '*Gaqiman sik*,' *PBB* XLII (1918) 558-559.

1090. SCHULZE, W., 'Der reflexive Gebrauch von *galaisjan sik*,' *ZvS* XLII (1909) 317-320.

d) *Aspect* (Cf. No. 1065)

1091. BERNHARDT, E., 'Die Partikel *ga* als Hilfsmittel bei der gotischen Conjugation,' *ZfdPh* II (1870) 158-166.

1092. DORFELD, C., *Ueber die Function des Präfixes ge-* (got. *ga-*) *in der Composition mit Verben. Teil I: Das Präfix bei Ulfilas und Tatian*. Halle, 1885, 47p.
(Giessen Dissertation)

1093. EGGE, E., 'Inchoative or *n*-verbs in Gothic,' *AJPh* VII (1886) 1.

1094. STREITBERG, W., 'Perfektive und Imperfektive Aktionsart im Germanischen I.,' *PBB* XV (1891) 70-178.

1095. STREITBERG, W., 'Zum gotischen Perfectiv,' *IF* XXI (1907) 193-196.

1096. STREITBERG, W., 'Gotisch *dugunnan wisan*,' *IF* XXII (1908) 307-310.

1097. BEER, A. *Tri studie o videch slovesného deje v gotstine*. Prague, 1915, VIII+188+103+133p.
[Three studies on verbal aspects in Gothic]
Rev.: *AfdA* XXXVIII (1917) 1-14.

1098. BEER, A., 'Beiträge zur gotischen Grammatik I. *gawisan*,' *PBB* XLIII (1917) 446-469.

1099. TRNKA, B., 'Some Remarks on the Perfective and Imperfective Aspects in Gothic,' *Donum natalicium Schrijnen* (Nijmegen-Utrecht, 1929) 496-500.

1100. MIROWICZ, A., *Die Aspektfrage im Gotischen.* (=Rozprawy i materjaly wydzialu) Wilna, 1935, 51p.
(Towarzystwa Przyjaciol nauk w Wilnie, VI, 1)
Rev.: CMF XXII (1936) 93-94.

1101. MOSSE, Fernand, *Histoire de la forme périphrastique être + participe présent en germanique*. Paris, 1938, 126+302p.

(Collection linguistique, XLII and XLIII)
[Gothic: I, 21-30]

1102. SENN, Alfred, 'Verbal Aspects in Germanic, Slavic and Baltic,' *Lang* XXV (1949) 402-409.
[Concludes that perfective-imperfective aspect may have originated in Germanic, being passed on by the Goths]

e) *Tenses: Present*

1103. PFISTER, R., 'Das historische Präsens im Gotischen,' *IF* LVII (1939) 134-139.

Preterite

1104. STURTEVANT, A. M., 'The Gothic Preterite for the Greek Present,' *Studies in honor of H. Collitz* (1930) 102-104.
[With reference to durative aspect]

1105. SENN, Alfred, 'Inklusives Präteritum im Gotischen,' *JEGPh* XXXIII (1934) 493-497.

Future

1106. SCHLEICHER, A., 'Das Futurum im Deutschen und Slavischen,' *ZvS* IV (1855) 187-197.

1107. MAROLD, K., 'Futurum und futurische Ausdrücke im Gotischen,' *WMB* (1875) 169-176.

1108. STREITBERG, W., 'Das gotische Perfektiv in seinem Verhältnis zum griechischen Futurum,' *PBB* XV (1891) 119-137.

1109. STURTEVANT, A. M., 'The Future Auxiliaries Gothic *'haban'* and Old Norse *'munu','* *MLN* LIII (1938) 423-425.

f) *Moods: The Optative*

1110. KÖHLER, Artur, 'Der syntaktische Gebrauch des Optativs im Gotischen,' Bartsch, *Germanische Studien* I (Vienna, 1872) 77-133.
Rev.: *ZfdPh* V (1874) 212-216.

1111. BURCKHARDT, F., *Der gothische Conjunctiv verglichen mit den entsprechenden Modis des neutestamentlichen Griechisch. Ein Beitrag zur vergleichenden Sprachforschung.* Zschopau, 1872, III+36p.
(Leipzig Dissertation)
Rev.: *ZfdPh* IV (1873) 455-459.

1112. SCHIRMER, K., *Ueber den syntactischen Gebrauch des Optativs im Gotischen.* Marburg, 1874, 47p.
(Dissertation)
Rev.: *ZfdPh* VI (1875) 485.

1113. BERNHARDT, Ernst, 'Der gotische Optativ,' *ZfdPh* VIII (1877) 1-38.

1114. DELBRÜCK, B., 'Der germanische Optativ im Satzgefüge,' *PBB* XXIX (1904) 201-304.

1115. DIEKHOFF, T., 'The so-called prospective or anticipatory Subjunctive in Gothic,' *JEGPh* XI (1912) 173-179.

g) *Auxiliary Verbs*

1116. KAHL, Wilh., 'Die Bedeutungen und der syntaktische Gebrauch der Verba *können* und *mögen* im Altdeutschen. Ein Beitrag zur deutschen Lexicographie,' *ZfdPh* XXII (1) (1889) 1-60.

h) *The Imperative*

1117. CUENDET, G., *L'impératif dans le texte grec et dans les versions gotique, arménienne et vieux-slave des évangiles.* Paris, 1924.
Rev.: *BSL* LXXXII (1927) (=27, 2) 40-42.

1118. BEHAGHEL, O., 'Der gotische Adhortativus,' *PBB* XLIII (1917) 325-327.

1119. DAVIS, Edw. P., 'The Injunctive in Gothic,' *MPh* XXVI (1928) 427-432.

i) *The Infinitive*

1120. KÖHLER, Artur, 'Der syntactische Gebrauch des Infinitivs im Gothischen,' *Germ* XII (1867) 421-462.

1121. ALBRECHT, C., 'De accusativo cum infinitivo conjuncti origine et usu Homerico,' G. Curtius, *Studien* IV (1871) 1-58 (Mit Vergleichung des gotischen und ahd. Sprachgebrauchs)

1122. APELT, Otto, 'Ueber den Accusativus cum Infinitivo im Gothischen,' *Germ* XIX (1874) 280-297.

1123. DELBRÜCK, B., 'Das gotische *du* und das westgermanische Gerundium,' *IF* XXI (1908) 355-358.

1124. v. d. MEER, M. J., 'Der gotische akk. c. inf. in Subjektsätzen und nach *swaei* und *swe*,' *PBB* XXXIX (1914) 201-209.

1125. STURTEVANT, A. M., 'The Passive Use of the Active Infinitive after the Verbal Adjectives *mahts* and *skulde*,' *JEGPh* XXIV (1925) 504-508.

1126. STURTEVANT, A. M., 'The Use of *þata* with *du* and the Infinitive,' *JEGPh* XLVI (1947) 409.

j) *The Participles*

1127. GERING, H., 'Ueber den syntactischen Gebrauch der Participia im Gotischen,' *ZfdPh* V (1874) 294-324; 393-433.
Rev.: *WMB* (1875) 26-28.

1128. LÜCKE, Otto, *Absolute Participia im Gotischen und ihr Verhältnis zum griechischen Original, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Skeireins.* Magdeburg, 1876, 58p.
(Göttingen Dissertation)
Rev.: *ZfdPh* VIII (1877) 352-354; *Germ* XXIII (1878) 242-243.

1129. SOMMER, F., 'Die syntaktische Funktion von *sa qimanda* und *sa qimands*,' *PBB* XXXVII (1911) 481-491.

k) *Rection*

1130. BERNHARDT, Ernst, 'Ueber den genitivus partitivus nach transitiven Verben im Gotischen,' *ZfdPh* II (1870) 292-294.

1131. BERNHARDT, Ernst, 'Zur gotischen Casuslehre,' *Festschrift Zacher* (Halle, 1880) 71-82; continued in *ZfdPh* XIII (1881) 1-20.

1132. BORRMANN, Joh., *Ruhe und Richtung in den gotischen Verbalbegriffen.* Halle, 1892, 39p.
(Dissertation)

1133. SCHULZE, W., 'Verba, die den Dativ des Objekts verlangen,' *ZvS* XLII (1909) 320-322.

1134. STURTEVANT, A. M., 'Regarding the Intransitive Use of Transitive Verbs,' *JEGPh* XXIV (1925) 508-511.

1135. SCHULZE, W., 'Gotica,' *ZvS* LV (1928) 132.
[On constructions of the type *du usfilhan ana gastim*]

1136. STURTEVANT, A. M., *Usqiman* 'to slay' with Dative and Accusative Rection,' *GR* VI (1931) 58-59.
[Dative rection—semantic development—accusative rection]

1137. STURTEVANT, A. M., 'The Double Accusative after *bidjan*,' *GR* VI 63-64.
[Occurs only in ἀπο κοινοῦ construction]

1138. STURTEVANT, A. M., '*Gawaurkeiþ im anakumbjan kubituns*, Lk IX, 14,' *GR* VI (1931) 65-66.

[Perhaps because *gawaurkjan*='command' as opposed to *waurkjan*='make'; hence the dative *im*]

1139. STURTEVANT, A. M., '*þai ubilaba habandans, Mk* II, 17,' *AJPh* LIII (1932) 53.

[Intransitive use of *haban*]

1140. STURTEVANT, A. M., '*Fraþjan* and the Dative Case,' *AJPh* LIII (1932) 55-56.

1141. ZATOCIL, Leopold, 'Zur Ruhekonstruktion bei *lagjan*,' *ZfdA* LXXI (1934) 66, 211.

1142. ZATOCIL, Leopold, 'Zur Konstruktion von *gateihan*,' *ZfdA* LXXIII (1936) 195-196.

1143. STURTEVANT, A. M., 'Concerning Gothic Intransitive Verbs,' *AJPh* LIX (1938) 460-470.

1144. STURTEVANT, A. M., 'The Accusative Rection of the Impersonal Verb *ganah* 'es genügt',' *MLN* LX (1945) 104.

C. THE SIMPLE SENTENCE

1) Concord

1145. STURTEVANT, A. M., 'The Neuter Gender of the Past Participle in Disagreement with the Substantive to which it Refers,' *JEGPh* XLVI (1947) 411.

2) Nominal Sentence

1146. MEILLET, A., 'La phrase nominale pure,' *MSL* XV (1908) 93-95.

3) Negation

1147. KOPPITZ, A., '*ni*,' *ZfdPh* XXXIII (1901) 12-24.

1148. HURTIG, W., 'Ueber die Negation im Gotischen,' *Ceské Mus. filol.* (1901) 56 ff.

1149. MOUREK, V. E., 'Zur Negation im Altgermanischen,' *PSB* XIX (1903) 1-67.

1150. DELBRÜCK, B., 'Zu den negativen Sätzen (Germanische Syntax I),' *ASG* XXVIII/4 (1910) 64p.

4) Interrogation

1151. SCHULZE, W., 'Zur gotischen Grammatik,' *ZvS* XL (1906) 563-565.

D. THE COMPLEX SENTENCE

1) General Studies

1152. MOUREK, V. E., *Syntaxis slozených vet v gotstine* (The Complex Sentences in Gothic). Prague, 1893, IX+339p. 4°.

(German résumé: pp. 287-334)

Rev.: *ZfdPh* XXVIII (1895) 138.

1153. van MOERKERKEN, P. H., *Over de verbinding der vollzinnen in't gotisch.* Gent, 1888, 104p.

(K. Vlaamsche Acad. voor Taal-en Letterk.)

2) Coordination

1154. SCHAAFFS, G., *Syndetische und asyndetische Parataxe im Gotischen.* Göttingen, 1904, 99p.

(Dissertation)

1155. BRUGMANN, K., 'Got. *uh, -h*,' *IF* XXIII (1913) 173-180.

1156. KOCH, E. A., 'Gotisch *jah* und *uh*,' *LUÅ* (1919) 3, 1.

[*jah* and *uh* superfluous]

1157. STURTEVANT, A. M., 'A Note on the Gothic Particle *þau*,' *MLN* XLIII (1928) 242-244.

1158. STURTEVANT, A. M., '*Andizuh* (*-aiþþau*) 'either (-or)',' *AJPh* LIII (1932) 56-57.

1159. STURTEVANT, A. M., 'Gothic *ak*: *ak-ei*, 'But',' *AJPh* LIV (1933) 347-349.

1160. STURTEVANT, A. M., *aþþan-iþ*, 'μέν-δέ,' *AJPh* LIV (1933) 349.

1161. STURTEVANT, A. M., '*Jaþþe - jaþþe*, 'whether-or',' *GR* VIII (1933) 210-211.
[How **jah-þe* with instrumental form of the pronoun came to be used as a disjunctive hypothetical particle]

3) Subordination

a) *Adjective Clauses*

1162. ECKHARDT, E., *Ueber die Syntax des gotischen Relativpronomens.* Halle, 1875, 54p.
(Inauguraldissertation)
Rev.: *ZfdPh* VI (1875) 484.

1163. NECKEL, G., *Ueber die altgermanischen Relativsätze.* Berlin, 1900, 96p. (Palaestra, Bd. V)
Rev.: *AfdA* XXVII (1901) 137-143.

1164. DELBRÜCK, B., 'Zu den germanischen Relativsätzen,' *ASG* XXVII/19 (1909) 673-698.

1165. MERITT, Herbert D., *The Construction* ἀπο κοινοῦ *in the Germanic Languages.* Stanford Univ. Press, 1938.
[Gothic: pp. 81-84]

b) *Other Clauses: conjunctions*

1166. COLLIN, A. Z., 'Sur les conjonctions gothiques,' *LUÅ* XII (1875-76) 40.

1167. KLINGHARDT, Hm., 'Die Syntax der gotischen Partikel *ei*,' *ZfdPh* VIII (1877) 127-180; 289-329.

1168. TOBLER, L., 'Conjunctionen mit mehrfacher Bedeutung, ein Beitrag zur Lehre vom Satzgefüge,' *PBB* V (1878) 358-388.
[*ei*: 366-367; *ibai*: 368-370; *iþ*: 370; *jai*: 370-371; *nu*: 371; *þande*: 374; *þau* 375 etc.]

1169. ERDMANN, Oskar, 'Ueber gotisch *ei* und althochdeutsch *thaz*,' *ZfdPh* IX (1878) 43-53.

1170. MAROLD, C., *Ueber die gotischen Conjunctionen welche* οὖν *und* γάρ *vertreten.* Königsberg, 1881, 30p.
(Progr.)

1171. DELBRÜCK, B., 'Die Sätze mit *ei* und *dass*,' *PBB* XXIX (1904) 207 ff.

1172. BEER, A., 'Zur Syntax der konjunktiven *miþþanei*,' *CMF* XX (1912) 136-138.

1173. SCHULZE, W., 'Gotica,' *ZvS* LV (1928) 124-132.
[*Þatei*; difference between demonstrative and relative elements]

1174. MUSIC, A., 'Die gotischen Partikeln *ei* und *þei*,' *PBB* LIII (1929) 228-262.

Types of Subordinate Clauses

1175. WEISKER, Eduard, *Ueber die Bedingungssätze im Gotischen.* Freiburg i. Schl., 1880, 14p.
(Progr.)

1176. DELBRÜCK, B., 'Der germanische Optativ im Satzgefüge. IV. Die Bedingungssätze,' *PBB* XXIX (1904) 257 ff.

1177. STURTEVANT, A. M., 'The Use of *iþ* in Unreal Conditions,' *JEGPh* XLVI (1947) 410-411.

1178. DELBRÜCK, B., 'Germanische Konjunktionssätze (Germanische Syntax, V),' *ASG* XXXVI/4 (1919) 80p.

Mood of Subordinate Clause

1179. MOUREK, V. E., 'Ueber den Einfluss des Hauptsatzes auf den modus des Nebensatzes im Gotischen,' *PSB* 1892 V 263-296.
Rev. *ZfdPh* XXVIII (1895) 130-138.

1180. MOUREK, V. E., 'Nochmals über den Einfluss des Hauptsatzes auf den Modus des Nebensatzes im Gotischen,' *PSB* XVII (1895) 1-21.

1181. STURTEVANT, A. M., 'Regarding Attraction of Mood in Dependent Clauses,' *AJPh* LIII (1932) 57-58.

E. WORD ORDER

1182. FRIEDRICHS, E., *Die Stellung des pronomen personale im Gotischen.* Jena, 1893, 126p.
(Leipzig Dissertation)

1183. McKNIGHT, George H., 'Word order in Gothic,' *JEGPh* I (1897) 146-160.

1184. KOPPITZ, A., 'Gotische Wortstellung,' *ZfdPh* XXXII (1900) 433-463; XXXIII (1901) 7-45.

1185. MEILLET, A., 'Enclise et proclise,' *MSL* XV (1908) 95-97.

1186. CEBULLA, Paul, *Die Stellung des Verbums in den periphrastischen Verbalformen des Gotischen, Alt- und Mittelhochdeutschen.* Breslau, 1910, VI+41p.

1187. MEILLET, A., 'Sur la place du prédicat,' *MSL* XV (1908) 97-98.

1188. DELBRÜCK, B., 'Zur Stellung des Verbums im Gotischen und Altisländischen,' *PBB* XXXVI (1910) 359.

1189. DELBRÜCK, B., 'Zur Stellung des Verbums (Germanische Syntax, II),' *ASG* XXVIII/7 (1911) 76p.

1190. CUENDET, Georges, *L'ordre des mots dans le texte grec et dans les versions gotique, arménienne et vieux slave des évangiles.* Première partie: *Les groupes nominaux.* Paris, 1929, XVI+174p.
(Collection linguistique, XXVI)
Rev.: *RG* XXI (1930) 376-377; *Museum* XXXVII (1930) 139; *IF* XLIX (1931) 139-142; *DLZ* LII (1931) 1064; *RC* LVI (1931) 62-64.

1191. STURTEVANT, A. M., '*Gabeigs filu, Lk* XVIII, 23; *mikils abraba, Mk* XVI, 14 etc.,' *GR* VI (1931) 60.
[Postposition of intensive adverbs *filu, abraba*: survival of Old Germc. word order]

1192. STURTEVANT, A. M., 'Concerning the Position of the Particle *-uh* in Conjunction with *iþ* (*iþ-uh*),' *AJPh* LIV (1933) 349-351.

1193. METLEN, Michael, 'Word Order,' *JEGPh* XXXII (1933) 531-533.

1194. STURTEVANT, A. M., 'The Tmesis *-u-hwa-* in *ga-u-hwa-sehwi*= *εἴ τι βλέπει*', *Mk* VIII, 23,' *MLN* LII (1937) 207.

1195. STURTEVANT, A. M., 'The Postpositive Position of the Indefinite Adjective *hwazuh* 'Each, Every',' *MLN* LII (1937) 207-208.

1196. FOURQUET, J., *L'ordre des éléments de la phrase en germanique ancien.* Paris, 1938, 299p.
(*PFLUS*, Fasc. 86)
[Pp. 234-284: Gothic]

XXIV. TRANSLATION TECHNIQUE AND STYLE

(Cf. Nos. 308 and 1170)

1197. LÖBE, Julius, 'Ueber die gothische Bibelübersetzung,' *Berl.-Germ* II (1837) 358-374.

[That W.'s translation is idiomatic]

1198. MASSMANN, H. F., 'Luther und Ulfila,' *Berl.-Germ* VII (1846) 362-369.

[Stylistic remarks on Wulfila's and Luther's translations]

1199. STOLZENBURG, H., 'Zur Uebersetzungstechnik des Wulfila, untersucht auf Grund der Bibelfragmente des Codex Argenteus," *ZfdPh* XXXVII (1905) 145-193; 352-392.

1200. SCHULZE, W., 'Ueber die Auflösung griechischer Präpositionalverbindungen bei Ulfilas,' *ZvS* XLII (1909) 329.

1201. GAEBELER, Kurt, 'Die griechischen Bestandteile der gotischen Bibel,' *ZfdPh* XLIII (1911) 1-117.

[Contents: Die orthographische Form, 1-11; die orthographischen Differenzen im Zusammenhange der Textgeschichte, 11-42; Wulfilas Transkriptionstechnik, 42-54; zur Lautgeschichte der griechischen Lehnwörter, 54-60. II Teil: Die flexivische Form: Wulfilas Flexionstechnik, 60-77; zur Lehnwörterfrage, 77-89; produktive Flexionssysteme im Gotischen, 89-118]

1202. KAPTEIJN, J. M. N., 'Die Uebersetzungstechnik der gotischen Bibel in den paulinischen Briefen,' *IF* XXIX (1911) 260-367.

1203. CURME, George, O., 'Is the Gothic Bible Gothic? *JEGPh* X (1911) 151-191; 335-377.

1204. KELLOGG, R. J., 'Gothic Rendering of Greek Recurrents with especial Reference to *Mt* V, 23,' *MPh* XIII (1915) 99-122.

1205. KAUFFMANN, Fr., 'Der Stil der gotischen Bibel,' *ZfdPh* XLVIII (1919) 7-80; XLIX (1922) 11-55.

1206. GÜRTLER, Hans, 'Zum Gebrauch der konkurrierenden Abstraktbildungen im Gotischen,' *ZfdPh* XLIX (1922) 82-89.

[Abstract nouns in *-ei* tend to replace those in *-iþa*]

1207. CAHEN, M., 'Remarque sur le style des adjectifs gotiques en *-kunds*,' *Mélanges Vendryes* (Paris, 1925) 75-91.

1208. FRIEDRICHSEN, G. W. S., *The Gothic Version of the Gospels. A Study of its Style and Textual History*. Oxford, 1926, 263p.

Rev.: *JEGPh* XXVI (1927) 400-406; *TheolLZ* LII (1927) 370-373; *RG* XVIII (1926) 144-145; *LB* XLIX (1928) 333-335; *Year's Work* VII (1928) 40-41.

1209. SCHULZE, W., 'Gotica,' *ZvS* LV (1928) 117-124.

[On translations of ὄχλος πολίς and ὄχλοι πολλοί]

1210. POLLAK, Hans, 'Zur Wiedergabe des griechischen Perfekts im Gotischen,' *StN* II (1929) 1-27.

1211. STURTEVANT, A. M., '*Unte* for *þatei*: *ei*: *þei*,' *Studies in honor of H.* Collitz (1930) 108-109.

[*unte* = ὅτι]

1212. GREWOLDS, Heinr., 'Die gotischen Komposita in ihrem Verhältnis zu denen der griechischen Vorlage,' *ZvS* LX (1932) 1-53; LXI (1934) 145-179.

[Partly printed as dissertation, Berlin, 1931]

1213. SCHWYTZER, E., 'Gotisch *let* und griechisch ἔα. Ein Beitrag zur Beurteilung der gotischen Bibel,' *ZvS* LX (1932) 139-144.

1214. RICE, A. L., *Gothic Prepositional Compounds in their Relation to their Greek Originals*. Philadelphia, 1932, 142p.

(Language Dissertations, 11)

Rev.: *AfdA* LII (1933) 202 ff.; *BSL* XXXIV, 119-121, 128; *IF* XLII (1934) 175-176.

1215. METLEN, Michael, *Does the Gothic Bible Represent Idiomatic Gothic?* Evanston, Ill., 1932, 50p.

(Abstract of a Dissertation)

Rev.: *AfdA* LI (1932) 236; *RG* XXIV (1933) 298-299; *BSL* XXXIV (1933) 119-121; *IF* LIII (1935) 81-82.

1216. METLEN, Michael, 'What a Greek Interlinear of the Gothic Bible Text can teach us,' *JEGPh* XXXII (1933) 530-548.

[Gothic words not having equivalents in the Greek, 533-534; Greek words not rendered in the Gothic, 534-535; More words in one language than in the other for the same idea, 535-537; Compounds in the Gothic but not in the Greek, 537-539; Compounds in both the Greek and Gothic, 539-541; Gothic clauses for Greek phrases, 541; Idiomatic expressions, 542; Summary and conclusions, 543-548]

1217. KIND, John L., 'On the Influence of the Greek in the Coining of Gothic Compounds,' *Univ. of Nebraska, The Graduate Bull., C. Ser.* VI/3, 1-34.

1218. FRIEDRICHSEN, G. W. S., *The Gothic Version of the Epistles. A Study of its Style and Textual History*. Oxford, 1939, XII+298p.

1219. JOHANNESSOHN, M., 'Die Behandlung des neutestamentlichen *και ἰδόν* (*et ecce*) in einigen älteren und jüngeren germanischen Bibelübersetzungen,' *ZvS* LXVIII (1943) 1-32.

[1. Ulfilas, pp. 1-3]

1220. KJELLMAN, Nils, 'Die Uebersetzung der griechischen Verbalkomposita mit *εἰσ-* in der gotischen Bibel,' *Studia Linguistica* I (1947) 45-51.

XXV. DICTIONARIES

A. DICTIONARIES AND GLOSSARIES

(See also Nos. 207-209, 211, 258 and 265)

1221. JUNIUS, Franciscus, *Gothicum Glossarium quo Argentei Codicis Vocabula explicantur atque ex Linguis cognatis illustrantur. Praemittuntur ei Gothicum, Runicum, Anglosaxonicum aliaque alphabeta.* Dordrecht, 1664, (24)+431p. 4°.

(Reprinted Amsterdam, 1684, (24)+431p. 4°.)

[Generally bound with Junius's text; Gothic Glossary with Latin translation, references and etymology, OE, Germ., Danish, etc., Welsh, Greek, etc.]

1222. STIERNHIELM, G., *Glossarium Ulphila-Gothicum, Linguis affinibus, per Fr. JUNIUM, nunc etiam Sveo-Gothica auctum & illustratum per Georgium S.* Stockholm, 1670, (4)+152p.

[Some copies bear the date 1671, cf. J. V. Johansson, *GHÅ* XLV (1939) 54. Glossary in alphabetic order with Swedish and Latin translations, references and etymology]

1223. LYE, Edward, *Dictionarium Saxonico- et Gothico-Latinum auctore Edwardo L.A.M. accedunt Fragmenta versionis Ulphilanae nec non opuscula quaedam Anglo-Saxonica. Edidit nonnullis vocabulis auxit, plurimis exemplis illustravit et grammaticam utriusque linguae praemisit.* London, 1772, 2 vol. f°.

[Preceded by a *Grammatica Anglo-Saxonica & Moeso-Gothica in usum tyronum*, 40p. Dictionary of Gothic and OE. The Gothic words in Gothic script. In appendix to the 2nd vol. prints, after Knittel, the Wolfenbüttel fragments (3p.) with Latin text]

1224. v. d. GABELENTZ, H. C. and LOEBE, J., *Glossarium der gothischen Sprache*. Leipzig, 1843, XVIII+244p. 4°.

1225. SCHULZE, Ernst, *Gothisches Glossar*. Mit Vorrede von Jacob GRIMM. Magdeburg, 1848, XXII+454p. 4°.

1226. SCHULZE, Ernst, *Gothisches Wörterbuch nebst Flexionslehre*. Züllichau, 1867, VI+265p.
Rev.: *Germ.* XIII (1868) 116-118.

1227. SKEAT, W. W., *A Moeso-Gothic Glossary, with an Introduction, an Outline of Moeso-Gothic Grammar and a List of Anglo-Saxon and Old and Mod. English Words Etymologically Connected with Moeso-Gothic*. London, 1868, XXIIp.+340 col.

1228. STREITBERG, W., *Die gotische Bibel. II. Gotisch-griechisch-deutsches Wörterbuch*. Heidelberg, 1910, XVI+180p. (2nd ed. 1928)
[Second vol. of No. 212]
Rev.: *MLN* XXVI (1911) 182-184; *BSL* LIX (1911) 108; *RC* LXXI (1911) 185-186.

B. OTHER LANGUAGE-GOTHIC GLOSSARIES AND LISTS

1229. (Griechisch-gotisches Wörterbuch. In No. 1224, 215-241).

1230. PRIESE, O., *Deutsch-gotisches Wörterbuch, nebst einem Anhange, enthaltend geordnete Uebersicht des gotischen Wortschatzes und eine Sammlung von Redensarten und Sprüchen*. Leipzig, 1890, VI+64p. (3rd ed. Halle, 1933, VI+64p.)
Rev.: *ASNS* LXXXVI (1891) 92-93.

1231. HEINSIUS, J., *Nederlandsch-gotische Woordenlijst*. Groningen, 1893.

1232. HUNTINGTON, Catherine, *A Complete Greek Concordance to the Gothic Bible*.
[In preparation; cf. *JEGPh* XLIII (1948) 407]

XXVI ETYMOLOGY

A. ETYMOLOGICAL DICTIONARIES WITH GOTHIC REFERENCES

1233. MEIDINGER, Heinrich, *Vergleichendes etymologisches Wörterbuch der gothisch-teutonischen Mundarten (altgothisch, althochdeutsch, angelsächsisch, altsächsisch, altnordisch (isländisch), neuschwedisch, neudänisch, neuniederländisch (fläm.-holl.), neuenglisch, neuhochdeutsch), nebst mehreren slavischen, romanischen und asiatischen Wurzeln, als Beweis gemeinschaftlicher Abstammung*. Franfurt a. M., 1833, XLVII+4+573p. (New ed. 1836)

1234. SCHADE, O., *Altdeutsches Wörterbuch*. Halle, 1866, XVIII+765p. (2nd ed. 1882)

1235. TORP, Alf, *Wortschatz der germanischen Spracheinheit unter Mitwirkung von Hjalmar FALK*. Göttingen, 1909.
(A. Fick, Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der idg. Sprachen, 4. Aufl. III. Teil) (3rd ed. 1874).

B. ETYMOLOGICAL DICTIONARIES OF GOTHIC PROPER

1236. DIEFENBACH, Lor., *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der gothischen Sprache*. 2 vol. Frankfurt a.M., 1846-1851, XII+824p.
Rev.: *ZvS* I (1852) 557-566.

1237. UHLENBECK, C. C., *Kurzgefasstes etymologisches Wörterbuch der gotischen Sprache*. Amsterdam, 1896, 174p.
Rev.: *Nyelvtudományi Közlemények* XXVIII (1897) 114-122; *AfdA* XXIV (1898) 32-36.
(2nd ed. 1900, VI+179p.).
Rev.: *LZ* 1901 337; *MLN* XVI (1901) 305-311.

1238. UHLENBECK, C. C., [Addenda to the preceeding]: *PBB* XX (1895) 563-564; XXVII (1902) 113-136; XXX (1905) 252-327; *TNT* XXV (1907) 245-306.

1239. BALG, G. H., *A Comparative Glossary of the Gothic Language*. With a Preface by Prof. Francis A. March. Mayville, Wisc, and Halle, 1887-89.

Rev.: *MLN* III, 203-207; *Anglia* XI (1888) 316; *AJPh* XI (1890) 99-101; *ZfdPh* XXIV (1892) 236-237.

1240. FEIST, Sigmund, *Grundriss der gotischen Etymologie.* Strassburg, 1889, XVI+167p.

(Sammlung indogermanischer Wörterbücher, 2)

Rev.: *AfdA* XVI (1889) 61-71; *LB* 1889 365-370; 1890 47-48; *LZ* 1890 836; *LZg* 1890 13-14.

1241. v. GRIENBERGER, Th., 'Untersuchungen zur gotischen Wortkunde,' *WSB* 1900/VIII, 272p.

[Cf. Uhlenbeck, *PBB* XXVII (1902) 113-136]

1242. FEIST, Sigmund, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der gotischen Sprache mit Einschluss des sog. Krimgotischen.* Halle, 1909, XXIV+380p.

Rev.: Teil I: *LZ* 1909 1560; *ZfdPh* XLI (1909) 239; *DLZ* 1909 1442-1446; *BSL* LVIII (1910) 356-359: Teil II: *LZ* 1910 1692; *DLZ* XXXI (1910) 1889-1890; *MLN* XXV (1910) 72-76; *AfdA* XLI (1921) 11-14; *JEGPh* X (1911) 120-122; *LB* XXXIII (1912) 3-8.

1243. FEIST, Sigmund, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der gotischen Sprache mit Einschluss der krimgotischen und sonstiger gotischer Sprachreste.* 2nd ed. Halle, 1920-1923, 448p.

Rev.: *Museum* XXVIII (1921) 252-254; XXXII (1924) 3; *RC* LV (1921) 170-171; LVI (1922) 25-26; LVIII (1924) 461; *BSL* XXII (1921) 252-254; XXIII (1922) 95-96; XXIV (1923) 109-110; XXV (1924) 119-121; *AfdA* XLI (1922) 11-14; XLIII (1924) 145; *Neoph* X (1924) 69-72; *LB* XLIV (1923) 88-89.

1244. HOLTHAUSEN, Ferd., *Gotisches etymologisches Wörterbuch. Mit Einschluss der Eigennamen und der gotischen Lehnwörter im Romanischen.* Heidelberg, 1934, XXIV+133p.

(Germanische Bibliothek, Abt. 1, Reihe 4, Bd. 8).

Rev.: *RG* XXVI (1935) 348-349; *Anglia Beibl.* XLVI (1935) 225; *ANF* LII (1936) 198-201.

1245. FEIST, Sigmund, *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der gotischen Sprache mit Einschluss des Krimgotischen und sonstiger zerstreuter Ueberreste des Gotischen.* 3. neubearbeitete u. vermehrte Aufl. Leiden, 1939, XXVIII+710p.

Rev.: *RG* XXX (1939) 212; *BSL* XXXVII (1936) 109-110; XL (1939) 120; *Museum* XLIV (1937) 230-232; XLVII (1940) 264-265; *JEGPh* XXXVII (1938) 288; *ZfdPh* LXIV (1939) 117.

C. RECENT ETYMOLOGICAL INVESTIGATION SINCE 1938[1]

1246. MEZGER, F., 'Got. *niuklahs* 'wie ein Kind, unmündig,' *niuklahei* 'Kleinmut, Unverstand': ae. *cild*; got. *halkjom*,' *ASNS* CLXXIV (1938) 78-79.

1247. MEZGER, F., 'Got. *abrs* 'stark, heftig', *biabrjan* 'sich entsetzen', *aba* m. 'Gatte',' *ZvS* LXV (1938) 122-123.

1248. MEZGER, F., 'Gehört got. *ushaista* zu *haitan*?' *ZvS* LXV (1938) 123-124.

1249. MEZGER, F., 'Gehört got. *hlas* 'heiter' zu *hlahjan*?' *ZvS* LXV (1938) 124-125.

1250. MEZGER, F., 'Got. *usgrudja* 'mutlos' ahd. *ingrutig* 'intentus',' *ZvS* LXV (1938) 260-261.

1251. KARSTIEN, C., 'Italo-Germanisches,' *ZvS* LXV (1938) 145-154.

1252. SMITH, Jr., Henry Lee, 'Some Germanic Developments of IE ***geneu* and **gen-*, ***genē*,' *Lang* XIV (1938) 95-103.

1253. HOLTHAUSEN, F., 'Gotisch *gadaukans*,' *GRM* XXVII (1939) 77.

1254. NEHRING, A. A., 'A Neglected Heteroclitic Noun,' *Lang* XVI (1940) 1-11.

---

[1] For older studies and discussions the reader is referred to FEIST'S dictionary, No. 1245 above.

1255. TÖRNQVIST, Nils, 'Got. *frasts τέκνον* und Verwandtes,' *StN* XV (1942-43) 275-290.

1256. MERONEY, Howard, 'Gothic *izwis*,' *JEGPh* XLII (1943) 231-235.

1257. SPECHT, Fr., 'Zur idg. Sprache und Kultur II. Got. *fairhwus*,' ZvS LXVIII (1944) 191-200.

1258. HATTO, A .T., 'The Name of God in Gothic,' *MLR* XXXIX (1944) 247-251.

1259. MEZGER, F., 'Goth. *aglaiti* 'unchastity', OE *aglæc* 'distress',' *Word* II (1946) 66-71.

1260. KROES, H. W. J., 'Gotica,' *Neoph* XXXI (1947) 14-16.

1261. BENVENISTE, Emile, 'La famille étymologique de *learn*,' *English and Germanic Studies* I (1947-48) 1-5.

1262. FOWKES, Robert A., *Gothic Etymological Studies*. New York, 1949. (Ottendorfer Memorial Series of Germanic Monographs, 30)

XXVII VOCABULARY

A. GENERAL

1263. ZIPF, George Kingsley, 'Prehistoric 'cultural strata' in the Evolution of Germanic: the Case of Gothic,' *MLN* LXII (1947) 522-530.
[Vocabulary frequency]

1264. v. d. MEER, M. J., 'Fremdkörper im Gotischen', *Neoph*. XIV (1929) 286-291.

B. CHRISTIAN TERMINOLOGY

1265. WEINHOLD, K., *Die gotische Sprache im Dienste des Christentums*. Halle, 1870, 38p.
Rev.: *ZfdPh* III (1871) 236-237.

1266. JELLINEK, M. H., 'Zur christlichen Terminologie im Gotischen,' *PBB* XLVII (1923) 434-447.

1267. WESSEN, Elias, 'Om den äldsta kristna terminologien i de germanska fornspråken,' *ANF* XLIV (1928) 74-108.

C. SEMANTICS

1. Semantic word groups

1268. JURMANN, G., '*Skapjan, σκάπτω, vaurkjan, ῥέζω*', *ZvS* XI (1862) 388-392.
[On "make"—verbs]

1269. MITTNER, L., 'Sein und Werden in der Gotenbibel. Eine semantische Untersuchung,' *WuS* XX (1939) 66-85, 193-215.

1270. CAHEN, Maurice, *Le mot "Dieu" en vieux-Scandinave*. Paris, 1921, 81p. (Coll. linguistique publiée par la Soc. de Lingu. de Paris, X).

1271. CAHEN, Maurice, 'L'adjectif 'divin' en germanique,' *Mélanges Ch. Andler* (Strasbourg, 1924) 79-107.
[Pp. 85-86: Goth. *gudisks*]

1272. BENIGNY, Julius, 'Die Namen der Eltern im Indoiranischen und im Gotischen,' *ZvS* XLIX (1920) 230-236.

1273. RITTERSHAUS, A., *Die Ausdrücke für Gesichtsempfindung in den altgermanischen Dialekten*, ein Beitrag zur Bedeutungsgeschichte. 1. Teil. Zürich, 1889, XIV+81p.
(Abhandlungen hrsg. von der Gesellsch. f. deutsche Sprache in Zürich, III).

1274. SCHULZE, W., 'Gotica,' *ZvS* LV (1928) 117-124.
[On Gothic renderings of Gk. ἔδνος]

1275. ÜCOK, Necip, *Über die Wortgruppen weltanschaulichen und religiösen Inhalts in der Bibelübersetzung Ulfilas*. Heidelberg, 1938, 74p.
Rev.: *MLN* LV (1940) 154-156.

2. Separate Words

1276. PETERS, Ign., *Beiträge zur gotisch-hochdeutschen Wortforschung*. Leitmeritz, 1871, 13p.
(Progr.)
[Discusses etymology of *ungatass*]

1277. DE SAUSSURE, F., 'Got. *þarf, þaúrban* 'avoir besoin',' *MSL* VII (1899) 83-86.

1278. MUCH, Rudolf, 'Got. *haiþnō*,' *ZfdW* XI (1909) 211-218.

1279. KOCK, E. A., 'Gotisch *haba*,' *LUA* XV (1919) 3, 2.
['have in one's power']

1280. SCHULZE, W., '*Hliftus*,' *ZvS* XLIX (1920) 252.

1281. HOOPS, Joh., 'Die Heiden,' *Festschrift Braune* (Dortmund, 1920) 27-35.

1282. ROOTH, E., 'Got. *hunsl* und verwantes,' *PBB* XLIX (1925) 114-125.

1283. SCHULZE, W., 'Gotica,' *ZvS* LV (1928) 132-133.
[On *ganiman* 'learn']

1284. SCHULZE, W., 'Gotica,' *ZvS* LV (1928) 134-136.
[On *uzon, uz-anan*]

1285. WRENN, C. L., 'Gothic *usqiman*,' *Donum natalicium Schrijnen* (Nijmegen-Utrecht, 1929) 492-495.

1286. JELLINEK, Max, 'Heide,' *ZfdA* LXVI (1925) 133-136.

1287. GOSSES, G., 'Got. *ufta-aufto*,' *Neoph* XV (1930) 215-218.

1288. KROGMANN, Willy, 'Got. *haiþno*,' *ZfdPh LIX* (1934) 209-229.

1289. STURTEVANT, A. M., '*Nuta* = ἁλιεύς 'catcher fisher',' *AJPh* LVII (1936) 276.

1290. STURTEVANT, A. M., 'Gothic Semantic Notes,' *JEGPh* XXXVI (1937) 176-182.

1291. STURTEVANT, A. M., 'On the Passive Force of *Bandja* 'Prisoner',' *JEGPh* XXXIX (1940) 456.

1292. ZATOCIL, L., 'Gotica,' *LF* LXVII (1940) 234-236.
[On *waurstw waurkjan, wiljan waurkjan*. Both constructions are regarded as Common Germanic being instanced also in Tatian and Heliand]

1293. BENGTSSON, Arne, 'Gotiska *(us)hramjan*,' *ANF* LVII (1943) 97-105.

3. Synonyms

1294. GRIMM, Jacob, 'Das Wort des Besitzes,' 1850, *Kl. Schriften* I, 113-144.
[About Goth. *aih, haban, nima, halda, walda, gastalda*]

1295. GRIMM, Jacob, 'Über die Namen des Donners,' 1853, *Kl. Schriften* II, 402-438.
[About Goth. *iumjo, hiuhma, fairguni*]

1296. SCHADE, Oskar, 'Zu Ulfilas,' *WMB* VII (1879) 202.
[About *Goth. tugl* and *skuft*]

1297. GRÜNWALD, Fr., *Zur gotischen Synonymik*. I. Die verba dicendi; II. Ausgewählte Nominalgruppen. Karolinenthal, 1910 & 1914, 42 & 19p.
(Program)

1298. HRUBY, A., *Zur Synonymik des Substantivs in den gotischen Evangelien*. Triest, 1912, 30p.
(Program)

1299. BEER, A., '*Fiskja—nuta*,' *CMF* III (1914) 38-39.

1300. GROEPER, R., *Untersuchungen über gotische Synonyma*. Teil A: Religiöses Leben. Berlin, 1915, 106p.
(Dissertation)

1301. CONRADI, J., *Zur Synonymik des Substantivs und Adjektivs in den gotischen Evangelien und Episteln.* Ein Beitrag zur Untersuchung der Frage nach der Übersetzungstechnik des Wulfila.
[Ms. Diss. Bonn 1918; summary Bonn 1922]

1302. PORTERFIELD, Allen W., 'Perceptual Sense in Gothic,' *JEGPh* XXXIII (1934) 205-218.
[Gothic renderings of "see" verbs]

1303. PORTERFIELD, Allen W., 'Data on Gothic *hausjan,*' *West Virg. Univ. Bull. Philol. Studies,* III (1939) 12-21.

1304. ROEDDER, E., 'Gothic *gasaihwan.* A Study in Germanic Synonyms,' *PMLA* LII (1937) 613-624.
[Discusses the preceding article]

D. PROPER NAMES

1. Biblical Proper Names in Gothic

1305. HOPPE, O., "Några iakttagelser om hebräiska namms behandling i gotiskan," *NTFS* VI (1884) 245-247.

1306. TEGNER, Es., 'Hebreiska namns behandling i gotiskan,' *NTFS* VI (1884) 304-314.

1307. STREITBERG, W., '*Abeilēni* Luk. III, 1,' *IF* XXXI (1913) 330-333.

1308. S(CHRÖDER), E(dward), '*Beþlahaim,*' *ZfdA* LXXIII (1936) 116.

2. Gothic Proper Names

1309. MASSMANN, H. F., 'Ansileubus,' *ZfdA* I (1841) 387.

1310. GRIMM, Jacob, 'Einige gotische Eigennamen,' *ZfdA* VI (1848) 539-540 (=*Kl. Schriften* VII (1884) 210-212).

1311. GRIMM, Jacob, 'Der thrakische Gothila,' *ZfdA* VII (1849) 395 (=*Kl. Schriften* VII (1884) 231).

1312. WACKERNAGEL, Wilh., 'Sprache und Sprachdenkmäler der Burgunden. Abhandlungen zur Sprachkunde,' *Kl. Schriften* III (Leipzig, 1874) 334-416.

1313. MÜLLENHOFF, K., 'Ein gotischer Göttername?' *ZfdA* XXIII (1879) 43-46.
[On *hore*]

1314. WREDE, Ferd., *Über die Sprache der Wandalen.* Ein Beitrag zur germanischen Namen- und Dialektforschung. Strassburg, 1886, 119p.
(QF LIX)

1315. WREDE, Ferd., *Über die Sprache der Ostgoten in Italien.* Strassburg, 1891, VII+208p.
(*QF* LXVIII)
Rev.: *LB* X (1891) 333-335; *AfdA* XVIII (1) (1892) 43-60; *AfdA* XVIII (2/3) (1892) 309-313, 313-315.

1316. KAUFFMANN, Fr., 'Ein gotischer Göttername?' *ZfdPh* XXXI (1899) 138.
[On *hore*=Lat. *honore*]

1317. KAUFFMANN, Fr., 'ΓΕΝΣΗΡΙΚΟΣ gotice' *ZfdPh* XXXIII (1901) 1-5.

1318. MEYER-LÜBKE, W., 'Romanische Namenstudien. I. Die altportugiesischen Personennamen germanischen Ursprungs,' *WSB* CXLIX, II (1904) 102p.
Rev.: *ZfdPh* XXXVII (1906) 541-560.

1319. KERN, H., 'Die gotische Form des Personennamens Alphonsus,' *ZfdW* IX (1907) 1-3.
[Also published in Dutch in *TNT* XXV (1906) 242-244]

1320. SCHÖNFELD, M., *Wörterbuch der altgermanischen Personen- und Völkernamen.* Heidelberg, 1911, XXXV+309p.
(Germanische Bibliothek, I, IV, 2)

1321. SCHÖNFELD, M., 'Zur Namendeutung,' *ZfdW* XIII (1912) 213-214.

1322. OLRIK, Ax., 'Goter og Tscherkesser,' *Danske Studier* (1914).

1323. v. GRIENBERGER, Th., 'Ostgermanische Flussnamen bei Jordanes,' *ZfdA* LV (1914) 41-52.

1324. KERN, H., '*Wese,* gotisch *wisi,*' TNT XXXVI (1917) 160.

1325. LOEWE, R., 'Spanish *Pablo,* gotisch *Pawlus,*' *PBB* XLIV (1919) 187.

1326. LOEWE, R., 'Gotische Namen in hagiographischen Texten,' *PBB* XLVII (1923) 407-433.

1327. ROHLFS, G., 'Gotische *-ingen-* Namen in den französischen Pyrenäen?' *ASNS* CLXII (1932) 120-122.

1328. SPECHT, F., '*Greutungi-Graudenz?*' ZvS LXVI (1939) 224-226.
[The name of the *Greutingi* has nothing to do with that of the town *Graudenz*]

1329. HERMANN, Edu., 'Sind der Name der Gudden und die Ortnamen Danzig, Gdingen und Graudenz gotischen Ursprungs?' *NGWG* Phil.-hist. Kl. Jg. 1941, 1 (1941) 207-291.

E. LOAN-WORDS

1. Foreign Loan-words in Gothic

a) *Latin*

1330. BREAL, Michel, 'Premières influences de Rome sur le monde germanique,' *MSL* VII (1892) 135-148.
[Also *Journal des Savants,* Oct.-Nov. 1889]

1331. BEHAGEL, Otto, 'Got. *Kreks* und *marikreitus,*' *ZfdW* IV (1903) 250-251.

1332. LUFT, Wilh., 'Die lateinischen diminutiva auf *-ell-* und *-ill-* im Deutschen,' *ZfdA* XLI (1897) 241-242.

1333. LOEWE, R., 'Gotisch *dis-,*' *ZvS* XL (1906) 550-552.

1334. LOEWE, R., 'Gotisch *marikreitus,*' *ZvS* XL (1906) 550-552.

1335. BRÜCH, Josef, 'Kessel,' *Festschrift Kretschmer* (Vienna, 1926) 6-14.

1336. MENNER, Robert J., 'Crimean Gothic *cadarion* (cadariou), Latin *centurio,* Greek ΚΕΝΤΥΡΙΩΝ,' JEGPh XXXVI (1937) 168-175.

1337. STURTEVANT, A. M., '*Sigljan-sigljō,*' *JEGPh* XXXIX (1940) 458-459.

1338. STURTEVANT, A. M., '*Kapillōn*: Latin **capillāre,*' *JEGPh* XXXIX (1940) 459-460.

b) *Greek*

1339. SCHULZE, Wilh., 'Griechische Lehnworte im Gotischen,' *BSB* XXXVI (1905) 726-757.

1340. COLLITZ, H., '*Siponeis,* a Loan-word from Greek,' *AJPh* XLVI (1925) 213-221.

1341. JELLINEK, Max, 'Gotische Lehnbeziehungen,' *ZfdA* LXVI (1929) 122-123.

1342. VELTEN, H. V., 'Studies in the Gothic Vocabulary with especial Reference to Greek and Latin Models and Analogues,' *JEGPh* XXIX (1930) 332-351, 489-509.
[Cf. A. M. Sturtevant, *ibid.* XXXVI (1937) 182]

1343. COLLITZ, H., 'Zwei hapax legomena der gotischen Bibel,' *Curme volume of linguistic Studies* (Baltimore, 1930) 60-83.
[I. *gakunds* πεισμονή *Gal.* v, 8; II. *uf gakunþai* ἀρχόμενος *Luke* iii, 23]

1344. SEHRT, E., 'Etymology of Gothic *kaupatjan,*' *Lang* VIII (1932) 138-142.

1345. LANE, George S., 'Some Semantic Borrowings in Wulfila,' *PhQ* XII (1933) 321-326.

[*stabeis* στοιχεῖα; *bauþs* κωφός; *saggqs* δυσμαι; *urruns* ἀναπόλαι; *daupfan* βαπτίζειν; *waldan* ἀρχε῀σθαι]

1346. KROGMANN, W., 'Got. *kaupatjan,*' *ZvS* LXVII (1940) 224-226.

c) *Celtic*

1347. LANE, Geo. S., 'The Germano-Celtic Vocabulary,' *Lang* IX (1933) 244-264.

1348. ELSTON, C. S., *The Earliest Relations between Celts and Germans.* London, n.d. [1934], IX+198p.

[Pp. 159-184: Celto-Germanic loan-words]

1349. FOWKES, Rob. A., 'Crimean Gothic *cadarion* 'miles, soldier',' *JEGPh* XLV (1946) 448-449.

[Celtic loan-word]

d) *Other Sources*

1350. RAPP, Moriz, 'Über slavische Wörter in den westeuropäischen Sprachen,' *ASNS* V (1849) 279-289.

1351. LOEWE, R., 'Gotisch und alanisch,' *IF* III (1894) 146p.

[Cf. also *IFAnz* III 170 and *IF* V 274]

1352. BUGGE, S., 'Über den Einfluss der armenischen Sprache auf die gotische,' *IF* V (1895) 168-179, 274.

1353. SOLMSEN, F., 'Gotisch *alēw,*' *IF* V (1895) 344p.

1354. ZUPITZA, E., 'Noch einmal got. *alew,*' *PBB* XXII (1897) 574-575.

1355. BUGGE, S., *Norges Indskrifter med de aeldre Runer.* Indledning: *Runeskriftens Oprindelse og aeldste Historie.* Christiania, 1905-1913.

[Especially pp. 132-135: Forbindelser mellem Goterne og Armenierne; gotiske Ord laante fra Armenisk. 178-185: Goternes Forbindelser med Armenierne. Runefølgens Oprindelse]

1356. THUMB, A., 'Zur Vorgeschichte von got. *paida,*' *ZfdW* VII (1906) 261-267, 367.

1357. WIENER, L., 'Philological Fallacies,' *The Nation* XCVIII (1914) 536p.

[On Provençal and Spanish loan-words in Gothic; worthless]

1358. KISCH, G., 'Magyarische Elemente im Krimgotischen,' *Korresp. bl. d. Vereins f. Siebenbörgische Landesk.* XLVIII (1925) 1-3.

1359. SCHRÖDER, E., '*kintus,*' *ZvS* LIII (1925) 80-82, 93-94.

1360. SCHRÖDER, E., 'Got. *plapjo,*' *ZvS* LIV (1927) 310-311.

1361. VASMER, Max, 'Studien über die germanisch-slavischen Beziehungen. 1. Gibt es slavische Lehnwörter im Gotischen?' *ZfslavPh* IV (1928) 359-364.

[About *plat* and *plinsjan*]

1362. KRAHE, H., 'Ist got. *aiþei* usw. ein illyrisches Lehnwort?' *PBB* LVII (1933) 426-428.

2. Gothic Loan-words in other Languages

a) *German*

1363. von RAUMER, R., 'Über den geschichtlichen Zusammenhang des gotischen Christentums mit dem Althochdeutschen. Anfragen und Vermutungen,' *ZfdA* VI (1848) 401-412.

1364. BUGGE, S., 'Althochdeutsch und gotisch,' *ZvS* V (1856) 59-61.

1365. BINHACK, F., 'Gotische Elemente in der Volkssprache des Nordgaus,' *Skizzen aus d. Altertumslitt.- u. Volksk.* (Passau, 1901) 21-25.

(Progr. Passau 1901)

1366. KLUGE, Fr., 'Nhd. *heide* und got. *haiþnō,*' *ZfdW* XI (1909) 21-27.

1367. KLUGE, Fr., 'Gotische Lehnworte im Ahd.' *PBB* XXXV (1909) 124-160.

1368. BRAUNE, W., 'Althochdeutsch und Angelsächsisch,' *PBB* XLIII (1918)
[Pp. 420-435: Gothic loan-words in OHG]

1369. FRINGS, Th., '*Teufel*=got. *diabulus*,' *Donum natalicium Schrijnen* (Nijmegen-Utrecht, 1929) 486-487.

1370. AUFDERHAAR, Ernst, *Gotische Lehnwörter im Althochdeutschen*. Marburg, 1933, 39p.
(Diss. Marburg 1931)

1371. JELLINEK, M. H., 'Ahd. *phaffo*, got. *papa*,' *ZfdA* LXIX (1932) 143p.

b) *Romance*

General

1372. DUVAU, L., 'Varia,' *MSL* VIII (1894) 191-192.
[*gahlaiba* and Fr. *compagnon*]

1373. BAIST, G., '*Andbahts*,' *ZfdW* IX (1907) 32-33.
[History of the word in romance lang.]

1374. BRÜCH, Josef, *Der Einfluss der germanischen Sprachen auf das Vulgärlatein*. Heidelberg, 1913.
Rev.: *IFAnz* XXXIII 59 ff.

1375. BRÜCH, Josef, 'Die bisherige Forschung über die germ. Einflüsse auf die romanischen Sprachen,' *Rev. Ling. Romane* II (1926) 25-98.

1376. HOLTHAUSEN, F., 'Gotische Wörter im Romanischen,' *Behrens-Festschrift* (Jena u. Leipzig, 1929) 106-109.

1377. KISCH, G., 'Reflexe romanisch-germanischer Kulturberührungen im Wortschatz des Gotischen u. Romanischen,' *Festschrift A. Fr. Teutsch* (Hermannstadt, 1931) 28-56.

1378. GAMILLSCHEG, E., *Romania Germanica*, Sprach- u. Siedlungsgesch. der Germanen auf dem Boden des alten Römerreichs. Bd. I: *Zu den ältesten Berührungen zwischen Römern und Germanen*. Die Franken. Die Westgoten. Berlin u. Leipzig, 1934, XVIII+434, 12 maps.
(*PGrundr*^{3} 11, 1)
Rev.: *AfdA* LV (1936) 6-29.

1379. MEYER-LÜBKE, W., *Romanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*. 3d. ed. Heidelberg, 1935, XXXIII+1204p.
[Index of Gothic loan-words: pp. 1161-1175]

1380. ROHLFS, Gerhard, 'Gotisch **stunda* im Romanischen,' *ASNS* CLXXVII 35-36.

Italian

1381. BRUCKNER, Wilh., *Charakteristik der germanischen Elemente im Italienischen*. Basel, 1899, 34p. 4°.
(Progr.)

1382. BERTONI, Giulio, *L'elemento germanico nella lingua italiana*. Genova, 1914.
Rev.: *Rendiconti del R. Istituto Lombardo di scienze e lettere*, Serie II, XLIX, 1011 ff.; *LB* 1914 337 f.

French

1383. MACKEL, Emil, *Die germanischen Elemente in der französischen und der provenzalischen Sprache*. Heilbronn, 1888.
(*Französische Studien* VI, I (1888) 1-200)

1384. von WARTBURG, W., 'Der Einfluss der germanischen Sprachen auf den französischen Wortschatz," *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, XX.

Spanish

1385. MASSMANN, H. F., 'Gothisches in Spanien,' *ZfdA* I (1841) 377-378; II (1842) 203-204.

1386. GOLDSCHMIDT, Moritz, *Zur Kritik der altgermanischen Elemente im Spanischen.* Bonn, 1887, 68p.
(Diss.)
[Mainly on phonology]
Rev.: *ZfrPh* XII (1889) 550 ff.

1387. GAMILLSCHEG, E., 'Historia linguistica de los Visigodos,' *Revista de filologia española* XIX (1934) 117-150, 229-260.

Rumanian

1388. SKOK, P., 'Gibt es altgermanische Bestandteile im Rumänischen?' *ZfrPh* XLIII (1923) 187 ff.

1389. DICULESCU, Constantin, 'Altgermanische Bestandteile im Rumänischen,' *ZfrPh* XLIX (1929) 385-436.

c) *Balto-slavic*

1390. JULG, B., '*ulbandus,*' *ZvS* IV (1855) 207-210.

1391. HOFMANN, C., [Gothic Loan-Words in Slavonic] *Germ* VIII (1863) 5-9.

1392. KAWCZYNSKI, Max., 'Germanisch-slavische Etymologien,' *Archiv f. slav. Philol.* XI (1889).

1393. HIRT, Herm., 'Zu den germ. Lehnwörtern im Slavischen und Baltischen,' *PBB* XXIII (1898) 330-351.

1394. KERN, H., '(got.) 'Handugs',' *TNT* XX (1901) 245-246.

1395. LIDEN, E., 'Ein gotisches Lehnwort im Altpreussischen,' *PBB* XXI (1906) 600-602.
[Pr. *ilmis*<Goth. **hilmas*]

1396. STENDER-PETERSEN, A., *Slavisch-Germanische Lehnwortskunde.* Göteborg, 1927, XXIV+574p.
(Göteborgs K. Vet. och Vitt. Samb. Handl., IV, 31, 4)

1397. BRÜCKNER, Al., 'Die germanischen Elemente im Gemeinslavischen,' *Arch. f. slav. Phil.* XLII (1929) 125-146.

1398. SPECHT, F., 'Gotisch *plinsjan,*' *ZvS* LVII (1930) 158-159.

1399. KIPARSKY, V., *Die gemeinslavischen Lehnwörter aus dem Germanischen.* Helsinki, 1934, VI+329p.
(Annales Acad. Sc. Fennicae, B XXXI, 2)

1400. CROSS, Samuel H., 'Gothic Loan-words in the Slavic Vocabulary,' *Harvard Studies and Notes in Phil. and Lit.* XVI (1934) 37-49.

1401. HAMM, J., 'Über den gotischen Einfluss auf die altkirchenslavische Bibelübersetzung,' *ZvS* LXVII (1940) 112-128.

d) *Greek*

1402. SCHWYZER, Eduard, 'Germanistisches und Ungedeutetes im byzantinischen Pferdenamen,' *ZfdA* LXVI (1929) 93-100.

1403. THUMB, A., 'Die germanischen Elemente des Neugriechischen V,' *Festschrift H. Paul* (Strassburg, 1902) 225-258.
[Gothic: 253-255]

e) *Albanian*

1404. LOEWE, R., 'Altgermanische Elemente in den Balkansprachen,' *ZvS* XXXIX (1905) 265 ff.
Rev.: *ZvS* XXXIX (1905) 593 ff.

1405. JOKL, Norbert, 'Balkangermanisches und Germanisches,' *Festschrift d. 57. Vers. dt. Phil. u. Schulm.* (Salzburg, 1929) 105-137.

f) *Indian Languages*

1406. KONOW, Sten, 'Gotiske mænd i det gamle Indien,' *Maal og Minne* (1912) 69-77.

[With appendix by M. OLSEN "Junnargotisk Cita:" 77-79]

1407. KONOW, Sten, 'Goths in Ancient India,' *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1912) 379-380.

g) *Finno-Ugrian*

1408. ETTMÜLLER, Ludw., 'Gothische Sprache,' *Anz. f. Kunde d. dt. Mittelalters* II (1833) 314-315.

[On supposed Gothic loan-words in Hungarian]

1409. HOFMANN, C., [Gothic Loan-Words in Finnish] *Germ* VIII (1863) 10-11.

1410. THOMSEN, Vilh., *Den gotiske sprogklasses indflydelse paa den finske.* En sproghistorisk undersøgelse. Kopenhague, 1869, 166p.

(German translation, Halle, 1870, IV+188p.)

Rev.: *ZfdPh* II (1870) 221-226; *LZ* (1869) 589-590; *The Athenaeum* (1870) 263; *RC* (1870) No. 5; *Nyelvtudományi Közlemények* XXIII (1893) 103-108.

1411. DIETRICH, Fr., 'Zeugnisse eines vorhist. Standes des Schwedischen u. einer gothischen Gestalt des Altnord. aus. dem Lapp. u. Finnischen,' *Höfers Z. f. d. Wissensch. d. Spr.* III (1851) 32-65.

1412. MEYER, Leo, 'Ueber gotische Lehnwörter im Estnischen,' *Sitzungsbericht der gel. estn. Gesellsch. zu Dorpat* (1882) 8-21.

1413. KARSTEN, T. E., 'Zur Frage nach den 'gotischen' Lehnwörtern im Finnischen,' *IF* XXII (1908) 290-307.

1414. KARSTEN, T. E., 'Die Fortschritte der germanisch-finnischen Lehnwortforschung seit Vilh. Thomsen,' *GRM* XVI (1928) 358-379.

1415. SENN, Alfr., 'A Contribution to Gothic-Finnish Relations,' *JEGPh* XXX (1931) 143-149.

1415a. KARSTEN, T. E., *Finnar och germaner. Folk- och kulturberöringar från tre årtusenden.* Helsinki, 1943, VIII+630p.

(Folkmålstudier, IX, 2, and X)

h) *Other Languages*

1416. LAURENSON, Arthur, 'Some Resemblances between the Shetlandic Speech and the Gothic of Ulphilas,' *Academy* XXI (1882) 176.

[Cf. also: *Academy* XXI (1822) 213, 251, 287; worthless]

XXVIII. APPENDIX

Readers containing Gothic excerpts

1417. DILSCHNEIDER, Joh. Jos., *Die deutsche Sprache in Proben aus allen Jahrhunderten von Ulphilas bis Göthe, nebst einem Wörterbuch.* Köln, 1826, X+309p.

[Contains *Mt* vi, 9-13, *Lk* ii, 1-20]

1418. BUDDE, Franz, *Chrestomathie zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Poesie für die oberen Klassen der Gymnasien.* 1. Theil: *Von Ulphilas bis Haller.* Münster, 1829, LXXVI+363p.

[Pp. IX-XXVI: Sketch of Gothic grammar; texts: *Lk* i, 46-80, xix, 1-48]

1419. WACKERNAGEL, W., *Deutsches Lesebuch.* 1. Theil. 1st ed. Basel, 1835, (5th ed. 1873).

[Col. 5-44: Gothic texts with Greek original (Skeireins with Latin translation); col. 89-192: Gothic + Old Saxon glossary]

1420. (ANON.) *Sprachproben aus dem 4.-16. jahrhunderte; ein altdeutsches Lesebuch für studirende.* Bamberg, 1835, 124p.

1421. BRILLOWSKI, A. H., *Altdeutsche Sprachproben aus dem 4. bis 16. Jahrhundert, beim Vortrage der Geschichte der deutschen Nationalliteratur.* 1. Abth. Rastenburg, 1836.

1422. NODNAGEL, Aug., *Diutiska. Deutsche Sprachproben von Ulfilas bis auf die neueste Zeit.* Darmstadt, 1837.

1423. PISCHON, F. A., *Denkmäler der deutschen Sprache.* I. Theil. Berlin, 1838, XVI+618p.

[Pp. 1-6: a few passages with German translation]

1424. OCHMANN, Joh., *Deutsches Lesebuch zum Gebrauche bei dem Studium der Geschichte unserer Nazionalliteratur.* Mit den nöthigen Erklärungen versehen. 1. Heft. *Gothisches.* Eisenach, 1838, XVI+118p. 1 plate.

[Pp. IX-XVI: beginning of 1. *Cor.* and the first fragment of Skeireins in Gothic script; p. XVI: the Gothic Alphabet from the Vatican Library; explanations and glossary]

1425. VILMAR, A. F. C., *Deutsche Schulgrammatik, Lautlehre und Flexionslehre nebst gothischen und althochdeutschen Sprachproben.* Marburg, 1840. (7th ed. 1871)

1426. FROMMANN, G. K. and HAÜSSER, L., *Lesebuch der poetischen Nationalliteratur der Deutschen, von der ältesten bis auf die neueste Zeit.* 1. Theil.

(Other title:) *Altdeutsches Lesebuch vom 4.-15. Jahrhundert.* Hrsg. und mit biogr. Notizen und einem Wörterbuche versehen von G. K. FROMMANN. Heidelberg, 1847, XII, 376+95p.

1427. KEHREIN, J., *Proben der deutschen Poesie und Prosa vom 4. Jahrh. bis in die 1. Hälfte des 18. Jahrh.* I. Theil. (4.-15. Jahrh.) *Gothische, althochdeutsche, altsächsische, mittelhochdeutsche Proben im Original und in neuhochdeutscher Uebersetzung, zugleich mit sprachlichen Anmerkungen versehen.* 2nd ed. Jena, 1851, VIII+236p.

1428. SCHADE, O., *Altdeutsches Lesebuch. Gothisch, altsächsisch, alt- und mittelhochdeutsch. Mit literarischen Nachweisen und einem Wörterbuche.* Halle, *Lesebuch* 1862, XVI+368p.; *Wörterbuch* 1866, XVIII+765p. 2nd ed. 1882, 2 vol.

1429. HANSEN, K., *Deutsche Dichter und Prosaiker. Auswahl deutscher Gedichte und Prosastücke von 375-1860 nebst Metrik, Figurenlehre und Poetik.* Harburg, 1862. 2nd ed. 1873.

1430. LESKIEN, A., *Indogermanische Chrestomathie. Schriftproben und Lesestücke mit erklärenden Glossaren zu* Aug. Schleichers *Compendium der vgl. Grammatik der idg. Sprachen.* Bearb. v. Hm. EBEL, A. LESKIEN, J. SCHMIDT u. A. SCHLEICHER. 3rd ed. Weimar, 1869.

[Pp. 323-337: Gothic Alphabet, *Mk* iv, 23-28, Gothic script with transcription; *Mt* vi, 1-13; Glossary]

1431. WACKERNAGEL, Wilh., *Gothische und altsächsische Lesestücke nebst Wörterbuch.* Basel, 1871, 192p. 4°.

1432. KOBERSTEIN, A., *Gothische, althochdeutsche und mittelhochdeutsche Sprachproben.* Schulpforta, n. d., 16p. 4°.

1433. MÜLLENHOFF, K., *Altdeutsche Sprachproben.* 4. Aufl. besorgt von M. Roediger. Berlin, 1886, VIII+152p.

[Gothic: *Mt* vi, 5-16; *Mk* i-v; *I. Cor.* xiii, 1-12. The rest is OHG and MHG]

Rev.: *LB* XII (1886) 486; *RC* II (1887) 28.

1434. NEHRING, A. *Gotische und althochdeutsche Sprachdenkmäler.* Leipzig, 1927, 55p.

(Deutschkundliche Bücherei)

1435. PRUDENT, René, *Gotisch-Angelsächsisch.* Darmstadt, 1929, 94p.

(Handbücher zur Einführung ins Studium für Anfänger und zur Wiederholung, 1)

INDEX OF AUTHORS

In this index the figures refer to the serial number of the items in the work.

ACHELIS, H., 354
ADOLF, Helene, 776
ALBRECHT, C., 1121
AMMANN, Hermann, 807
ANDERSON, G. K., 1034
ANSCOMBE, A., 144
APELT, Otto, 1122
ARNTZ, Helmut, 15 f., 335, 650
ARNTZ, Helmut and Hans ZEISS, 322
ASPELIN, 110
ASSEMAN, J. S., 359
AUDOUIN, E., 707
AUFDERHAAR, Ernst, 1370
AUSTIN, W. H., 794

BAADER, Th., 733
de BAEKER, L., 503
BAESECKE, Georg, 13
von BAHDER, Karl, 8, 975
BAIST, G., 1373
BALDAUF, E., 1075
BALG, G. H., 211, 1239
BANGERT, W., 294
BARTHOLOMAE, Chr., 709
BARTOLI, M., 780 f.
BARTSCH, Karl, 5
BATIFFOL, Pierre, 296
BäUMLEIN, Wilhelm, 624
BECHSTEIN, Reinh., 7
BECHTEL, F., 788
BECKERS, W. J., 121
BEER, Ant., 1059, 1061, 1097 f., 1172, 1299
BEETS, A., 464
BEGEMANN, Wilhelm, 922 f.
BEHAGHEL, Otto, 858, 879, 900, 956, 1038, 1089, 1118, 1331
BELIKOV, D., 127
BENGTSSON, Arne, 1293
BENIGNY, Julius, 1272
BENNETT, William H., 316, 666
BENVENISTE, Emile, 1261
BENZELIUS, Erik, 213, 226
BERGAIGNE, A., 742
BERGAU, R., 344
BERNHARDT, Ernst, 209 f., 234-6, 282, 550, 857, 1041, 1057, 1085, 1091, 1113, 1130 f.
BERTONI, Giulio, 1382
BESSELL, W., 151
BETHGE, R., 557
BEZZENBERGER, Adalbert, 527, 702, 871, 946
BIANU, Ioan, 351
BINHACK, F., 1365
BJöRNER, Eric Julius, 45
BLASS, Friedrich, 668
BLOMFIELD, Joan, 652
BODONI, G. B., 621
BöHMER-ROMUNDT, H., 165, 195 f.
BOER, R. C., 383, 511, 725, 769, 790
BOER-den-HOED, P. M., 735
BöRNER, K., 850
BOETHIUS, S. J., 96
BOGER, Margot, 169
BOLMSTEDT, Johan, 43
de BOOR, Helmut, 79, 243
BOPP, Franz, 484, 491-3
BORRMANN, Joh., 1132
BOSWORTH, Joseph, 229
BOUMAN, A. C., 177
BRADLEY, Henry, 97
BRAUER, Th., 111
BRAUN, F., 107
BRAUN, W., 279, 313, 766
BRAUNE, W., 548 f., 630, 786, 1368
BREAL, Michel, 1330
BREDSDORFF, Jakob Hornemann, 623
BREMER, O., 88, 705
BRILLOWSKI, A. H., 1421
BRUCKNER, Wilhelm, 1381
BRüCH, Josef, 1335, 1374 f.
BRüCKNER, Al., 1397
BRUGMANN, Karl, 379, 487, 842, 932, 947, 962, 1155
BRUUN, Th., 105
de BRUYNE, Donatien, 137
BUDDE, Franz, 1418
BüHLER, Georg, 737
BUGGE, Sophus, 1352, 1355, 1364
BURCHARDI, G., 849
BURCKHARDT, F., 1111
BURDACH, Konrad, 22
BURGHAUSER, Gustav, 498, 504, 906
BURKITT, F. C., 297
BUSBECQ, A. G., 472 f., 475-7
BYRNE, J., 488

CAHEN, Maurice, 1207, 1270 f.
CAPELLE, D. B., 373
CARR, Charles T., 972
CASTIGLIONE, C. O., 265-8; see also MAI
CEBULLA, Paul, 1186
CHADWICK, Hector Munroe, 77
CHLUMSKY, Jos., 792
CHODZKIEWICZ, Ladislas, 343
CHRETIEN, C. Douglas, 782
van COETSEM, Fr., 795
COLLIN, A. Z., 1166
COLLITZ, H., 141, 685, 720, 726, 926, 930, 933, 937, 1340, 1343
CONRADI, J., 1301
COSIJN, Peter Jacob, 326
CROMHOUT, Emile H. A., 303
CROSS, Samuel H., 1400
CUENDET, G., 1117, 1190
CURME, G. O., 968, 1203

v. D., W. B. H., 919
DANIELL, F. H. B., 474; see FOSTER, C. F.
DAVIS, Edward P., 1119
DELBRüCK, B., 489, 740, 801, 1020, 1045, 1073, 1114, 1123, 1150, 1164, 1171, 1176, 1178, 1188 f.
DICKHOFF, E., 1081
DICULESCU, Constantin, 332, 1389
DIEFENBACH, Lor., 1236
DIEKHOFF, T., 1115
DIELS, Paul, 366
DIETRICH, E., 304 f.
DIETRICH, Franz Eduard Christoph, 325, 340 f., 349, 654, 1411
DILSCHNEIDER, Johann Joseph, 1417
DONIUS, Io. Baptista, 358
DORFELD, C., 1092
DRäSEKE, J., 131
DUVAU, L., 1372

EBEL, H., 520, 581, 697, 796, 854, 867, 948, 958, 979 f.
EBERT, Friedrich Albert, 2
EBERT, Max, 114
ECKHARDT, E., 1162
EDGREN, H., 490
EGGE, E., 1093
EHRISMANN, G., 950
EICHHOFF, F. G., 485
ELIS, C., 699, 851
ELSTON, C. S., 1348
ERBICEANU, C., 162
ERDMANN, Axel, 140
ERDMANN, Oskar, 1169
ERDMANN, Oskar and O. MENSING, 1037
ETTMüLLER, Ludwig, 1408
EYNDIUS, Jacobus, 30

FAIRBANKS, Sydney and MAGOUN, F. P., Jr., 651
FANT, E. M., 66
FEIST, Siegmund, 346, 577, 1240, 1242 f., 1245
FIEBIGER, O., 179
FISCHER, H., 635
FLIGIER, 122
FLASDIECK, H. M., 893
FöRSTEMANN, Ernst, 84, 741
FöRSTER, Max, 639
FOSTER, C. T. and DANIELL, F. H. B., 474
FOURNIER, Pierre Simon, 618
FOURQUET, J., 1196
FOWKES, Robert A., 1262, 1349
FRANTZEN, J. A., 143
FREEMAN, Edg. Aug., 91
FRIEDMANN, S., 554
FRIEDRICH, Joh., 576
FRIEDRICHS, E., 1182
FRIEDRICHSEN, G. W. S., 244, 356, 1208, 1218
von FRIESEN, Otto, 280, 638, 641 f., 935, 992
von FRIESEN, Otto and GRAPE, Andreas, 223
FRINGS, Th., 1369

FROMMANN, G. K. and HäUSSER, L., 1426
FULDA, Fr. Karl, 541

von der GABELENTZ, H. C. and LOEBE, J., 206, 232, 274, 543, 1224, 1229
GAEBELER, Kurt, 1201
GALLEE, J. H., 804 f., 976
GAMILLSCHEG, Ernst, 1378, 1387
GARDHAUSEN, V., 180
GASTER, M., 327
GAUGENGIGL, Ignaz, 233, 544, 546, 569
GAUTHIOT, Robert, 908
GEBHARDT, August, 636
GERING, Hugo, 388, 1127
GESNER, Conrad, 25
GLAUE, Paul and HELM, Karl, 285
GLIESE, W., 558
GOETZE, A., 112
GOLDSCHMIDT, Moritz, 1386
GORDON, Joannis, 54
GOROPIUS, Johannis Becanus, 26
GOSSES, G., 1287
GOTHEIN, Percy, 375
GRABOW, A., 369
GRäTER, F. D., 361, 478
GRAF, H. J., 338
GRAPE, Anders, 24, 220-2; see also von FRIESEN, Otto
GREIN, C. W. M., 496
GREWOLDS, Heinrich, 1212
von GRIENBERGER, Theodor, 329, 632, 1241, 1323
GRIMM, Jacob, 353, 499, 847, 628, 1294 f., 1310 f.
GRIMM, Wilhelm, 323, 622
GROEPER, R., 1300
GROTEFEND, G. F., 364
GRUBER, Hans, 1023
GRüNWALD, Fr., 1297
GRUTERUS, Janus, 38
GUCHMAN, M. M., 17
GüNTERT, Hermann, 953
GüRTLER, Hans, 1206
GWATKIN, H. M., 128

HADADY, G., 978
van HAERINGEN, C. B., 728 f.
HäUSSER, L., 1426; see FROMMANN, G. K.
HAHN, K. A., 568, 570
van HAMEL, A. G., 562, 582, 824 f., 832
HAMM, J., 1401
HAMMERICH, Louis L., 934, 939
HANSEN, K., 1429
HATTO, A. T., 1258
HECHTENBERG-COLLITZ, Klara, 679
HEFFNER, R.-M. S., 409, 664, 775, 954
HEIDERICH, A., 574
HEINSIUS, J., 1231
HELLQUIST, Elof, 82
HELM, Karl, 285; see GLAUE, Paul
van HELTEN, W., 372, 583 f., 657, 660 f., 687 f., 690, 693, 711, 714, 718 f., 760, 789, 808, 815 f., 823, 838, 840 f., 862-4, 882, 896, 898 f., 920, 924, 961, 990, 1060
HEMPEL, H., 579
HENCH, G. A., 751
HENNING, H., 261
HENNING, Rudolf, 178, 317
HENSHALL, S., 247
HENZEN, Walter, 974
HERMANN, Eduard, 648, 1329
HERRMANN, Carl Heinrich, 4
HERSCHEL, 104
HESSELMAN, Bengt, 80
HEUPELIUS, G. F., 35
HEYNE, Moritz, 501
HICKES, George, 34, 37, 539
HIRT, Hermann, 515, 585, 691, 713, 753 f., 865, 1393
HODGKIN, Thomas, 102
HOEFER, Albert, 739
HöPPE, H., 254; see MüLLER, R.
van der HOEVEN, A., 40*a*
HOFFMAN (von FALLERSLEBEN), Heinrich, 3
HOFMANN, Conrad, 412, 437, 444, 446, 448 f., 455 f., 586, 1391, 1409
HOLTHAUSEN, F., 470, 706, 887, 915, 1244, 1253, 1376
HOLTZMANN, Adolf, 502, 855
HOLZ, Georg, 708
HOOPS, J., 1281
HOPKINS, A. G., 160
HOPPE, O., 1305
HORN, W., 888
HRUBY, A., 1298
HUG, J. L., 286
HUJER, O., 885
HUNTINGTON, Catherine, 1232
HURTIG, W., 1148
HUTH, W., 1017

IHRE, Johan, 46-52, 55-57, 59 f., 62, 71, 259, 360

JACOBSOHN, H., 145 f., 676, 943
JANTZEN, H., 573
JELLINEK, M. H., 135, 311, 315, 380, 401, 419, 459, 462, 469, 563, 587 f., 658 f., 662, 686, 732, 799, 1072, 1266, 1286, 1341, 1371; see also STREITBERG, Wilh.
JOHANNESSOHN, M., 1219
JOHANNISSON, Ture, 973
JOHANNSON, Arvid, 649
JOHANSSON, J. Viktor, 246
JOHANSSON, Karl Ferd., 929, 966
JOKL, Norbert, 1405
JOOS, M., 677
JOSTES, F., 175, 188
JüLG, B., 1390
JüLICHER, A., 288, 290
JULIUS, Nikolaus H., 1
JUNIUS, Franciscus, 224, 1221
JURMANN, G., 1268

KAHL, Wilh., 1116
KAHLE, B., 528
KAPTEIJN, J. M. N., 1202
von KARAJAN, Th. G., 348
KARSTEN, T. E., 147, 336, 512-14, 1413 f., 1415*a*.
KARSTIEN, C., 1251
ten KATE, Lambert, 40, 68
KAUFFMANN, Fr., 186 f., 190, 193 f., 197, 200, 287, 289, 509, 993, 1205, 1316 f.
KAUFMANN, G., 156
KAWCZYNSKI, Max, 1392
KEHREIN, Jos., 534, 1427
KELEMINA, J., 116
KELLE, J., 500
KELLOGG, R. J., 1204
KERN, H., 945, 1319, 1324, 1394
KIECKERS, Ernst, 531, 578
KIND, John L., 1217
KIPARSKY, V., 1399
KIRCHHOFF, Adolf, 625
KIRCHMAIER, Georg. Casp., 33
KIRCHNER, C.P.W., 153, 155
KISCH, Alex., 293, 367, 1358, 1377
KJELLMAN, Nils, 1220
KLINGHARDT, Herm., 1167
KLUGE, F., 481, 526, 555, 561, 589, 746-8, 787, 803, 884, 951, 964, 988, 1016, 1366 f.
KNIPPENBERG, H. H., 443
KNITTEL, Franz Anton, 258
KOBERSTEIN, 532, 1432
KOCK, Axel, 123, 183, 590 f., 674, 683, 689, 716, 755 f., 866
KOCK, E. A., 307, 382, 461, 465 f., 468, 538, 592, 717, 724, 1156, 1279
KöGEL, R., 744, 917
KöHLER, Artur, 1051, 1110, 1120
KOHN, Alb. and MEHLIS, C., 342
KOHN, K. W., 905
KONOW, Sten, 1406 f.
KOPPITZ, A., 1147, 1184.
KOSSINNA, G., 85
KRäUTER, J. F., 656
KRAFFT, W. L., 125, 158, 185
KRAHE, Hans, 333, 518, 565, 1362
von KRAUS, Carl, 374
KRAUSE, Wolfgang, 320 f., 381, 774
KREMER, Julian, 963

KRETSCHMER, Paul, 670
KROES, H. W. J., 1260
KROESCH, Sam. 967
KROGMANN, W., 337, 1288, 1346
KüCK, E., 880
KüTTNER, C. G., 217

LA BAUME, Wolfgang, 117, 352
LANE, George S., 1345, 1347
LANGNER, E., 283
LAURENSON, Arthur, 1416
LEHMANN, W. P., 940
LE MARCHANT DOUSE, T., 417, 551
LENK, Rudolf, 314, 1043
LEO, Friedrich August, 378
LEOPOLD, Max, 1018
LESKIEN, A., 497, 1430
LEUTHOLD, H., 166
v. d. LEYEN, F., 559
LICHTENBERGER, H., 916
LICHTENHELD, A., 1071
LIDEN, Evald, 1028, 1395
LIETZMANN, H., 291
LINDSAY, W. M., 669
LINKE, W., 242
LOEBE, Julius, 389, 1197; see also von der GABELENTZ
LOEWE, Richard, 10, 87, 108, 113, 331, 334, 355, 482, 508, 730, 817 f., 928, 931, 952, 1325 f., 1333 f., 1351, 1404
LOEWENTHAL, Fritz, 14
LOMMEL, H., 810
LORENTZ, Fr., 927
LOSCH, F., 984
LOTSPEICH, C. M., 892
LOTTNER, C., 139
LüCKE, Otto, 308, 1128
LüDEKE, C. W., 216
LUNDGREN, Jacob, 300
LUFT, W., 181, 189, 370, 633, 698, 715, 949, 1332
LYE, Edward, 1223

McKNIGHT, G. H., 312, 1183
MACKEL, Emil, 1383
MAGOUN, Francis P., Jr., 339; see also FAIRBANKS, S.
MAI, Angelo, 298
MAI and CASTIGLIONE, 264
MANACORDA, Guido, 11
MANNHARDT, W., 480
MANNING, Owen, 540
MANSION, J., 132 f., 136
MANSO, Joh. Casp. Friedr., 100
MARINI, Gaetano, 363
MAROLD, K., 263, 295, 310, 1107, 1170
MARSHALL, Thomas, 31
MARSTRANDER, C. J. S., 319, 645
MARTIN, E., 172
MASSMANN, Hans Ferd., 138, 150, 207, 218, 231, 237, 271, 299, 324, 347, 365, 368, 376 f., 479, 593, 1198, 1309, 1385
MAYR, Erich, 257, 306, 575
van der MEER, M. J., 404, 410, 594, 826 f., 833, 1044, 1047, 1067, 1124, 1264
MEGISER, Hieronymus, 27, 29
MEHLIS, C., 342; see KOHN, A.
MEIDINGER, Heinr., 1233
MEILLET, A., 510, 595, 763, 860, 883, 909, 942, 1080, 1088, 1146, 1185, 1187
MEISSNER, R., and S(CHRöDER), E., 434
MENNER, Robert J., 1336
MENSEL, E. H., 637
MENSING, O., 1037; see ERDMANN, O.
MERITT, Herbert D., 1165
MERIVALE, Charles, 126
MERONEY, Howard, 1256
METLEN, Michael, 245, 1063, 1193, 1215 f.
MEYER, G., 251
MEYER, K. H., 768
MEYER, Leo, 73, 262, 273, 530, 673, 701, 736, 738, 743, 856, 869, 897, 981, 1042, 1412
MEYER-LüBKE, Wilh., 672, 1318, 1379
MEZGER, Fritz, 999 f., 1010 f., 1014, 1246-50, 1259
MICHAELER, Carl, 63
MICHELS, V., 23; see STREITBERG, Wilh.
MIKKOLA, J. J., 791
MIROWICZ, A., 1100
MITTNER, L., 1269
MöLLER, H., 371, 802, 925
MOERKERKEN, P. H., 1153
MOSSE, Fernand, 564, 1102
MOULTON, William G., 678
MOUREK, V. E., 1065, 1149, 1152, 1179 f.
MUCH, Rudolf, 86, 89, 92, 1278
MüHLAU, J., 198
MüLLENHOFF, K., 536, 1313. 1433
MüLLER, C., 176
MüLLER, Ernst, 292
MüLLER, Jo., 533
MüLLER, R., and H. HöPPE, 254
MUNCH, Peter Andreas, 545
MUSIC, A., 1174

NABER, Friedr., 1064
NAUE, Jul., 350
NAUHAUS, Samuel, 41
NECKEL, Gustav, 529, 1163
NEHRING, A., 1254, 1434
NESTLE, Eb., 634
NODNAGEL, Aug., 1422
NORDLUND, J., 241; see SVEDBERG, Th.
NORDMEYER, George, 778
NOREEN, Adolf, 506

OCHMANN, Johann, 542, 1424
ODE, A. W. M., 936
ODEFEY, Paul, 240
ODOBESCU, Alexandru, 328
OELRICHS, Joan, 61
OHRLOFF, 284
OLAWSKY, 249
OLRIK, Axel, 1322
OSTHOFF, H., 745, 822, 873
OXENSTIERNA, Eric, 124

PAAS, Th., 199
PATSCH, Carl, 115
PAUL, H., 21, 524 f., 655, 703, 712, 969
PAULI, C., 494
PEDERSEN, Holger, 643, 907
PERSSON, Per., 1029
PETERS, Ignaz, 238, 397, 408, 415, 429, 596, 1276
PETERSEN, Walter, 895
PFAFF, Joh. Wilh., 566
PFEIFFER, Franz, 275
PFISTER, R., 1103
PIPER, P., 1052
PIPPING, Hugo, 330, 848
PISANI, Vittore, 517, 665, 694, 890 f.
PISCHON, L. A., 1423
PLATE, Rud., 81
POKORNY, Ignaz, 914
POLLAK, Hans, 1210
PORTERFIELD, Allen W., 1302 f.
POTT, A. F., 9
PRIESE, O., 1230
PROKOSCH, E., 516
PRUDENT, René, 1435

RAMSAY, W. M. and C. D., 74
RAPP, Moriz, 1350
RAPPAPORT, R., 101
RASZMANN, A., 72
von RAUMER, Rudolf, 19, 1363
REIFFERSCHEID, Aug., 278
RIBBECK, A. F., 1039
RICE, A. L., 436, 1214
RICHTER, Johanna, 989
RIEMENSCHNEIDER, A., 250
RITTERSHAUS, A., 1273
ROEDDER, E., 1304
ROHLFS, G., 1327, 1380
ROLFFS, Friedr. Wilh., 1019
ROLLFUSS, C., 840
ROOTH, E., 1282
ROSELL, Erland, 1027
RüCKERT, Heinr., 1058
RUZICKA, Jozef, 734, 837

SABBATINI d'ANFORA, Ludovico, 357
von SALLWüRK, E., 1040
de SAUSSURE, F., 881, 985, 1277
SAUVAGEOT, Aur., 1086

SCHAAFFS, G., 1154
SCHADE, Oskar, 535, 1234, 1296, 1428
SCHäFER, A., 255
SCHAUBACH, A., 253
SCHILTER, Johannes, 69
SCHINDLER, R., 119
SCHINMEIER, Joh. Adolph, 64
SCHIRMER, K., 1112
SCHLEICHER, A., 829, 1106
SCHLüTER, Wolfg., 521
SCHMELLER, J. Andreas, 248
SCHMIDT, Joh., 684, 704, 982 f.
SCHMIDT, L., 90, 98 f.
SCHöNFELD, M., 93, 1320 f.
SCHRADER, K., 1046
SCHRöDER, Eduard, 182, 386, 483, 987, 1308, 1359 f.; see also MEISSNER, R.
SCHRöDER, J. H., 18
v. SCHUBERT, Hans, 204
SCHüTTE, Gudmund, 78, 94 f., 695
SCHULTE, J. W., 20
SCHULZE, Ernst, 1225 f.
SCHULZE, Wilh., 384, 431, 442, 597, 646, 680 f., 708, 765, 773, 830, 944, 955, 957, 991, 994, 997, 1002, 1078, 1082, 1090, 1133, 1135, 1151, 1173, 1200, 1209, 1274, 1280, 1283 f., 1339
SCHWAHN, Friedr., 872
SCHWENTNER, E., 170
SCHWYZER, E., 1009, 1213, 1402
SCOTT, Ch. A. A., 157, 159
SEELMANN, Emil, 667
SEHRT, Edward H., 845, 1344
SEIP, Elsbeth, 1022
SEMLER, Joh. Salomo, 58
SENN, Alfred, 1102, 1105, 1415
SIERAKOWSKI, Joseph, 620
SIEVERS, E., 75, 171, 173, 463, 537, 552, 771, 814
SILBER, C., 1050
SJöBORG, N. H., 619
SKEAT, W. W., 256, 1227
SKLADNY, Andreas, 960
SKOK, P., 1388
SMITH, Henry Lee, Jr., 793, 1252
SOEDERMAN, Andreas, 36
SOLMSEN, F., 1353
SOMMER, F., 1129
SOTBERG, Erik, 53
SPECHT, Franz, 928, 1257, 1328, 1398
STAMM, Friedrich, 208, 547
STEENWINKEL, 65
STENDER-PETERSEN, A., 1396
STIERHIELM, G., 225, 1222
STIGLMAYR, J., 202 f.
STOLZENBURG, H., 1199
STREITBERG, Wilh., 76, 163 f., 167, 174, 191, 212, 407, 413, 460, 507, 556, 598-600, 710, 721-3, 757-9, 761 f., 764, 767, 806, 809, 831, 835, 852, 859, 870, 874, 878, 886, 1030, 1054, 1066, 1094-6, 1108, 1228, 1307
STREITBERG, Wilh., V. MICHELS and M. H. JELLINEK, 23
STRUNK and HART, J. M., 411, 428, 601
STURTEVANT, A. M., 385, 387, 389-96, 399, 402 f., 405 f., 414, 416, 418, 420-424, 426 f., 430, 432 f., 438-41, 445, 447, 450-4, 602-5, 607-13, 727, 772, 777, 779, 783 f., 811-13, 819-21, 828, 834, 836, 846, 861, 875-7, 901-4, 910-13, 941, 1001, 1003-8, 1012 f., 1024-6, 1031-3, 1035 f., 1048, 1055 f., 1062, 1068, 1070, 1074, 1076 f., 1079, 1083 f., 1087, 1104, 1109, 1125 f., 1134, 1136-40, 1143-5, 1157-61, 1177, 1181, 1191 f., 1194 f., 1211, 1289-91, 1337 f.
STUSS, Joh. Heinr., 44
SüTTERLIN, L., 977
SVEDBERG, Th., and J. NORDLUND, 241
SVERDRUP, Jakob, 731, 938
SZADROWSKY, M., 998

TAYLOR, Isaac, 629
TEGNER, Es., 1306
THOMSEN, Vilh., 1410
THORS, C. E., 974*a*
THUMB, A., 671, 1356, 1403
THURNEYSEN, R., 752, 839
TISCHENDORF, Constantin, 276
TOBLER, L., 1168
TöRNQVIST, Nils, 1255
TOMASCHEK, K., 106
TORP, Alf., 1235
TOUSTAIN, Dom and Dom TASSIN, 617
TOVAR, A., 580
TRAUTMANN, R., 425, 675
TREITZ, W., 800
TRNKA, B., 1099

UHLENBECK, C. C., 1237 f.
ULRICI, Alb., 120
UPPSTRöM, Andreas, 227 f., 252, 260, 269 f., 288
UPPSTRöM, Vilhelm, 277, 959
USPENSKY, Th. J., 109
üCOK, Necip, 1275

VASILIEV, A. A., 118
VASMER, Max, 148, 1361
VELTEN, H. V., 1342
VENDRYES, J., 644, 844
VERELIUS, Olav, 32
VEYSSIERE de la CROZE, Maturinus, 215
VILLARI, P., 103
VILMAR, A. F. C., 1425
VOGT, Fr., 161, 192
VOLLMER, A., 301
de VRIES, Jan, 272, 663
VULCANIUS, Bonaventura, 28

van der WAALS, H. G., 302
WACHTER, Joh. Georg, 42, 70
WACKERNAGEL, Wilhelm, 1312, 1419, 1431
WAITZ, G., 184
WALDE, Alois, 692
WALKER, James A., 1015
WARNATSCH, O., 400
von WARTBURG, W., 1384
WEBSTER, Helen L., 749
WEHRLE, Hugo, 142
WEIHRICH, Fr., 868
WEINGäRTNER, Wilh., 653
WEINHOLD, K., 1265
WEISKER, Eduard, 1175
WELLMANN, A., 853
WESSEN, E., 168, 1267
WESTPHAL, Rud., 682
WICKBERG, Rudolf, 798
WIENER, L., 1357
WIESELGREN, Harald, 219
WIGET, Wilh., 345
WILHELM, E., 495
WILKEN, Ernst, 797
WILMANNS, W., 505, 965
WIMMER, Ludwig, 318, 631
WINKLER, H., 1053
WINTELER, J., 986
WISSMANN, Wilh., 970 f.
WöLFFLIN, E., 152
WOLF, A., 1021
WOOD, Francis A., 614, 750, 770, 843, 889, 918, 995 f.
WOOD, Frederic T., 894
WOTTON, W., 39
WREDE, F., 239, 1314 f.
WRENN, C. L., 398, 467, 471, 615, 1285
WRIGHT, Jos., 553, 560

ZABROCKI, L., 696
ZACHE, W. A., 572
ZACHER, Julius, 626 f.
ZAHN, Johann Christian, 205, 362
ZAHN, Th., 201
ZATOCIL, L., 435, 457 f., 616, 1069, 1141 f., 1292
ZEILLER, J., 129 f., 134
ZEISS, Hans, 322; see ARNTZ, H.
ZEUNE, August, 567
ZEUSS, Karl, 83
ZIEMANN, Adolf, 519
ZIEMER, Herm., 486
ZIMMER, Hans, 571
ZIMMER, Heinr., 522 f.
ZIPF, George Kingsley, 1263
ZUPITZA, E., 1354

GTU Library
3 2400 00660 1151

THREE DAY
CIRCULATION

GTU Library
2400 Ridge Road
Berkeley, CA 94709
For renewals call (510) 649-2500

All items are subject to recall.